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„	42 Utmanza Lamp Inscription in Kharoshthi	to face page 289

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 2, last l —For *Karana* read *Śrīkarana*
- „ 4, text l 13 —For *शुद्धि* read *शुद्धि*
- „ 7, (V 15) —For *Brahmana* read *Brāhmana*
- „ 9, l 25 —For *nyukta*- read *nyuktal-*
- „ 10, l 25 —*Omit I in the beginning of the line*
- „ 12, f n 2 —For n 4 read p 11, n 7
- „ 12, f n 6 —For *वृद्धमनसः* read *वृद्धमनसः*
- „ 12, f n 10 —For *Abhidhāna Chintāmanī* read *Abhidhānachintāmanī*
- „ 12, f n 11 —For *युद्ध* read *युद्ध*
- „ 15, text l 17 —For *हुत्त* read *हुत्त*
- „ 16, f n 1 —For *Vaigaon* read *Waigaon*
- „ 26, l 14 —For *irukka* read *irukka*
- „ 27, l 37 —For *-Bhīm* read *-Bhīma*
- „ 27, last l —For *°vārīm* read *°vārīm*
- „ 37, l 9 —For *Khema* read *Kshema*
- „ 38, l 30 —Insert In before ‘*Vinaya Pīṭaka*’
- „ 41, para 5, last l —For *pacchaya* read *pachchaya*
- „ 46, l 27 —For *Hōtri* read *Hōtri*
- „ 53, l 26 —For 8 read 7 (N G M)
- „ 53, last l —For bounded on the south by and on read situated to the south of
and to (N G M)
- „ 55, text l 15 —For *kā lam=* read *kālam=*
- „ 55, text l 19 —For 8 read 7 (N G M)
- „ 56, l 3 —For (bounded) on the south by and on read (. situated)
to the south of and to (N G M)
- „ 56, l 13 —For 8th read 7th (N G M)
- „ 64, f n 1 —For XVIII read XVII
- „ 66, text l 13 —For *Ranabhītōday-* read *Ranabhītōday-*
- „ 67, f n 1, l 2 —For *Saka* read *Śaka*
- „ 71, last f n —For 36 read 26
- „ 75, top l —For 398 read 308
- „ 77, f n 14 —For *danda* read *danda*
- „ 78, text l 37 —For *khandimāla* read *Khandimāla*
- „ 82, f n 5 —For *Pōdāgad* read *Podāgad*
- „ 84, last f n —Insert the figure 8 before See
- „ 86, f n 9 —For *°kritya* read *°kritya*
- „ 87, text l 44 —For *सेनाति* read *सेनापति*
- „ 89, f n 7 —For Brihatprōshtha inscription of Umāvarman read Brihatprōshthā grant of
Umavarman
- „ 90, f n 5 —For *Sōmavamsī* read *Sōmavamsī*
- „ 101, f n 2 —For *vyāghatē* read *vyāghātē*, and for *karṭṭavyā* read *karṭṭavyā*.
- „ 116, f n 5 —For *Pēnthāma* read *Pēnthāma*

- Page 141, text l 14 —For कृडयक read कृडयक
 „ 144, l 11 —For Miyāru- read Miyāru-
 „ 147, l 6 —For Miyāru read Miyāru
 „ 156, f n 5 —For *Indian Historical Quarterly* read Above
 „ 165, l 28 —For Lakulisa- read Lakulīśa
 „ 166, l 26 —For Kandēruvati read Kandēruvātī
 „ 168, text l 29 —For °रिवनीश read °रवनीश
 „ 174, f n 8 —For Rajasimha read Rājasimha
 „ 175, l 4 —For verses read metres
 „ 190 l 3 —For Chāvundarasa read Chaudarasa
 „ 190, l 9 —For Changūr read Changūra
 „ 192, last para l 4 —For Arjunvād read Arjunavāda
 „ 194, l 2 —For Bāsura read Bāsūra and for Chanjūru read Changūra
 „ 194, l 7 —For Bāsura read Bāsūra
 „ 194, l 9 —For Changuru read Changūra
 „ 195, last l —For Bāsura read Bāsūra
 „ 204, para 3, l 13 —For -āśā vadhayah read āś āvadhayah
 „ 206, f n 4 —For Tungabhadra read Tungabhadrā
 „ 214, f n 2 —For Annasāvi read Annasāvi and for Sannasāvi read Sannasāvi,
 „ 216, l 4 —For Śrīvardhana read Śrībhavana
 „ 220, f n 3 —For मौलिक read मौक्तिक
 „ 221, f n 9 —For °शदधिकेषु read चतुस्त्रिंशदधिकेषु
 „ 223, para 5, l 5 —For nipa read nrīpa
 „ 224, l 2 —For Śrīdhara read Śrīdhara
 „ 225, f n 4 —Insert 223 after p and l after n
 „ 226, l 6 —For Mahāmanda- read Mahāmanda-
 „ 226, l 11 —For Jayvijaya read Jayavijaya
 „ 227, l 25 —For Chalukya read Chālukya
 „ 227, l 32 —For Śikhariṃ read Śikhariṃ
 „ 229, text l 23 —For म्वाहेना° read म्वाहेणा°
 „ 242, l 4 from below —For p 15 read p 16 and delete the first inverted comma
 „ 242, f n 2 —For *Ibid* read C I I Vol III
 „ 248, No 40, para 1, l 4 —For Khambēsvaraī read Khambēsvarī
 „ 250, f n 14, l 2 —For śakala- read śakala
 „ 252, text l 32 —For (स्नेय) read (स्नेय)
 „ 262, f n 8 —For Jēda(gatā)śringa read Jēda(Jatā)śringa
 „ 263, f n 1, l 2 —For Rā aha read Rānaha
 „ 276, text l 9 —For अमसि(श)व read अमसि(शिव)
 „ 280, l 7 —For Chamdiye read Chamdiye
 „ 280, l 13 —For Chanja read Chanje

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXIII

No 1 —PENDRABANDH PLATES OF PRATAPAMALLA THE [KALACHURI] YEAR 965

By PROF V V MIRASHI, M A , NAGPUR

These plates were first brought to my notice in February 1934 by Pandit Lochana Prasada Pandeya, Honorary Secretary, Mahākosala Historical Society, who desired me to edit them I requested the Curator of the Nagpur Museum to procure the plates for my examination, which he kindly did through the good offices of the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur The plates are in the possession of Thākur Gokul Singh, Mālguzār of Pēndrābandh, a village (N Lat 21 39, E Long 83) in the Balōdā Bazār *tahsil* of the Raipur District, C P , and it is said that they have been in his family for some generations

They are two massive copper-plates measuring from $11\frac{1}{2}$ " to 12" in length and from $7\frac{1}{2}$ " to 8" in breadth and about 1" in thickness The first plate weighs 155 *tolas* and the second 133 *tolas* At the centre of the top of each plate there is a hole, $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter for a ring to connect it with the other plate This ring, which is also of copper, is circular in shape and about 4" in diameter, with a round seal 2 6" in diameter About one third portion of the ring was broken off when the plates reached me The plates were not, therefore, connected by the ring, but there is no reason to doubt that the latter actually belongs to the plates The weight of the broken ring with the seal is 16 *tolas* The edges of the plates have been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims Still the inscription is very well preserved and there is no uncertainty about its reading The plates are inscribed on the inner side only There are 35 lines in all, 17 being inscribed on the first plate and the remaining 18 on the second The average size of letters is 3" except in the last two lines where it is reduced to 2" On the seal is inscribed in the centre a crudely executed figure of Lakshmi, seated cross legged on a lotus seat, flanked on either side by an elephant with a jar in his uplifted trunk to pour water on the head of the goddess In the lower part of the seal there is the legend *Rāja-śrīmat-Pratāpamalladēvāh* in a horizontal line and below it appears a sheathed sword lying parallel to it The characters are Nāgarī The letters are deeply cut but not well formed Besides the usual form of *h*, there appears another in the conjunct *lsh* and occasionally in *lr*, see *du(vi)lramēna*, l 9 and *samlānta*, l 10 In writing conjunct letters the engraver has not distinguished between *pa* and *ya* and *la* and *na*, in some cases he has also incised *pa* for *ma*, see *tasya*, l 6, *Gōkarnna*, l 12 and *Suvarnna*-, l 21, and *nirmpita* for *nirmmata*, l 9 A final consonant is shown by a slanting stroke at the foot of the vertical only in one case, viz, *vasēl*, l 32, but contrast *vandhūna* for *bandhūn*, l 6, *satrūna* for *śatrūn*, l 9, etc The signs for the superscript *r* and *anusāra* are, in some cases, added before the sign for medial *ī*, cf *-r=dīnē*, l 19 and *mahatīm* l 19 The sign for *avagraha* in l 2 differs from that in l 26 A superfluous syllable is scored off by two short vertical strokes at the top, see *nri* in l 32 The *visarga* which was wrongly omitted after *lhamdana* in l 14 is written immediately below the line In two other cases the omission is indicated by a *lākapada*, whose position and

form indicate whether the addenda are given at the top or at the bottom of the plate. A figure following the addendum indicates the line where the omitted syllable or word is to be supplied. Thus *svarttāh* and *ga* which were omitted in ll 11 and 14 are supplied with the figures 11 and 14 respectively at the bottom on the first plate. Similarly *nē*, which was omitted in the second line on the second plate, is incised with the figure 2 at the top of the plate.

The language is Sanskrit. Except the customary salutation to Brahman in the first line and mention of the date and the place of issue in the last, the whole record is in verse. The verses, of which there are twenty-nine, are all numbered except the last one. As regards orthography we may note that *v* is generally written for *b* and the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* (cf. *Vrahmanē* and *Sivam* in l 1) and vice versa, e.g., in *āsīd=āsīma-* for *āsīd=āsīma-*, l 16, *y* is used for *j* in *Vāyapēya*, l 31. The consonant following *r* is reduplicated only in a few cases, cf. *Kārttavīryah*, ll 23, *mārgganē*, l 4, etc.

The object of the plates is to record a grant made by **Pratāpamalla**, a Kalachuri king of Ratanpur. After the usual salutation to Brahman in the first verse, comes the description of the genealogy of the donor. In the family of Manu, the primeval king, who was descended from the Sun, was born **Kārttavīrya**. From him were descended the **Haihayas**. Their descendants became well known as **Kalachuris** in the **Chēdi** country. In their family was born **Kōkalla** who had eighteen very brave sons. The eldest of them became the lord of **Tripurī**. He made his brothers lords of *mandalas*. In the family of their younger brother was born **Kalingarāja**. The engraver has, inadvertently, omitted here one complete verse which occurs in cognate records¹ and mentions **Kamalarāja**, the son of **Kalingarāja**. The present record, as it stands, makes **Ratnarāja(I)** the son and successor of **Kalingarāja**. From **Ratnarāja(I)** was born **Prithvidēva(I)**, the father of **Jājalladēva(I)**. The latter's son was **Ratnadēva(II)**, of matchless valour who routed **Chōdaganga** and **Gōkarnna** in battle. From **Ratnadēva(II)** was born **Prithvidēva(II)**, his son was **Jagaddēva**, the father of **Ratnarāja(III)**. From the latter was born **Pratāpamalla** the donor of the present plates. From the description in the plates that, though a boy, he was a second **Bali** in strength, it seems that **Pratāpamalla** came to the throne while quite young. The only important point in the otherwise conventional description of these princes is the mention of **Gōkarnna** as an associate of **Chōdaganga** in the fight with **Ratnadēva II**. I have, elsewhere,² discussed in detail the bearing of this on the date of the fight. Again, it is noteworthy that the present inscription has corroborated what **Dr N P Chakravarti** had already shown from the damaged **Kharōḍ** inscription³, viz, that **Jājalladēva II** had a brother named **Jagaddēva**,⁴ the father of **Ratnadēva III**. Our inscription has omitted **Jājalladēva II's** name probably because he was a collateral

The next four verses (15-18) give the genealogy and description of the donee and state the occasion of the grant. There was a **Brāhmana** named **Suvarnnakara** of the **Pārāśara gōtra** and three *pravaras*, viz, **Vasishtha**, **Śakti**, and **Pārāśara**. He had a son named **Divākara**, who was proficient in the **Vēdas**. From him was born **Sādhāra**⁵ who was honoured by the **Kalachuris**. To him **Pratāpamalla** gave a village named **Kāyathā** situated in the **Anargha mandala** on the day of the **Makara sankrānti**. Then follow nine benedictory and imprecatory verses of the usual type. The last verse states that **Pratirāja**, who was born in a **Gauda** family and was the light (i.e. the chief) of the **Karana** or Record Office, wrote on the plates with clear letters. The last line states

¹ See e.g. the **Amodā** plates of **Prithvidēva I**, above, Vol. XIX, p. 79, the **Amodā** plates of **Jājalladēva II**, ibid., pp. 211-212, etc.

² Cf. the **Sarkhō** plates of **Ratnadēva II**, above, Vol. XXII, pp. 161f.

³ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 160 and 162.

⁴ This king may be identical with king **Jagaddēva** glorified in c. 1261 of the **Sārngadhara paddhati** (Bombay Sanskrit Series, 1888, p. 207).

⁵ See below, p. 8, footnote 1.

that the plates were issued from the victorious camp at Palasadā on Tuesday the tenth day of the bright half of Māgha in Samvat 965 The *tithi* and the year are expressed in decimal figures only

As in the case of most other records of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur, this date must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri-Chēdi era Till now Ratnadēva III, whose Kharōd inscription is dated Chēdi Samvat 933, was the last known prince of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuris The present plates give us one more name, viz, that of Pratāpamalla, in this line As a matter of fact the name of this prince was already known from some copper coins, round or hexagonal in shape, found in the vicinity of Bālpur on the Mahānadī Mr Pandeya's conjecture that Pratāpamalla was a Kalachuri king¹ has been corroborated by the discovery of the present plates It may be noted in this connection that like the seal of the present plates, these coins also bear the figure of a sword on the reverse² and can, therefore, be undoubtedly assigned to the donor of the present plates

The date of our record appears to be irregular, for according to R B S K Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the tenth day of the bright half of Māgha in the Chēdi year 965 (taking it to be an expired year as in the case of most other dates in the Chēdi era) fell on Thursday, 23rd January, A.D 1214 and not on Tuesday as stated in our plates³ If we take the year to be current, the *tithi* falls on Saturday, 2nd February, A D 1213 The discrepancy can, however, be explained as follows —Though the grant was made on the day of the Makara-sankrānti, the plates were actually issued a few days later as in the case of the Kāvī grant⁴ of Jayabhata III. Now the Makara-sankrānti in the expired Chēdi year 965 fell on Wednesday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright half of Pausa (25th December, A D 1213) The plates were, however, actually incised after about a fortnight on the tenth *tithi* of the dark half of Māgha, which (taking the month to be pūrṇimānta as in the case of other Chēdi dates) fell on a Tuesday The engraver may have, by mistake, incised *sudi* for *vadi* The corresponding English date is, therefore, Tuesday, 7th January, A D 1214

As for the geographical names mentioned in the present plates, Anarghavaṇṇi, as stated elsewhere⁵, roughly corresponds to the modern Jānjgir *tahsil* of the Bilāspur District The village named Kāyathā is still extant in the form Kaitā about 14 miles almost due west of Pēndrābandh and about 4 miles beyond the southern limit of the Jānjgir *tahsil* About Palasadā I may mention that there are several villages named Parsadā or Parsadi in the Balodā Bazār *tahsil*, but the village, where Pratāpamalla's camp was pitched, may be Parsodi about a mile to the north of Kaitā

I edit the inscription from the original plates

TEXT

[Metres ' Vv 1, 7, 9, 11, 15-16 and 19-28 *Anushtubh*, vv 2, 5 and 14, *Upajātī*, vv 3 and 12 *Sragdharā*, v 13 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv 8 and 18 *Mālinī*, v 10 *Śikharinī*, vv 4, 6 and 17 *Vasantatilakā*, v 29 *Indravajrā*]

First Plate

1 ओ^६ व्र(व्र)ह्मणे नमः ॥ निगुं(गुं)ष व्यापक नित्यं सि(शि)वं परमकारणं(णम्) ।

भावग्राह्य पर ज्योतिस्त्वस्मै सद्र(द्र)ह्मणे नमः ॥१॥

¹ *Ind Hist Quart*, Vol III, p 175

² I owe this information to Mr L P Pandeya who has kindly sent me some coins of this type

³ [The date may be Wednesday, 22nd January, as on this day the tenth *tithi* commenced 1 hour 45 minutes after mean sunrise —Ff]

⁴ *Ind. Ant*, Vol. XVII, pp. 220-21

⁵ Above, Vol XXII, p 163

⁶ Expressed by the letter व with a dot on it.

- 2 यदेतदग्रेसरभवे(व)रस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरपः पुराणः । अयास्य पुत्रो
मनुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेऽभूद्भुवि कार्त्त-
- 3 वीर्यः ॥२॥ तस्माच्छ्रुतिर्कोर्त्तः सकलगुणधरा हेहया नेकस¹ को जाता,
प्रत्यर्थिपृष्ठोपतिकरिह-
- 4 रयो मार्गणे कल्पवृक्षाः । तदंसा(शा)येदिदेसे(शे) कलत्रुरिरिति च ख्याति-
मीयुर्णरेन्द्रा जातः क्रोवास्तदेवो न-
- 5 पतिररिक्कुलस्त्राभुजा भूमकेतुः ॥३॥ अष्टादसा(शा)रिकरिकुंभविभग्न²सिंहाः पुत्रा
व(व)भूवुरतिसौ(शो)र्यप-
- 6 राय तस्य । तत्राग्रजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीस(श) आशी(सी)त्यास्त्रे(श्रिं) च मंडल-
पतीन्स चकार वं(व)धून(न्) ॥४॥ तेषामनू³जस्तु
- 7 कलिगराजः प्रतापवन्हि(ह्नि)चपितारिराजः । जातोन्वये [टु]⁴ष्टरिपुत्रवीरप्रियायनना-
श्वोरुहपाव्णे-
- 8 न्दुः ॥५॥ तेनाथ चंद्रवदनोजनि रत्नराजो विश्वो(श्वो)पकारकरुणार्जितपुत्रभारः ।
येन स्ववा(वा)हुयु-
- 9 गनिर्मि(र्मि)तदि(वि)क्रमेण नीत यस(श)स्त्रि(स्त्रि)भुवने विनिहत्य स(श)नून(न्) ॥६॥
पृथ्वीदेवोभवत्तस्मान्नृपः सा(शा)दूल-
- 10 विक्रमः । नखदण्ड्यसंक्रान्तनभभूपालमंडलः ॥७॥ अयं रुचिररुचिसौ(यी)राययः
सत्कालोना-
- 11 मनुपहितकलकीनर्धसूक्तिः सहतः⁵ [*] सकल[गु]णसम्पूरुः श्री(यी)मतस्तस्य
सुनुर्विधुरिव सुकृतानारथा(न्था)म जाजलदेव-
- 12 : ॥८॥ रत्नदेवीभवत्तस्मादभूतोपमविक्रमः । यद्योडगंगमोकरुणै युधि चक्रे पराङ्मुखौ⁶
॥९॥ ततोभूदासीम-
- 13 चित्तिवलयविक्रान्त⁷महिमा हिमानीवत्वान्तैर्जगदपि यशोभिर्धर्ष(र्ष)वलयन(न्) ।
रणे क्रद्धा(द्ध)हेषिहिप्रदलनदीक्षाहरिसमः

¹ Read नेकस

² The intended change of नृ to रु here, is ungrammatical. See Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 1. Read -नरेन्द्रा

³ Read -विभग्न-

⁴ The vowel of नू is lengthened for the sake of metre. Many other records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur read अनूनस्त which seems to be proper; since such a word is required to be connected with अनन्वये. See Sarkhō plates (above, Vol. XXII, p. 165, footnote 1)

⁵ Other cognate plates read द्विष्ट.

⁶ This word which was omitted here is supplied with the figure 11 at the bottom of the plate

⁷ The engraver had first incised the conjunct क्त्वं but afterwards cancelled it and incised only the letter क्त्वं at the top of सु

⁸ The vertical stroke of त् is not engraved

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- 14 सुतः पृथ्वीदेवो दनुजदलनस्तस्य नृपतेः¹ ॥१०॥ प्रचडाखडभूपानयु²ङ्कडूतिखडन.³
[!*] जग⁴देवोभवत्तस्मान्नृपः स्प(शा)र्दल-
- 15 विक्रमः ॥११॥ तत्पुत्रश्चित्रकोर्त्तिः सकलकलचुरिस्माभुजा भूषणश्रीः श्रीमानुत्फुल्ल-
मल्लीनि-
- 16 कारनिभयसो(शो)रासि(शि)भिव्यासविस्लः(श्वः) । आशी(सी)दाशी(सी)मभूमीवल्लयपरिष्ठ-
ढप्रौढदोकाडलीला-
- 17 निर्दूतासे(शे)षवैरिचिपतिनिवहो भूपती⁵ रत्नराजः ॥१२॥ पुत्रस्तस्य यसो(शो)-
व्वि(व्वि)लो-

Second Plate

- 18 ललहरोनिर्दूतदिग्मंडलो भूर्त्त्या निर्जितमन्मथः समभवत्तश्ची(ञ्ची)मभ्यतापो नृपः ।
भूपाला⁶ण्वसो(शो)षणे
- 19 सुनिरसौ स्मापालचूडामण्दिर्दिने वदिजने⁶ द्विजे गुणिगणे नित्यं हि चिन्तामणिः
॥१३॥ मत्या महत्या महती म-
- 20 ह्रीस(श) प्रतापमल्ली जगदेकमलः । पृथ्वीमपृथ्वीमकरोत्कराभ्यां व(व)लेन
वा(वा)लोपि व(व)लिर्द्वितीयः ॥१४॥
- 21 वसिष्ठस(श)क्तिपारास(श)र इति प्रवरत्रयः । सुवर्ण⁷करनामाभूजोत्रे पारास(श)रे
द्विजः ॥१५॥ दिवाकरश(स)मो लोके
- 22 तेनाजनि दिवाकरः । येनाज्ञानतमो नष्ट⁷ वेदतत्त्व(त्त्व)विदा भुवि ॥१६॥ तस्माद-
जायत गुणी गुणिना गणे-
- 23 पु दान ददत्तु कृपयार्थिजते(ने) वदान्यः । भूर्त्त्या मनोभवसमो महिलामनस्सु
साधार इत्यमवनीत-
- 24 लसुप्रसिद्धः ॥१७॥ अखिलजनवरिष्ठो(ष्ठो) धर्मकीर्त्तिप्रतिष्ठो(ष्ठो) जनिनजनविसु(शु)-
धित्या(न्या)यनिस्त्रा(या)तवु(वु)द्धिः । सकलगु-
- 25 णसभूहः सत्यसाधारनामा कलचुरिकुलमान्यो योभवत्तस्य पुत्रः ॥१८॥ तस्मै
प्रतापमल्लेन कायठा-

¹ The engraver first incised नृ and then corrected it into नृ

² The vowel of यु was first incised as long and then shortened

³ The visarga after नृ which was omitted at first is incised below the line

⁴ The syllable नृ which was omitted here is incised with the figure 14 at the bottom of the plate There are superfluous marks of rēpha on both दे and दो

⁵ The curve of the medial र् here is not clearly formed

⁶ The syllable ने which was omitted here is incised with the figure 2 at the top

⁷ The senso requires the form नाशित here

- 26 अनर्घमडले । ग्रामो मकरमकान्ता दत्त¹ सकल्पपूर्वक ॥१८॥ म(ग)म भद्रामन
च(क)न गजास्त्र(ग) वरवाहन(नम्) । भूमिदानम्(स्य) चि-
- 27 क्ता(क)नि फल स्वर्ग पुरंदर ॥२०॥ न(व)र्तुभिर्व्यसुधा दत्ता गजभिः सगता-
दिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य।²
- 28 तदा फलम(म्) ॥२१॥ भूमि य प्रतिगन्ता(ता)ति यदा भूमि प्रयच्छति ।
उभो तो पुण्यकर्माणि नियतो स्वर्गगा-
- 29 भिनो ॥२२॥ पूर्वदत्ता द्दिगान्तिभ्यो यदादध पुरंदर । मदीं मदीभृतां
से(त्रे)ष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो हि पालन(नम्) । ॥२३॥
- 30 स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा यो हरेत्(त व)मुधरा(गम्) । स वि[ष्टा]या कृमिर्मत्वा
पितृभिः सह मयति ॥२४॥ तज्जगाना सहस्रे(से)ण
- 31 वाय(ज)पेयस(ग)तिन च । गवा कौटिपदानेन भूमिर्हता न सु(ग)ध्यति ॥२५॥
षष्टिवर्षमजसाणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।
- 32 आच्छेत्ता चातुसत्ता(न्ता) च तान्येष नरकं यमत् ॥२६॥ षष्ट्युत्त(त्ति) हुत चैव ।
यत्किंचिदसीमघित(तम्) । अर्धगुर्निन सीमाया³
- 33 हरणेन प्रास्य(स्य)ति ॥२७॥ यथास्य पतित स(ग)क तेनवि(वि)दुष्यिंसर्पति ।
एवं भूमिहात दान सम्ये सम्ये प्ररोदति ॥२८॥
- 34 गौडान्वयोय प्रतिगजसा(ना)सा विद्याः स्तु धिः सी(त्री)करणप्रदीप । स्वप्ना-
स(ग)य सर्वजनप्रसिद्धताम्र(स्तामे) विविग्य प्रकटंस्तु वा⁴ । ॥२९॥⁵
- 35 सवत(त्)६६५ द⁶ पल्लसदासमायामिद्वि(वि)जयकटके ॥ माघसुदि १० मंगलदिने ॥

TRANSLATION

Om! Obe-ance to Brahman!

(Verse 1) Obeance to that reality, Brahman, which is attributeless, all pervasive, eternal and auspicious, the ultimate cause (of the universe) and supreme light, conceivable by the mind

(V 2) This foremost luminary of the firmament that is the Sun the primeval Being. Then was (born) his son, Manu, the first of kings. In his dynasty was (born) Kārtavīrya on the earth

(V 3) From him who surpassed the fame of Indra were born on the earth many Hanuhyas, endowed with all merits, who were lions to the elephants in the form of hostile kings and wish-

¹ The engraver first inscribed द्य and then corrected it into दत्त

² च which was first inscribed is corrected into चि

³ This *janja* is superfluous

⁴ There is a syllable *nyā* after *va* but the engraver has indicated by two vertical strokes on it that the syllable was inscribed by mistake and is to be omitted

⁵ Read सीमाया

⁶ This syllable is superfluous. In the present case it can hardly be taken as the Kanarese genitive affix [The portion in this line beginning with *Palasada* and ending with the *danja* after *lupale* should perhaps have come at the beginning. It may be that the engraver finding out his mistake used this sign to indicate that this portion is not connected with the date.—Ed.]

fulfilling trees to the suppliant The kings, who were (*born*) in their family, became famous as Kālachuris in the Chēdi country (*In their family*) was born king Kōkalladēva, who was a comet to the kings of the families of his enemies¹

(V 4) To him were born eighteen, very valorous sons, (*who were*) lions in breaking open the temples of elephants in the form of his enemies The eldest of them was the lord of Tripurī, and he made his brothers the lords of *mandalas* by his side

(V 5) In (*that*) family was born their younger brother, Kalimgarāja, who exterminated the hostile kings by the fire of his valour, and who was the full moon to the day-lotuses in the form of the faces of the beloveds of the mighty warriors of (*his*) wicked enemies

(V 6) He begat the moon-faced Ratnarāja, who had acquired a mass of religious merit by showing compassion to and conferring obligation on the (*whole*) world (*and*) who, destroying his enemies by the valour of both his arms, spread his fame in the three worlds

(V 7) From him was born king Prithvidēva whose prowess was like that of a tiger (*and*) in the mirrors of whose nails was reflected a host of princes who bowed to him

(V 8) Then that glorious king's son was Jājalladēva who was, like the moon, without any spots, who was of radiant complexion and majesty, was the repository of good arts (as the moon contains the *kalās*), was endowed with an inestimable form, was virtuous (as the moon has a well rounded form), who possessed all the qualities and who was an abode of all merits

(V 9) From him was born Ratnadēva of incomparable valour, who, in battle, vanquished Chōdaganga and Gōkarnna (*lit* made them turn their faces away)

(V 10) Then was born to that king a son named Prithvidēva, whose power extended to the bounds of the circle of the earth, who whitened the world with his lovely glory, like a mass of snow, who devoted himself to the extermination of his wrathful foes in battle, as a lion does (*in the case of*) infuriated elephants and who was a destroyer of demons (*i e*, wicked people)

(V 11) From him was born king Jagaddēva, who possessed the prowess of a tiger and who destroyed the itch of fighting of all powerful kings

(V 12) His son was the glorious king Ratnarāja, of wonderful fame, who was the excellent ornament of all Kalachuri kings, who filled the universe with the mass of his fame resembling a heap of blooming jasmine flowers, who destroyed all the hosts of hostile kings by the play of his massive arms, which were the masters of the circle of the earth to the (*extreme*) boundaries

(V 13) Then was born his son, the glorious king Pratāpa, who has cleaned the circle of quarters with the rolling waves of the ocean of his fame, who has surpassed Cupid by his form, who is the sage (*Agastya*) in drying up the ocean in the form of (*hostile*) kings, (*who is*) the crest-jewel of kings and who is always the philosopher's stone to the poor, the panegyrists, the Brāhmanas and the meritorious

(V 14) Pratāpamalla, of great intellect, who is the lord of the earth, (*and*) the pre-eminent warrior of the world, and who, though a boy, is a second Balu in strength and has made, by his arms, this wide earth (*look*) small

(V 15) There was a Brahmana named Suvarnakara in the Pārāsara *gōtra*, with three *paras*—viz, Vasishtha, Śakti and Pārāsara

(V 16) He begat Divākara, who was like the sun in this world, who knowing the essence of the Vēdas, dispelled the darkness of ignorance on the earth

(V 17) From him was born a meritorious (*son*), who has become well known by the name of Sādhāra, who, is (*reckoned as*) the (*most*) meritorious among multitudes of meritorious persons (*and as*) beneficent among those who make gifts out of compassion (*and*) who in form appears like the mind-born (Cupid) to the minds of ladies

¹ *I e*, he caused their destruction

(V 18) Who was his (i.e., Divākara's)¹ son, the foremost among all people, who is famed for religious merit, who has caused the purification of the people, whose intellect is proficient in Nyāya (logic), who, being possessed of the whole multitude of merits, is truly called Sādhārī and who is honoured by the Kalachuri family

(V 19) To him Pratāpamalla gave, with a solemn declaration, on the Makara sankranti, a village named Kūyathā (situated) in Anargha mandala

(Here follow nine benedictory and imprecatory verses)

This ocean of learning named Pratirāja of the Ganda family, the light (i.e., chief) of Śrī Varana (Record Office), who entertains pure thoughts and is famous among all people has written (on this) copper (charter) with clear letters

At the victorious camp pitched at Palasādā, on Tuesday the tenth of the bright half of Māgha in the year 965

NO. 2—ANJANAVATI PLATES OF GOVINDA III, SAKA YEAR 722

By PROF. V. V. BHASHI, M.A., AND L. R. KULKARNI, M.A., NAGPUR

The copper plates, which are edited here for the first time, were found in May 1935, in the possession of Mr. Naray in Tukaram Pande of Añjanavati or Añjati, a village (Lat. 20° 55' N, Long. 78° 6' W) in the Chandur Taluq, about 22 miles almost due east of Amravati in Berar. We obtained them for editing from Mr. N. R. Purani of Nishangāon through the good offices of Dr. K. B. Hegdekar of Nagpur. The plates when first found, were covered with verdigris in some places but they have since been cleaned by the Government Epigraphist who has also kindly supplied us with ink impressions.

They are three copper-plates each measuring 10.3" in length, from 6.5" to 6.9" in breadth and about 1" in thickness. The middle plate is slightly thicker than the others. Their ends are raised to serve as rims for the protection of the inscription. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both the sides. At the centre of the proper right side, about 1" from the end, each plate has a circular hole about 6" in diameter for the ring which is connected it with other plates of the set. The ends of this ring, which is about 1" in thickness and 3.1" in diameter, were soldered into the socket of a seal. The latter is circular, 1.6" in diameter, and contains on a counter-sunk surface a representation of Garuḍa, sitting crouched on a lotus and facing full front. The seal does not contain any legend. The ring was not cut when the plates came to our hands. The weight of the plates together with the ring and the seal is 228½ tolas.

The plates are fairly well preserved. Some letter here and there are damaged by verdigris, but in almost all cases they can either be read from the traces left on the plates or easily supplied from other records of the Rāshtrakūṭa, with which the present plates have a considerable portion in common. The names of the donees and localities are difficult of deciphering due to the careless manner in which the record is incised. The repetition of the names of most of the donees in ll. 55-58 where their *gotras* as well as the shares assigned to each are recorded, has, however, helped us in the correct decipherment of some doubtful letters. There are 58 lines in all, of which fourteen are inscribed on the first plate, thirteen and fifteen on the first and second sides respectively of the second plate, and the remaining sixteen on the third plate. The last line

¹ This verse *primā facie* seems to describe a person named Satyaśīdhāra who was a son of Sādhārī mentioned in the preceding verse. But in that case, Satyaśīdhārī would be a queer name though the title 'Dāśarūpaka Sādhārī' of Avaniyaśrāvī Puṣṭiśīlī may be cited in support of it. I think the poet shows in this verse how the name Sādhārī was truly significant. He was so called because he was the support (*udhara*) of all virtues. There are thus two verses in praise of Sīdhārī. An analogous instance is furnished by the Nidhanpur plates of Bhaskaravarman. See verses 17-18 (above, Vol. XII, p. 74) and footnote 11 (*ibid.*, p. 77). [But cf. names like Vijaya sādharā and Sumatī sīdhārī in the Arhūnā inscription of the Paramāra. Māndanāditya (above, Vol. XIV, p. 303). On this analogy Sādhārī and Satya sādharā of the present inscription may be the names of the father and the son respectively.—Ed.]

which is incised in the right hand corner of the third plate for want of space, is only 3" in length. The letters are deeply, though somewhat carelessly, cut. They do not, however, show through on the reverse. Their average size is about 3" except in the last four lines where it is reduced to 2". Several letters have identical or closely similar forms, so that in many cases it is difficult to say which of them is meant, see, for example, *ṭ*, *v* and *dh* in *vādhah*, l 11, and *ṭam*, l 35 and compare *s* in *nāsira*, ll 19 20, and *pātakaṣ=*, l 17 with *m* in *-agamad=*, l 19. Similarly, *p* and *y* are exactly alike in *Paramabhāṭāraka*, l 28 and *yathā*, l 31, so also, *l* *v* and *lsh* in *l-v-āpi*, l 18, and *lshītau*, l 5. Again, the looped form of *n* stands for *bh* in *a bhrū ubhamgam=*, l 9, *bhaya-*, l 18, *-bhyantera-*, l 41, etc., for *l* in *-lshayakaram=*, ll 18-19, and also for the subscript *d* and the superscript *t* in *danda*, l 10 and *-ālapattra*, l 19 respectively. The vertical stroke of *h* is not incised in some cases, e.g., in *lshnāpah*, l 5, *lshata*, l 11, *Kutimāsha*, l 56, *Nāraula* and *Chhathikumarashya*, l 57 and probably also in *Kullalāṭn=ṭi*, l 55. The engraver has again inadvertently omitted some words and syllables in a few places, e.g., *°r=udhu-* in l 2, *chāru* in l 25, *-krah* in l 22, etc., and has wrongly repeated *bhūpah* in l 2, *dhāma* in l 4, *sōdrangah sa-parīarah* in l 39, etc. The words [*nadi*] *Mari[cha]*, (l 37) and the letter *sa* in *Vājasanē* (l 57) which were at first omitted are engraved immediately below. In one case the engraver has corrected his mistake by scoring out a wrong stroke, see *Anjanavati* in l 37 where the curve for medial *u* of *ju* is cancelled.

The characters are Nāgarī as in the Parthan plates of Govinda III. As regards individual letters we may note the following peculiarities.—Besides the regular form of initial *ā* in *āsīd=*, l 1, another in which the letter is laid on its side occurs in *ā chandr°*, l 40. The medial *ā* is generally marked by downward vertical stroke, but in conjunction with *ṛ*, *ṭ*, and *h* it rises upwards, occasionally ending in a curve, cf. *-prajā-vādhah*, l 11, *bhāṭāraka-* and *Mahārāja-*, l 28. The medial *u* is generally shown either with a serif as in *Dantidurgga-*, l 7, or with a curve open on the left as in *chatur-*, l 6, but also occasionally with a loop as in *krōdhād=utlūta-*, l 16, *nijukta*, l 31, *cindu*, l 52 and with a curve turned downwards in cases where the vertical stroke already ends in a serif as in *ruchi-*, l 17 and *Dhruva-*, l 22. Besides the usual form of the medial *ū* as in *bhūpah*, l 2, *tanūjah*, l 6, etc., there are two others seen in *-rūpam*, l 19, and *-grāmaṭū*, l 31. Several letters have more than one form, see for example, *ṛ* in *Rājādhirāja*, l 16 and *rājasu*, l 3, *p* in *pranayishu*, ll 13-14 and *nivṛtapanam*, l 14, *bh* in *bhōktā*, l 7 and *a bhrū ubhamgam=*, l 9, *l* in *Vallabha* and *dhūli* both in l 20 and *ruchir ślīkhit-*, l 5, *v* in *vō* l 1, *Vajrata*, l 8 and *-targgō*, l 18, *th* in *Chhathikumara*, ll 34-35 and *Vasishtha*, l 32, and finally the subscript *d* in *Pāndya-*, l 8, *Mayūralhandī*, l 42 and *danda*, l 10. *N* is generally shown with a loop and *t* without it, but the opposite forms also occur sporadically, see *n* in *-abhidhāno*, l 37, *-bhyantera*, l 41, *Vājasanē*, l 57, etc., and the superscript *t* in *-ālapattra*, l 19. *H* occasionally shows a tail as in *mahā-*, l 22 and *r* a loop on the left as in *-ruchir°*, l 5, *-prahārāh*, l 15, when the latter forms a member of the ligatures *rya* and *ria* it is placed horizontally as in *sūrya*, l 42 and *pariamta*, l 40. The conjunct *rth* is marked by a curled curve turned to the left as in *samarthah* and *Pārth-ōpamah* in l 23. The final form of *t*, which occurs in ll 7, 12, 19, and 50, is shown with an encircling curve.

The language is Sanskrit. Some of the names of the donees and *gōtras*, however, are in Prākṛit, e.g., *Chhathikumara* for *Shashthīl umāra*, *Kramaitta*, for *Kramāditya*, etc. The first twenty-seven lines which form the eulogistic part are in verse. Then comes the formal part of the grant in prose, which is followed by four benedictory and imprecatory verses of the usual type. The last four lines are again in prose, and record the name of the writer and the *dātaka* of the record as well as the *gōtras* and shares of some of the donees. As regards orthography attention may be drawn to the following—(1) The consonant following *r* and that before *y* are occasionally doubled,

e.g., *Dantidurga*, l. 7 and *pād ānuddhyāta*, l. 29 (2) A class nasal is only rarely used for *anusāra*, e.g., *aśānta*, l. 10, *pañcha*, l. 36, etc. (3) *l* is used for *h* throughout, of *cala* for *bala*, l. 8, *-vādhah* for *-bādhah*, l. 11, etc. (4) *Ri* is wrongly inserted for *ri* in *Kanal āddri*, l. 6, *ṣṣarppan*, l. 36, etc. (5) *h* is wrongly changed to *n* in *ānsa pīthah*, l. 5 and *ici vērā* in *mahattar-ādīm*, l. 31, etc. (6) The palatal *ś* and the lingual *ṣ* are wrongly inserted for the dental *s* in *rajaya śan-ahāga(vā)r*, l. 12 and *Chhathil umarashya*, l. 57 respectively.

Besides these, there are several mistakes due to the carelessness of the writer or the engraver, e.g., the use of the unspirant *t* for the spirant *tha* in *lityā*, l. 13; the omission of *evāṅga* before *s* in *samyullā śyād*, l. 17, the use of *anusāra* to denote length in *maham dīyā*, l. 51 and *Hamrudra*, l. 55. In the formal part of the grant there are some wrong *śādhā*, e.g., *pralāhī paṇīyō ā chandr ārl*, l. 10, *parianayudāna*, l. 12, etc.

The plates were issued by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III from his victorious capital at Mayūrāichanā on the occasion of a *tulā puruṣa*¹ gift at the time of a solar eclipse in the expired Śaka year seven hundred and twenty two. The date cannot be verified for want of the necessary details. There was only one solar eclipse in the expired Śaka year 722, viz., that which occurred on the New Moon day of the month of Āśvīṭha, the corresponding Christian date being Thursday, 25th June A.D. 800. This date falls in the reign of Gōvinda III, who ruled from circa A.D. 791 to A.D. 814.

Like the earlier Puthan plate² the present inscription incorporates many old verses descriptive of the ancestors of Gōvinda III, which are known from the older records of Dantidurga, Krishna I and Dhruva. The eulogistic part of the present plate is, however, shorter than that of the Puthan plate, as eleven verses, viz., 3, 4, 10, 12, 17, 20, 22, 25, 27, which occur in the latter are not included here.

The genealogy of Gōvinda III is given here as in his other plate commencing from Gōvinda I, viz., Gōvinda (I), his son Kākā (I), his son Indra (II), his son Dantidurga, who defeated the innumerable forces of the Kārṇāṭas which were clever in defeating the lord of Kūchi, the king of Kēraḷa, the Chōḷa, the Pāṇḍya, the illustrious Harsha and Vajrata and who attained the position of *Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara* by easily defeating Vāḍḍha, (his uncle) Krishna Subhātunga Akilavarha, the son of Kālā I, who defeated Rāḥappa and assumed the titles *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, his son Gōvinda (II), his younger brother Dhruva, his son Gōvinda (III), who was crowned king by his father in succession of his other sons. Gōvinda III is here said to have assumed the *brāhma* of *Prithivīrallabha*, *Prabhūtarāja* and *Śrīrāṇabha*. There is nothing new in the eulogistic verses, which, as stated above, are copied from earlier records. As in the Puthan plates there is here no reference to any of Gōvinda's campaigns in the north or the south.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village Amjanavāṁṭi on the occasion of a solar eclipse to the following thirteen Brahmanas—(1) Ruddappa Dikshita, son of Gōvanka bhātta of Vāśīṭha *gōṭra*, who was a religious student of the Rīgveda, and a resident of Vēyaghana, (2) Durgappa of Kramāṭṭa *gōṭra* who was a resident of Talvātaka, (3) Dēvadatta of Hīndra-*gōṭra*³, (4) Nārāyaṇa⁴ of Kutimūṣha (Kulmīṣha⁵) *gōṭra*, (5) Mangappa,

¹ Gōvinda III seems to have weighed himself against gold before making the gift. The Cambray Plates of Gōvinda IV, ll. 36-47 and 50-53 above Vol. VII, p. 10. A similar expression *tulā puruṣa śīlī* occurs in the Sāmāṅgaḷ plates of Dantidurga which I lect was inclined to take as an astronomical expression (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, p. 114); but the expression probably qualifies the word *mayi* which seems to have been omitted inadvertently.

² Above, Vol. III, p. 103.

³ The *gōṭras* of nos. 3, 4, 6, 8 and 10, 12 which were at first omitted, are supplied in ll. 53-57.

⁴ This name appears wrongly as Narana in l. 58.

(6) Vōppana of Hāndra-gōtra, (7) Aiyani¹ of Mōggala gōtra, (8) Gantiyamma of Bhāradvāja-gōtra, (9) Lavvaya, (10) Kasamana² of Kāśyapa gōtra, (11) Chhathukumara of Vājrasanē(ya)-gōtra³ (?), (12) Nārauka of Siguh⁴ (Sāngah⁵) gōtra and (13) Vādi. The revenue of the village was divided into eighteen (equal) shares of which the Dikshita Ruddappa was given five, Dēva-datta two and the remaining eleven one each. The donated village was situated in the *visaya* (district) of Achalapura and was bounded on the east by the village Rangalachhyi and the river Mari, on the south by the village Gōhasōdvā, on the west by the village Sallamāla and the hill Timsa, and on the north by the village Kurē and Vatapura. The charter was written by, Kukkaika, the minister in charge of peace and war, and the son of the military officer *Sāmanta* sri-Gauta, by the order of the Emperor (Gōvinda III), and with the consent of the Great Queen (*Mahādēvi*). The *dūtaka* was the illustrious Chākrārāja.

The present plates do not add anything to our knowledge of Gōvinda III's reign, but the mention of Chākrārāja as the *dūtaka* of the present grant is interesting. He evidently occupied a high position at Gōvinda's court and is probably identical with the illustrious Chākrārāja, the lord (*adhīrāja*) of the entire Ganga-mandala, who made a request to Gōvinda III to grant a village to the Jaina ascetic Arkakirti to avert the adverse influence of Saturn from his sister's son Vimalāditya as recorded in the Kadaba plates of the reign of Gōvinda III⁶. The circumstances which led to the elevation of Chākrārāja, who was at first an officer at the court of Gōvinda III, to the position of the ruler of the entire Ganga province can now be clearly stated. The Ganga king was one of those princes who had come to the help of Gōvinda II, when his brother Dhruva rebelled against him. He was imprisoned by the latter who placed his son Stambha in charge of the conquered Ganga province. The Ganga prince was released by Gōvinda III after his accession, probably to create a rival to his brother who had become hostile to him⁷. He ungratefully joined Stambha but was speedily defeated along with the latter. Though Gōvinda III magnanimously pardoned Stambha as implied in the Sanjān plates⁸, he is not likely to have reinstated him as a ruler of the whole of the Ganga province. He must have placed some trusted officer of his, like Chākrārāja, in charge of some portion of the Ganga mandala to serve as a check on his brother. Later on, when the whole Ganga country was annexed consequent on a second revolt or, perhaps, the death of Stambha, Chākrārāja must have been put in charge of the entire Ganga province as stated in the Kadaba plates. If the above reasoning is correct, Stambha's revolt and defeat must be placed between A.D. 800, the date of the present grant and A.D. 805, the date of the Nēsa plates, in which the defeat of the Ganga king is mentioned for the first time⁹.

¹ This name is written as Aīya[ni] in l. 56.

² The name appears as Kaṣamana in l. 56.

³ The name of the *śākhā* is here wrongly mentioned as *gōtra*.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 332.

⁵ Altekar—*The Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 61 f.

⁶ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 244; *verses* 18 f.

⁷ [In this connection attention may be drawn to the following note of Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao —

Though it is known from inscriptions that Gōvinda III put down the rebellion headed by his elder brother Stambha, it is nowhere stated that Gōvinda pardoned him. But from the Manne plates (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, No. 61) of A.D. 802 and the Bādanaguppe plates (*Mys. Arch. Report* 1927, p. 112) of A.D. 808, both issued by Khambhādēva (i.e., Stambha), we learn that he was a subordinate of Gōvinda. The former of these records states that Khambha made the grant specified in it with the permission of his younger brother while in the latter he acknowledges the suzerainty of Gōvinda. There is no reason to suppose that he was placed in charge of only a portion of the Ganga mandala, since the two grants referred to above were issued respectively from Mān-yapura (Manne in Mysore State) and Talavanaganara (Talakhāḍ in Mysore), the two important capitals of the

While editing the Kadaba plates Dr Luders has enumerated in detail the several circumstances which, in his opinion, create a suspicion about the genuineness of those plates¹. The occurrence of Chākīrāja's name in the present plates², though it cannot decide the question, may still be adduced as a point in favour of the genuineness of the Kadaba grant

As for the places mentioned in the present plates, Mayūrakhandī where the King's victorious capital was situated is mentioned as the place of issue in four other published records, viz — Vanī Dindorī³, Rādhapur⁴, Bhārata Itihāsa Samsōdhaka Mandala⁵ and Kadaba⁶ plates. In the first three of these the word 'vijayashandhāvāra' does not occur. Our plates⁷, however, have it in common with the Kadaba plates. Dr Buhler first identified Mayūrakhandī with Morkhand⁸, a hill fort in the Sātmālā or Ajantā range, close to Saptasingī and north of Vanī in the Nāsik District and this identification has, since then, been accepted without question. As Mayūrakhandī has been mentioned as a place of royal residence in as many as five records⁹, it could not have been only a temporary site of the royal camp. Besides in the present plates the charter is said to have been written with the consent of the Great Queen (*Mahādēvī*), who was, thus, probably present at Mayūrakhandī at the time of the solar eclipse. The place may, therefore, have been the Rāshtrakūṭa capital in the time of Gōvinda III. No other place has been mentioned as the capital in any of his plates. We may, again, note in this connection that *shandhāvāra* is used in Sanskrit in the sense of a royal capital¹⁰ also and the word *vijaya* (victorious) is not unknown as a prefix of its name¹¹. As for Buhler's observation that Mayūrakhandī does not seem to have been Gōvinda III's capital, 'though it may have been an occasional place of residence' because 'Indian princes do not usually govern their dominions from lonely forts', we may point out that the difficulty pointed out

Ganga mandala. Further neither in the record under publication, which contains the earliest mention of Chākīrāja, nor in another set of Manne plates issued by Gōvinda in Śaka 732 (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol XIV, p 88), is he called *Ganga mandal ādhirāja*, which epithet is applied to him for the first time in the Kadaba plates of A D 812. It is therefore likely that he was appointed to govern the Ganga mandala only after the death of Khambha, which must have taken place subsequent to the date of his Badānaguppe plates, viz, A D 808, and probably after A D 810, the date of the second set of Manne plates which does not style him 'the ruler of Ganga mandala'. So, the mention of Chākīrāja—without even an official designation or title—in the Añjanavati plates cannot help us in fixing the date of Stambha's revolt or defeat. All that can be said is that Stambha must have submitted to Gōvinda before A D 802, the date of the first set of Manne plates where also we find the earliest mention of the defeat and re imprisonment of the Ganga king—and not in the Nēsarī plates of A D 805 as stated by Prof Mirashi.—Ed.]

¹ Above, Vol IV, pp 333 f

² [Chālīrāja's name is found also in the Manne plates of A D 810, see n 4 above.—Ed.]

³ मयूरखण्डिसमावासितेन सदा, etc *Ind Ant*, Vol XI, p 159

⁴ मयूरखण्डिसमावासितेन सदा, etc Above, Vol VI, p 245

⁵ श्रीमयूरखण्डिसमावासितेन सदा, etc Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol III, pp 27f (pub by B I S Mandala, Poona)

⁶ मयूरखण्डिसमावासितेन सदा, etc *Ind Ant*, Vol VI, p 245

⁷ मयूरखण्डिसमावासितेन सदा, etc *Ind Ant*, Vol VI, p 245

⁸ *Ind Ant*, Vol VI, p 64. The expression 'vijayashandhāvāra' occurs also in two more sets of Gōvinda III's plates recently found in Berār, which record donations of villages in Berār

⁹ See the above foot notes

¹⁰ The word is used in the sense of capital in the *Mahābhārata*, *Adiparvan*, Adhyāya 185, verse 6, (Bombay Recension) and Bāna's *Harsha charita*, p 153 (Nirnaya Sāgar ed). Cf Hēmachandra's *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi* (ed by N C Bhattacharya) p 25. Note also in this connection the expression श्रीमहोदयसमावासितानेकानिहरण्यवर-
द्यपिसिन्धुद्वन्द्वसमावासित् which occurs in many plates of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Mahōdaya was the capital of the Pratihāras. Cf The Cambay Plates of Gōvinda IV, v 19 (above, Vol VII, p 38)

¹¹ Cf विजयानिहरण्यवर in the Surat Plates of Vyāghrasēna

by Buhler is of his own creation. For we need not identify Mayūrakhandī with Morkhand, the hillfort in the Nāsik District, where no early remains of any kind are found. There is a village called Markandī on the bank of the Waingangā, 56 miles south east of Chāndā in the Central Provinces. It contains some twenty elaborately carved temples which have been described and enthusiastically praised by Cunningham¹ whose opinion Bloch² has endorsed. As Cunningham says, it was once a large place, but frequent inundations have driven most of the people away. The principal temple is called after Mārkaṇḍeya Rishi, there is another, named after his brother Murkaṇḍ Rishi. Both of these are dedicated to Śiva and assigned to the 10th or 11th century A D by Cunningham. There is another temple called Daśavatīra dedicated to Viṣṇu to which Cunningham assigned a period two or three centuries earlier. There are, besides, inscriptions on square monolith pillars which, on palæographic grounds, can be referred to the 6th or 7th century A D. It is clear, therefore, that Markandī was a flourishing place in the time of the Rāshtrakūtas and may have been the ancient Mayūrakhandī mentioned as a place of royal residence in several grants of Gōvinda III. In later times, when its ancient name was forgotten, it seems to have been conjecturally connected with Mārkaṇḍeya Rishi. **Amjanavamti** the donated village still retains its name practically unchanged. **Achalapura**, which gave its name to the district in which the above village was situated is identical with modern Ellichpur in Berār³. Most of the boundary villages can also be definitely identified in the vicinity of Añjanavatī. Thus, **Gōhasōdvā** is Gahvā, 1½ miles to the south, the village **Sallamāla** is now represented by two villages—**Salōra**, 2½ miles to the west and **Amlā** which lies about 5 miles to the south west, **Kurō** is undoubtedly modern Kurhā, 3 miles to the north-west and **Vatapura** is Vadur about a mile east of Kurhā. **Ramgalachhyi** cannot be identified. **Tīmisa** may have been the ancient name of the hills west of Añjanavatī and **Marī** that of a *nālā* flowing near by, which have no particular names now. **Vēyaghana** and **Talōvātaka** where the donees resided are now represented by **Waigaon** 3 miles south and **Talegaon** about 10 miles south by west of Añjanavatī.

TEXT ⁴

[Metres Vv 1, 18 and 20 *Anushtubh*, vv 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 15 and 16 *Vasantatilakā*, v 5 *Gītī*, vv 8-10 and 17 *Āryā*, vv 12 and 13 *Sragdharā*, v 14 *Upajāti*, v 19 *Indravajrā*, v 21 *Pushpitāgrā*]

First Plate

- 1 ओ⁵ [1*] स वोव्यादेवसा [घ]म यनामिकमलं छत [1*] हरश्च - यस्य
का[न्ते]दुकायया कमलंछ[तं] ॥[१*] आसीदि(द्वि)ष-
2 तिमिरमुच्यतमंडलाग्रो [घ]स्तिन्नयन्नमिसुखो रणशर्वरीषु [1*] भूपः भूपः⁶ शुचि⁷[रि]वा-
स्त⁸दिगन्तकी-

¹ Cunningham, *A S R*, Vol IX, pp 142 ff

² *PRAS*, E C, for 1907 1908

³ This name is a corrupt form of Alachapura which is derived from Achalapura by metathesis. Hōmachandra has actually cited the present name to illustrate metathesis (*Achalapurē chalōh*) in his *Prakrit Grammar* (*Siddha Hēmachandra*, VIII, 2, 118). Achalapura is mentioned as the place of issue in the Tivarkhēd plates of the Rāshtrakūta Nannarāja, Śaka 553 (above, Vol XI, pp 276 ff)

⁴ From the original plates and ink impressions

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ This word is superfluous

⁷ Read ०र्विषु after शुचि.

⁸ Read ०रिवाह The Alās plates of Yuvarāja Gōvinda II read भूपश्चश्रविकवदवाह.

- 3 तिर्गोविदराज इति राजसुः राजसिंहः ॥[२*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घ-
कीर्तिरा[र्त्ता]र्त्तिहारिहरिवि-
- 4 क्रमधाम[ध]ाम[रो] [1*] [भू]पसृ^३विष्टपटपा[नु]कतिः क्षतज्ञः श्रीक^४कराज इति
गोचमण्विर्व[र्व]भूव ॥[३*] त-
- 5 स्य प्र[भिन्न]करटच्युतदानदन्तिदन्तप्रहारचिरोल्लिखितान्स^५पीठः [1*] क्षमाप^६ चितौ
क्षपित[श]चुरभू-
- 6 तनूजः सद्राष्ट्रकूटकेनकाट्ट^७रिवेदराजः ॥[४*] तस्योपार्जितमहसः^८ तनयश्चतुर्दधि-
7 वल[यम]लिन्यो [1*] भोक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृश^९ श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजोभूत् ॥[५*]
काञ्चीशक(के)रल-
- 8 नराधिपचौल^{१०}पाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदत्तं [1*] काण्ण्टकं व(व)लम[न]न्त-
- 9 सजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैः कियद्विरपि यः सहसा जिगाय ॥[६*] अभ्रूविमगमगृहीत-
- 10 निशातशस्त्रमश्र^{११}न्तमप्रतिहताश्रमपेतयत्नं [1*] यो वल्लभं सपदि दण्डव(व)लेन
जित्वा
- 11 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ॥[७*] तस्मि^{१२} दिवं प्रयाति वल्लभराजः क्षतप्रज्ञा-
वा(वा)धः [1*]
- 12 श्रीककराजसूनुर्महीपतिः, क्षणराजोभूत् ॥[८*] शम्भुगतुंगतुंगप्रवृद्धरेणू-
- 13 द्वै(द्वै)रक्षरविकिरणं [1*] श्रीशेषि^{१३} नभो निखिलं प्रावृद्धालायते स्पष्ट ॥[९*]
दीनानाथप्रण-
- 14 यिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं समीहितमजस्रं [1*] तल्लणमकालवर्षो^{१४} वर्षति सर्वातिनि-
र्व्वपण^{१५} ॥[१०*]

Second Plate, First Side

- 15 राष्ट्रमात्ममुजजातव(व)लावले[पमा]जौ विजित्य निशितासिलताप्रहारेः [1*]
[पा]लि-

^१ The Alās plates read दीमकीति

^२ This word is superfluous

^३ Read- स्त्रिविष्टप-

^४ This name generally appears as here The Panthan plates, however, give श्रीकर्कराज इति

^५ Read- लिखितासपीठ

^६ Read- कनकाट्टि-

^७ The Alās plates read सशस and the Talegaon plates of Kṛṣṇamarāja (above, Vol XLII, pp-279 ff) °तपस,

^८ Read सद्रश श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग^{१०}

^९ Read चोल as in the Panthan and many other plates

^{१०} The Alās and Talegaon plates read अज्ञातमप्रविष्टिवाज्ञ^{१०}

^{११} Read तस्मिन्दि

^{१२} The Alās and Talegaon plates read सर्वातिनिर्व्वपणे

- 16 ध्वजावलिषुभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपेरमेश्वरता ततान ॥[११*] श्री-
[धादु]त्खातख-
- 17 इप्रसृतरुचिचयैर्भासमान समतादाजाबुद्धतैरिप्रकटगजधटाटोपसंक्षोभ-
- 18 दत्तं [1*] शीर्यं त्यक्त्वा(क्त्वा)रिवर्गो भयचकितवपुः कापि दृष्टैव सद्यो दर्पो-
ध्मातारिचक्रचयक-
- 19 रमंगमद्यत्य दोर्दण्डरूपं ॥[१२*] येन शे(श्वे)तातपक्षप्रहतरविकरजाततापात्सलील
जग्मे [ना]-
- 20 सीरधूलीधवलितशिरसा वल्लभाख्या(त्य.) सदाजौ [1*] स श्रीगोविंदराजो जित-
जगदहि[तस्त्रै]-
- 21 एवैधव्यहेतुस्तस्यासी[त्*] स्रुतुरेकक्षणादलितारातिभतेभकुंभः ॥[१३*] तस्यानु-
- 22 १जश्रीध्रुवराजनामा महागुभावो विततप्रतापः[1*] प्रसाधितांशेपनरेन्द्रच[क्रः*]
क्रमेण
- 23 व१ वा(वा)लार्कवपुर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव ॥[१४*] तस्याप्यभूद्भुवनभारभृती समर्थः पार्थोपमः
पृथु[स]मा-
- 24 नंगुणो गुणज्ञः [1*] दुर्व्वारवैरिवनितातुल्यतापहेतुर्गोविंदराज इति स्रुतिप्रता-
- 25 प ॥[१५*] यच्च प्रभुश्चतुर१रुदारकीर्त्तैरासेदिवान्निरुपमस्य पितुः सकाशात्स-
(त् । से)त्सप्यने-
- 26 कतनयेषु गुणातिरेकाभूद्वाभिषिक्तनृपसम्मतमाशु राज्यं -॥[१६*] तेनेदमनि-
- 27 सविव्युच्चलमवलोक्य जीवितमसार [1*] क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्त्तिता

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 28 ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायोयं ॥[१७*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज[प]रमेश्वरश्रीमध्वारावध-
29 देवपादानुज्झातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपृथ्वीवल्लभप्रभूतव-
- 30 र्पश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशलो ॥ सव्वानिव यथासंव(व)ध्यमानकोग्राद्वर्पतिविषय[प]-
तिग्राम-
- 31 कूटायुक्तकनियुक्ताधिकारिकमहतरादी१ समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः संबिदितं यथा मया
मातापि-

1 Read दृष्टैव

2 Read ०ज

3 The Pathan plates read महागुभावोप्रहृतप्रताप

4 This syllable is redundant

5 Read -चतुरचारुदार- as in the Pathan plates.

6 Read महतरादीन्

- 32 नीरात्मनश्चैहिकामुभिकपुण्यशोभिहृदये [वे]यघन¹वास्तव्य वसिष्ठसगोत्रव(व)हृच-
सप्र(त्र)-
- 33 छचारिमत्तकगोवैक्रमद्व्युत्तरद्वपदीक्षित । तथा तलेवाटकवास्तव्यदुर्गम्पक्रमद्वत् । गो-
34 त² । देवदत्त । नारायण । मगप्य । वोपण³ । ऐयनि⁴ । गंतियम् ।
लब्धे[व्य]⁵ । कंसमण । कृति-
- 35 कुमर । नारीक । वादि । एवभावष्टादशसंख्याभागविभक्तस्य⁶ म[हा]जनस्य
[व(व)लि]-
- 36 चरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञक(क्रि)योत्सर्गणार्थं श्रीमदचलपुरवि[प्रया]न्तर्गत-
- 37 श्रंजु(ज)णवत्यभिधानो ग्रामः यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतो रगलब्धि-ग्रामः [नदी]
मरि[च] द[क्षिणतः] [गो]हसो
- 38 [द्वा]⁸ग्रामः पञ्चि[म]तः सल्लैभालग्रामस्तिमिसगिरिश्च उत्तरतः कुरिया[म.] वट-
[पु]र च एवम-
- 39 य [चतु]राधाटनोपलक्षितः सोद्रगः ⁹सपरिकरः सधान्यहिरण्यदेय[*] सोद्रगः¹⁰
सपरिकरः
- 40 समस्तराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयो¹¹ आचन्द्रार्कावर्णवर्णितसरित्पर्व(र्व)तसमकालीन[*]
पुत्तपौलान्व-
- 41 यज्ञमोपभोग्योभ्यन्तरसिद्धा अकट्टपकालातीतसवत्सरशे(श)तेषु म(स)ससु द्वाविश-
त्यधिकेषु सधूर-

¹ The first letter of this place name can also be read as *वे* or *वे* and the third letter is damaged by rust, but the reading given above appears probable, as it corresponds to Vaigaon in the vicinity of Añjanavati

² Read *क्रामद्वतगीत्र* । It may be noted in this connection that the enumeration of the *gōtras* in l 55 starts with *देवदत्त* The *gōtra* of *दुर्गम्प* must, therefore, have been mentioned before Besides, the number of the Brahmin donees was only thirteen . So *gōmta* cannot be taken as a name [*Kramavitta* probably stands for Skt *Kramavit* and not *Kramāditya* as suggested by Prof. Mirashi *Kramāditya* as a *gōtra* name does not find place in the *Gotra Pravara mbandha l adamba* It may be that the *gōtra* of *Durgappa* who was a *kramavit*, was omitted through inadvertence —Ed]

³ With the first letter of this, compare *वो* in *महाकुमावो* in l 22 The name occurs again in l 56 where the first letter is clearly *वो*

⁴ That the first letter of this name is *ऐ* is clear from the form [अ]इयने which occurs in l 55

⁵ [Or probably *Lacheharya* —Ed]

⁶ This expression should properly qualify *ग्राम* in l 37 Read, therefore, *विभक्त*

⁷ The *anusvara* on *अ* is clear on the original plate The engraver first incised the medial *स* of *सु* and then cancelled it Read *महा(जनवत्यसिधानो* [The fourth letter here looks more like *pam* than *rum* —Ed]

⁸ This syllable can also be read as *द्वा*, but the reading given above is probable, since the name corresponds to *Gahvā* near Añjanavati

⁹ This word appears as here in the *Paṭṭhaṇ* plates also Read *सोपरिकर* as in many other plates.

¹⁰ This and the next word are unnecessarily repeated here

¹¹ Read *मक्षेपणीय आचन्द्र*

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SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

- 42 [ख]ण्डीसमावासितविजयशकन्धागरावस्थितेन¹ सूर्यग्रहणे . तुलापुरुषप्रदानप[र्व]स्थि²दक्षा-
तिसर्ग-

Third Plate

- 43 ए प्रतिपादितो महाजनस्य [1*] यतोऽथोचितया व्र(व्र)ह्मदायस्ति(स्थि)[त्या]
क्षपतः क[पे]यत. भुजतो भोजयतः
- 44 प्रतिदिशतो³र्वा न केनचिद्ग्रासेधे प्रवर्तितव्य [1'] तथागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरक्षव-
श्वेऽन्यैर्वा सामान्य
- 45 भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यैश्वर्याणि तृ[णा]ग्रलग्नजलविं(वि)दुर(च)चलं
च जीवितमाकल-
- 46 व्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयमस्मद्दायोनुसतव्यः रा(पा)लयितव्यश्च । यथाज्ञानतिमिरपट-
लाहत-
- 47 मतिराक्षि(च्छि)द्यादाक्षि(च्छि)द्यमानं वानुभा(मो)देत स पंचभिर्महापातकैः शोप-
पातकैश्च सयुक्त[:*] स्यादित्यु-⁴
- 48 क्त च त(भ)गवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिं वर्षा(र्षे)सहस्राणि स्वर्गो
तिष्ठति भूमिद' [1*] आच्छेत्ता चा-
- 49 नुमंताच्च⁵ तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[१८*] अग्नेरपव्य(त्य) प्रप्र(य)म सुवर्णं
भूर्वर्णावी सूर्यसुताश्च ग(गा)-
- 50 वः [1*] लोकास्तय ते[न] भवेद्वि दत्त(त्तं) य. काञ्चन गा च महीं च दद्यात्
॥[१९*] व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा
- 51 भुक्ता राजभि. सगरादिभ(भिः) [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलं ॥[२०*] इति
- 52 कमलदलाम्बुविदुल्लोली⁶ त्रियप्र(म)नुचिंत्य सनुयजीवितं च [1*] सकलमिदमशाश्व-
- 53 त च वु(वु)ह्मा न हि पुरपैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[२१*] लिखित
चेतन्मया धर[मि]स्वराज्या
- 54 श्रीमहं(ह्मा)देव्यानुमतेन श्रीचाकिराजदूतकं सामन्तश्रीगोतव(व)लाधिकतस्त्रुणा महासा-

¹ Pead विजयशकन्धागरावस्थितेन.

² The writer first wrote पर्वणि and then thought of joining the last syllable with the initial च of उदक

Read पर्वणुदक⁰-

³ Read प्रतिदिशतो वा

⁴ Pead इति ।

⁵ Read नुमन्ता च

⁶ Read दलाम्बुविदुलीया

- 55 स्त्रिविग्रहाधिकृतयोक्तु[कै]नेनेति । देवदत्तस्य हं(हा)ग्दिगोत्त । मोग्गनगो[त्त]
[अ]इयने: [1] [ग]-¹
- 56 तियम्भस्य भ(भा)रदाजगा(गी)त्त । नारयस्य² कुतिमापगोत्त । वोपणस्य हारिदं
गोत्त । कसमनस्य का[श्च]प-
- 57 गोत्त । नारौकस्य³ मोगुलि [1⁴] कुटिकुमरय⁵ वाजसने⁶गोत्त(त्त) [1⁷] दीक्षितस्य
भागा: पर(च) देवदत्तस्य [हो भागौ⁸]
- 58 शेषा एकादश [1⁹] प्वसष्टादश भा[गा: 1¹⁰]⁷

No 3—ARANG PLATES OF MAHASUDEVARAJA

By PANDIT L P PANDEYA

The charter which is edited below consists of three copper-plates and was first brought to light by me in March, 1929. I published a short notice of it in the English paper "The Hita-vada" of Nāgpur in its issue of April 11, 1929⁸. The plates⁹ were in the possession of a cultivator named Bhagirathi Sonkar of Arang in the Raipur District of the C P. Nothing definite is known about the provenance of the grant except that it had been lying in the house of the owner for over fifty years—since the time of his father.

Arang has all the appearance of having once been a large and important city. Here and there are many fine old tanks with numerous remains of temples and sculptures, both Jain and Brahmanical. The only temple that is now standing is of Jain origin. It is popularly known as Bhanddewal from the fact that it contains three colossal naked Jain figures. The temple is richly carved and adorned with a profusion of sculptured statues on the outside, many of which are highly indecent. To the west of the town on the bank of a tank there is a small temple dedicated to Mahāmīyā. A description of this temple and also that of the other antiquarian remains at Arang has been given by Cunningham¹⁰. Besides the present set, two other sets of copper plates were discovered at the place in addition to a fragmentary Brāhmī inscription¹¹.

The plates are held together by a ring the ends of which are secured in a circular seal about 3½" in diameter. The seal is identical with that described by Fleet in *C I I*, Vol III, p 196. Its upper part shows the representation of a standing Lakṣmī facing full front, on each side of her

¹ The vertical stroke of the superscript *l* of क is not incised.

² Read नारयस्य.

³ This name is evidently identical with नारौक in l 35 above, though here the medial stroke of क is not incised.

⁴ Read कुटिकुमरय. The vertical stroke of क in कु is not incised.

⁵ Read वाजसनेय.

⁶ These letters are damaged by rust, but traces of the first and the last can be marked on the plate.

⁷ Traces of ग are visible on the plate.

⁸ Hiralal also has noticed it in his *List of Inscriptions in C P and Berar* (2nd ed.), p 106 A.

⁹ Since writing this the plates have been acquired by the Central Museum, Nāgpur, where they are now deposited.

¹⁰ Cunningham, *A S R*, Vol XVII, pp 20 ff, see also *Raipur District Gazetteer*, pp 257 ff.

¹¹ See above, Vol LX, pp 342 ff, *C I I*, Vol III, pp 191 ff and Hiralal, *List of Inscriptions in C, P and Berar* (2nd ed.), pp 94, 105 and 110.

an elephant is standing on a water-lily, with its trunk raised above her head. In the proper right corner there is a figure of an expanded water lily and in the proper left that of a conch (*śaṅkha*). Below is the legend in two lines. The rims of the plates are not raised. The plates measure 6 4" in length and 3 2" in breadth. The weight of the plates is 48½ *tolas* and that of the seal 45 *tolas*. The letters show through on the back of the plates, especially in the case of the last plate which was too thin and was, therefore, cut while incising the second and third letters of l 21. The engraver has, therefore, left 1" of the breadth on the back of the last plate unincised. The first plate contains five lines of writing on its second side and the second plate has the same number of lines on its first side. The second side of the second plate and the first side of the third contain each six lines of writing, while the second side of the third plate has only four lines.

The characters belong to the box-headed type in which the inscriptions of the Vākātakas and the Rājūm and Balodā plates of Mahāśīva Tivararāja, are written.¹ The sign of the *upa-dhmanīya* occurs in ll 3, 8 and 17, and that of the *phāmūliya* in l 21. The numerical symbols for 8,² 9 and 20 occur in l 26. The language is Sanskrit and, excepting the five benedictory and imprecatory verses at the close, the whole record is in prose.

As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the use of *ri* for *ri* in *tridāśapath*, l 6, of *n* for *anusvāra* in *adhyarddhānsēna*, l 10 and of *gna* for *ṅna* in *svamulh āghayā*, ll 25 26. In *bhavamnti*, l 21, the *anusvāra* is wrongly retained after its change to the nasal of the class to which the following letter belongs.

The engraver was Drōnasimgha, who also engraved the Khariyār Plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja and the Raipur Plates of the same king, both of which records were issued from Śarabhapura.

The record is dated in the 8th regnal year³ of the donor Mahā-Sudēvarāja on the 29th day of Vaisākha. The place of issue was Śarabhapura, which town or city has not yet been definitely identified. Sambalpur town in Orissa, Sirpur (old Śrīpura) the ancient capital of Mahākōsala on the bank of the Mahānadī, in the Raipur District, Sarabhavaram in the Godāvarī District, Sarappgarh or Sarabpur in the Gangpur Feudatory State in the E S A and Sarawā, a village near Sheorinarayan town in the Bilāspur District have been suggested by different scholars as the probable site of the ancient Śarabhapura. These suggestions have been made on the similarity of names only. No authentic evidence has yet been found to confirm the identification. But this seems certain that the dynasty held sway, at least over a part of Mahākōsala—present Chhattīsgarh Division in C P—where about seven charters of this family have been discovered. They belong to three different kings—viz, Mahā Sudēvarāja, Mahā Jayarāja and Mahā-Pravararāja.

Mahā-Pravararāja's charter was issued from Śrīpura, which is no other than the capital town of Mahākōsala referred to in the Rājūm and the Balodā Plates of Mahāśīva Tivararāja who is styled as the supreme lord of Kōsala (*Kōsalādhipati*). The other charters were issued from Śarabhapura. Whether Śarabhapura was also the capital of Prasannamātra and of his son Mānamātra is not known. No copper charters of either have yet been brought to light.

A silver coin of Śrī-Prasannamātra, the grandfather of Mahā Sudēvarāja and Mahā-Pravararāja and the father of Mahā-Jayarāja, with the legend inscribed in beautiful box headed characters was recovered from the bed of the Māna or Māndh³ river near Salhepali, a village lying in the

¹ C I I, Vol III, pp 291 ff and above, Vol VII, pp 106 ff

² [See below p 22 n 4—Ed]

³ This river is a tributary of the Mahānadī—the great river of Mahākōsala—otherwise known as Chitrōtpalā

Rangarh Feudatory State, E S A and is in the possession of the Mahākōśala Historical Society at Balpur in the Bilāspur District

No materials are available to ascertain whether the town or city of Śarabhapura was situated on the Mahinadī and whether it was ever the royal capital of the lords of Kōśala. Not a single charter out of the seven sets of plates of this family known to us, mentions its donor as 'the lord of Kōśala'. Nor does any set describe the village granted to be situated in the Kōśala kingdom. The only reference to the name 'Śarabha' is found in the Eran Posthumous Stone Pillar Inscription of Gōparīja, dated in the Gupta year 191 (A D 510-511), in which he is stated to be the daughter's son of one Śarabharāja.

The present charter records the royal confirmation of the grant of a village named Śivilinga-ka situated in the Tōsadda *bhukti*, by the Pratihāra Bhōgilla. The particulars of the donees and their shares in the village are as follows —

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| (1) Yajñasvāmin of Kātyāyana <i>gōtra</i> , a student of the Mādhyandina <i>śākhā</i> of the white Yajurvēda, one share and a half | |
| (2) Kumāravatsa of Bhīradvāja <i>gōtra</i> | |
| (3) Yajñasvīrun of Ātrīya <i>gōtra</i> , a student of the Kāṇva <i>śākhā</i> of the white Yajurvēda | } one share each |
| (4) Viśikhasvāmin of Kātyāyana <i>gōtra</i> | |
| (5) Gōlasvāmin of Kauśika <i>gōtra</i> , a student of the Mādhyandina <i>śākhā</i> | } ½ share each |
| (6) Dīmodarasvāmin, same as above | |
| (7) Dīmasvāmin, same as above | |
| (8) Pañchalasvāmin of Bhāradvāja <i>gōtra</i> | |
| (9) Dikshita Āyanīla of Bhīradvāja <i>gōtra</i> | |

Of the geographical names Tōsadda may be the Tōsarī village in the Patnā State, E S A. Prof V V Mirashi identifies Tōsadda with Tusdā near Dumaripalli about 30 miles to the south east of Arang. Śivilinga-ka is not traceable near about Arang and Sirpur (old Śrīpura).

I edit the inscription from the original plates ¹

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 श्री² स्वस्ति [१*] शरमपुरादिक्रमोपनतसामन्तमकुटचूडामण्डिप्रभाप्र-
- 2 सेकास्त्रुधौतपादयुगलो रिपुविलासिनोसीमन्तोचरणहेतु-
- 3 र्वसुवसुधागोप्रदरूप³समागवतो मातापितृपादानुध्यात-
- 4 श्री⁴महासुदेवराजः तोसदु(डु)भुक्तोयशिविलिङ्गको प्रतिवासि-
- 5 कुटुम्बिनस्समाज्ञापयति ।⁵ विदितमस्तु वो यथायं ग्राम-

Second Plate, First Side

- 6 स्तु(स्ति)दशपतिसदनसुखप्रतिष्ठा[क*]रो यावद्रविश्रिताराकिरणप्रति-

¹ Ink impressions of this inscription were also kindly supplied to me by Mr M A Saboor of the Nāgpur Museum, through Prof V V Mirashi of the Nāgpur University. I am indebted to Prof Mirashi for very valuable suggestions towards the correct reading and interpretation of certain portions in the text.

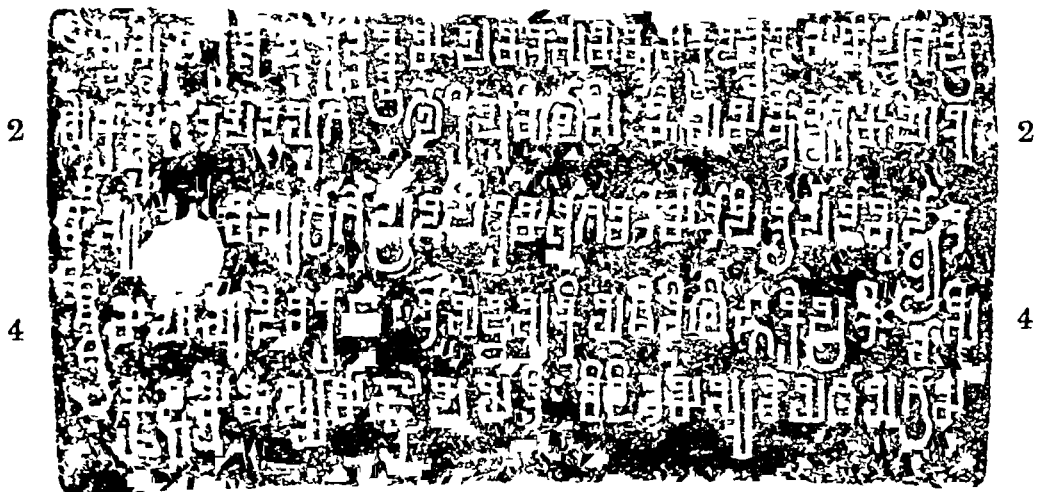
² Expressed by a symbol

³ The engraver had begun to incise *ma* after *pa*, but later on corrected it into *ra*.

⁴ The subscript *r* appears like the sign of medial *r*.

⁵ This mark of punctuation is shown by two dots.

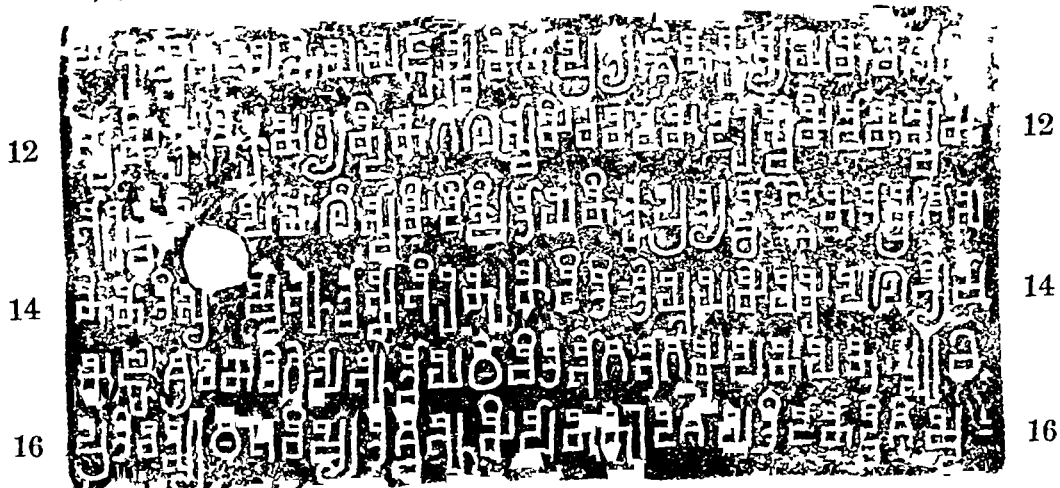
2

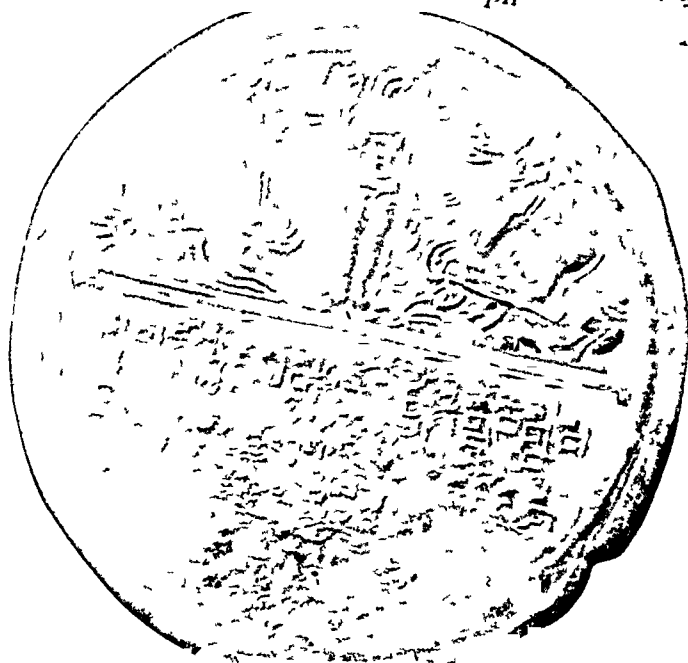
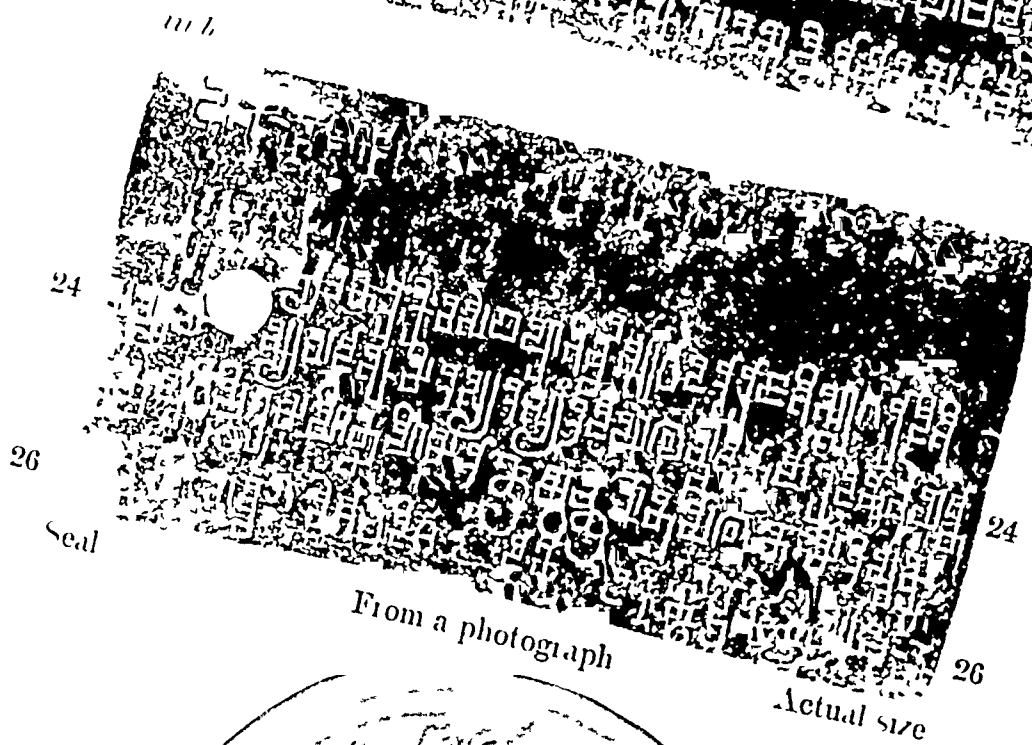
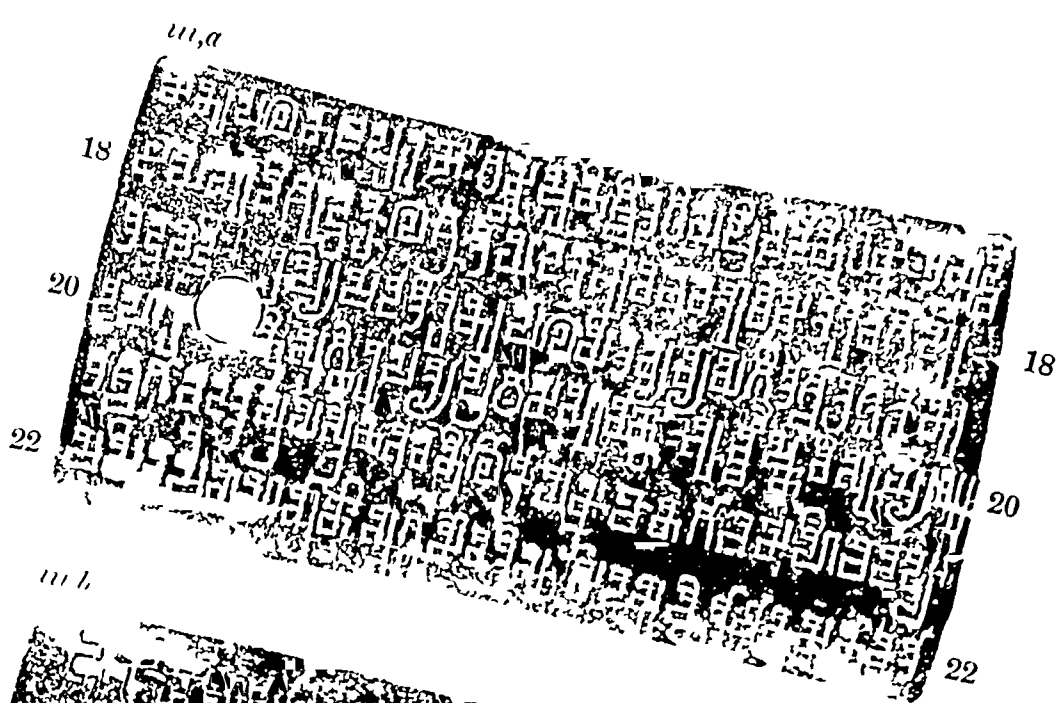


n, a



n, b.





- 7 हतघोरात्मका[रं]¹ जगदवतिष्ठते तावदुपभोग्यस्वनिधिसोपनिधि-
 8 रचाटभट²प्राविश्यस्सर्वकारविसर्जितः³ प्रतिहारभोगिज्ञेन माता-
 9 पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यभिहृदये कात्यायनसगोत्रमाध्यन्दिनवाज-
 10 सनेययज्ञस्वामिनः(ने) अर्धर्द्धाङ्गेन⁵ भारद्वाजकुमारवत्स्रा(वत्सा)त्रे-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 11 यकाण्ववाजसनेययज्ञस्वामिन(नौ) प्रत्यङ्गेन⁶ कात्यायनविशा[ख]-
 12 स्वामिकौशिकम(भा)ध्यन्दिनगोलस्वामि एवं दामोदरस्वामि दामस्वामि
 13 भारद्वाजपञ्चालिस्वामि दीक्षितायनीका[न्*]⁷ प्रत्यर्द्धाङ्गेन⁷ ताम्र(स्त्र)शास-
 14 नेनातिष्ठष्टौ भूत्वास्वामिरनुमोदितः⁸ [।*] ते यूयमेवमुपलभ्येषा-
 15 माज्ञाश्रवणविधिया भूत्वा यथोचित भोगभागमुपनयन्तस्सुखं
 16 प्रतिवत्स्यथ [।*] भविष्यतश्च भूमिपाननुदर्शयति [।*] दानादिशिष्ट-⁹

Third Plate, First Side

- 17 भनुपालनज(ज) पुराणा धर्मेषु निश्चितधियः प्रवदन्ति धर्मं(र्मम्) ॥(।)
 तस्माद्वि(द्भि)-
 18 जाय सुविशुद्धकुशुताय दत्तां भुवं भवतु वो मतिरेव गोप्त[म्] ॥¹⁰
 19 तद्भवद्भिरप्येषा दति(त्ति)रनुपालयितव्या [।*] व्यासगोता(ता)श्चात्र लोकानु-
 20 दाहरन्ति [।*] अग्नेरपत्य(त्य) प्रथमं सुवर्णं ॥¹¹ भूर्वेणवी सूर्यसु-
 21 ताश्च गावः[।*] दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवं(व)न्ति लोका यक्षाश्चनं गां च मही-
 (ही) च दद्यात् [॥*]¹²

¹ The letter *ra* which was first omitted is written below *ja* of *jagad* with a *kakapada* sign and the *anusvāra* meant for *ra* is placed on *i*ū

² The cross on ज shows that a syllable was omitted

³ *Ta* is written below the line

⁴ The *visarga* is superfluous

⁵ Read अर्धर्द्धाङ्गेन.

⁶ Read प्रत्यङ्गेन.

⁷ Read प्रत्यर्द्धाङ्गेन

⁸ The medial *i* sign which was first engraved above *ta* by mistake has been cancelled

⁹ There are two small horizontal strokes here

¹⁰ Metre *Vasantatilālā*

¹¹ The sign of punctuation here is superfluous

¹² Metre *Indravagā*

22 षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि सार्गे मोदति भूमिदः [१*] आच्छेत्ता चानुम(म)न्ता च ता-

Third Plate, Second Side

23 न्येव नरके वने[त् ॥*]¹ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता(त्ता) राजभिन्नगगादिभि[१*]

24 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमित(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फल(नम्) [॥*]¹ स्वदन्ता(त्ता)
परदन्ता(त्ता) वा यदा-

25 द्रक्ष्युविष्ठिर [१*] महोष्महिमताच्छ्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति [॥*]¹ भवसु-

26 क्षान्न(ज्ज)या सव्व(वत्) द' वैशाख दि २० ८ उक्ती(त्ती)र्णा द्रोण[मिघे]न ॥

The Seal

1 प्रस[न(ण्ण)]वसम्भू[त]मा[न]मावेन्दुजन्मनः [१*]

2 श्रीमता . . . [गा]सन [॥*]

NO 1—A NOTE ON THE PANCHAYATI COMMITTEE

By K V SUBRAMANIAM AMER, B A, COIMBATORE

One of the principal duties of the village assemblies, of whatever description they may be, *sabhā, ūr* or *nagara*, was to secure to the king the taxes or incomes due by the village as a whole. These incomes seem to have been once for all determined and entered in the accounts of the State, the *nāḍu* and the village. The various assemblies mentioned above are given a latitude of free action in the general management of the lands in the village but are made primarily responsible for the realisation and payment to the State of the incomes due to it. Subject to this responsibility, they seem to have been empowered to dispose of lands according to circumstances, viz., to compound taxes on lands given away as *dādānās*, *brahmadāyās*, *pallichchandās*, *śālābhōgās*, etc., to afford facilities for making the waste lands arable, to authorise the opening of channels, tanks and the like for improving farms, and to regulate the supply of water both for drinking and for cultivation purposes. Besides this responsibility, their chief function appears to have been the management of endowments made to temples and charitable institutions in the villages under their jurisdiction, the well being of the subjects, local administration of justice, etc., for which they seem to have been vested with necessary powers. For carrying out these varying duties, the members of village assemblies appear to have formed themselves into different committees

¹ Metro *Anushtubh*

² The syllables *अन* which were omitted here have been incised below the line with a *lilapada* sign

³ Read *°palanam* ॥ ४८

⁴ [I am inclined to read this symbol as 7—Ed.]

⁵ Metro *Anushtubh*. Read the latter half of the verse as *Śrīmat Sudēvarājasya sīharā jagatī dāṇam(m)* following the other plates of this ruler

Of such committees, the *Pañchavāra-vāriyam*¹ is one. Beyond the mere mention of the name *Pañchavāra vāriyam* we have not as yet been able to understand the object for which it was formed. And this is the case with the other *vāriyams* as well. Neither does the designation of this committee give us a clue as to the probable sphere of its work. In the compound *Pañchavāra vāriyam*, the latter part, viz, *vāriyam*, has been understood to mean 'a committee' as in the case of the other groups², the first part, viz, *Pañchavāra*, like *tōllam*, *ēri*, *ludumbu*, *lalani*, with which the other committees were connected, may denote the object of prime concern of this body. *Pañchavāra*, however, is not a simple word like *tōllam*, *ēri*, etc., but is a compound in itself with a qualifying particle. Literally, it may be rendered into 'five shares' (*pañcha* five, *vāra*=share)

There are a few inscriptions which throw some light on the interpretation of the term *Pañchavāra vāriyam*. We give below extracts from these, with translations and short notes, from which it will be seen that it was a committee concerned in the realisation of the revenue in kind due to the king on certain class of lands amounting to five shares (*pañcha-vāra*) out of the six of the entire assessment.

EXTRACT I³

Ll 54 61 al[n]du araiy[cy]=oru mā=chcheyum olu[hkavi]ppuramum=olukkuppuramum a[r*]chchanībhoḡamum āga i-nnu[la*]ttāl pañchavāramum echchōḡum nēr[v]āyamum vetti-vedinaiyuū=chennīr podivī

TRANSLATION

For *oluklavī*, *olukku*⁴ and *archanābhōga*, (the incomes from) this land, viz, *pañchavāram*, *echchōḡu*, *nērāyam*, *vetti*, *vedinai*, and *chennīr podivī*

NOTE —The earliest use of the word *pañchavāra* occurs in this extract from an inscription dated in the 21st year of the reign of the Pallava king Nripatunga (circa A.D. 865), found at Tirukkandiyūr in the Tanjore District. Here, it will be noted that the word *pañchavāra* is used as the name of one of the dues on land, being grouped with *echchōḡu*, *nērāyam*, *vetti*, *vedinai* and others, all of which we know from numerous epigraphs to be the names of taxes or fees.

¹ Line 10 of the first Uttaramallūr inscription published in the *A S R* for 1904-05, pp. 131 ff., describes the method of selection of the members of the committees of *Pañchavāra vāriyam* and *Pon vāriyam* in the following words —

Pañchavāra vāriyattukkum pon vāriyattukkum muppadu kudu[m]b[il]um mup[padu] kuda[vō]lai iṭṭu āriyāl o[ru]ttarū=kl udav olai pap[ittu] p[ri]niruvārilum [a]ruvār pañcha[vāra] vāriyam avid(āvad) āgavum [i*] aruvār p[on] vāriyam=avid (āvad) āgavum [i*]*

This means "for the *Pañchavāra* committee and the gold committee, thirty pot tickets shall be put in for the thirty *ludumbu* and one man for each *chēri* shall be taken and of the twelve persons (so taken), six shall constitute the *Pañchavāra* committee and (the other) six shall constitute the gold committee." The second Uttaramallūr inscription describes more clearly how the members for these two committees were selected. Lines 13 and 14 of its text run as under —

Pañchavāra v[āriya]t[ittu]kkum pon vā[ri]yattukku muppadu (k)kudumbilum kudav olaiḱku pēr tittu muppadu vā[ri] olai kattum puga [ittu] mup[pa]du kudav ol[ai] parittu muppadilum [paṇṇ]randu pēr [pa]rittu-kkol-avad āgavum [i] paritta p[ri]nirandilum aruvār pon vāriyam aruvār pañchavāra vāriyamum āvaṇavāgavum [i*]* The passage means "for the *Pañchavāra* committee and the gold committee, names shall be written in the thirty *ludumbu* for pot tickets and thirty bundles with covering tickets shall be put in and thirty pot tickets shall be taken from (these) thirty, twelve persons shall be drawn. Of the twelve (so) taken, there shall be constituted six for gold committee and six for *Pañchavāra* committee."

² It will be unnatural to take *vāriyam* in *pañchavāra vāriyam* in a sense different from what it connotes (viz, committee) in other places in the same inscription.

³ *S I I*, Vol V, No 572

⁴ *olukku* and *oluklavī* seem to be some kinds of oblations.

EXTRACT II ¹

I-nnulatātāl vanda pū pponnum pañchavāramum vāhikkāsum nīrvilaiyum ullittā antarāyagan-
galum vettī muttāyāl cehchōṟṟu kkūṟṟunel ullittā kudumaigaḷ eppēṟpattadum enḡal ūṟgaḷ mēlē
ēṟṟi i nnulatātāl vanda iṟaiy ilichchi

TRANSLATION

All the internal taxes (*antarāya*) inclusive of *pū ppon* (gold due at harvest) *pañchavāram*,
vāhikkāsu (the *lāsu* due on *vāh*), and *nīrvilai* (water rate), as well as all *kuduma* inclusive of
vettī, *muttāyāl*, *cehchōṟṟu* and *lūṟṟunel*, accruing from this land, shall (*hereafter*) be imposed on
our village and this land shall be enjoyed free of taxes

NOTE —From this extract it is made plain that *pañchavāra* is one of the internal taxes or
fees (*antarāya*) accruing from lands such as *pū ppon*, *vāhikkāsu* and *nīrvilai*, which incomes, we
know from other inscriptions, were due to the king from lands. The fees forming the *antarāya*
are, in this inscription, differentiated from another kind of fees named *kuduma*

EXTRACT III ²

L 8 kōv Irājākṣaripaṇmar āpa udaiyār śrī Rājādih[ī*]rājadvāraku yāndu 28-
vadu Jyāngondaśōḷa mandalattu

9 Ōymī nāttu=kītkkay nāttu=kīdangil āna Mummadiśōḷanallūr [ūrōm] mla
vilaiy-āvanam [ī*] enḡalūr=tīruttin[dīsvaramu]daiya mādēva[r]

10 kōyilī śrī Irājādhīrājavitankar Śandēśvaradvār pal kal kōnda kāsu 100 i kī āsu
nūṟum=kōndu nīṅgalē=enrum śamtrādittavar siddhāya=ppañchavāram ut-

11 padra=cheliavaraiyum peruvaiyum ellām iṟukka ittēvar-iṟaiyil anubavikkā=kkaḍa-
vārga viṟukkudutta nilam vadu [ī*]

12 śrī Rājādih[ī*]rājavitankar nīṅga=iṟaiyil dēvadānamāga viṟukkudutta

13 paṣāṇadu [ī*] ūrēkum ēri vāndum siddhāya pañchavāram śivariḡaḷu[m*] māyrum
eppēṟpatta irai kīlippittu=tīruttindisvaraimudaiy iṟkēy=iṟaiyil dēvadāna

20 māga anubavikkā=kkaḍavārgaḷāga viṟukkudutta nilattil uludu kudigaḷu eppēṟ
pattā iṟaimarra kāttapperādōmāgavum=ippariśu viṟu vilai kāsum Śa

21 ndēśvaradvār pakkal vilai pporulum=iṟai pporulumāga=kōndu ivv-ūrum ēriyum=
iṟaiyil dēvadānam=ākkī [vī]rru vilaiyāvanam ēydu kuduttōm

22 Tīruttindisvaratt=ēḷundaruluṇitta Irājādih[ī*]rājavitankadvār Śandēśvaradvār[k*]ku
kīdangil āna Mummadiśōḷanallūr=ūrōm

TRANSLATION

In the 28th year of (*the reign of*) king Rājākṣaripaṇmar *alias* Udayār Rājādhīrājadvāra, we,
the village (*assembly*) of Kīdangil *alias* Mummadiśōḷanallūr in Kītkai nādu, a sub division of Ōymā
nādu, (*which was a district*) of Jyāngondaśōḷa mandalam, made the following sale deed of land
(*We*) received from Rājādhīrājavitankar Śandēśvaradvār of the temple of Tīruttindīśvaramu
daiya Mahādēva of our village 100 *lāsu*. Having received (*this amount of*) one hundred *lāsu*, we
sold the (*following*) land, ourselves paying for it, as long as the moon and the sun last, all (*the dues*
of) *śivari* and *peruvai* including *siddhāyam*, *pañchavāram*, etc., and the god enjoying it free of
taxes

¹ S I I, Vol III, No 64 unpublished portion

² S I I, Vol VII, No 842

In this wise, we sold (*the land*) as a tax free *dēvadāna* to the god Rājādhirājavitanṅkar. Causing the deduction of all kinds of dues such as *siddhāyam*, *pañchavāram* and *śilvari* required (*to be paid*) to the *ūr* and the tank, we sold and gave the land to (*the god*) Tiruttindisvaramudaiyār to be enjoyed as a tax free *dēvadāna*. We shall not (*let*) this land for cultivation or receive any kind of dues thereon. We, the village (*assembly*), of Kidangil *alias* Mummadiśōlanallūr, having sold the land in this wise, and having received from Śandēśvaradēvar the sale amount and tax amount, made this village and the tank a tax-free *dēvadāna*, drew up the sale deed and gave it to Rājādhirājavitanṅkar Śandēśvaradēvar set up in (*the temple of*) Tiruttindisvaram.

NOTE —The above extract is from an inscription of the time of the Chōla king Rājādhirāja I, dated in the 28th year of his reign (=A D 1040), found at Kidangil in the South Arcot District. The inscription registers a sale of land—together with the right to three fourths of the tanks irrigating it (this is found in the unextracted portion of the inscription)—to the temple of Tiruttindisvaramudaiyār at the place, by the *ūr*-assembly. In this, the assembly, after acknowledging receipt of the price of the land sold and the amount for making it tax free, states that it had caused the taxes due on the land to be deducted (from the accounts) and conveyed it to the temple to be enjoyed as a tax free *dēvadāna*, the *ūr* assembly meeting the taxes due on the land and the tank. Here also, as in the second extract *pañchavāram* is mentioned among the taxes due from lands, *e.g.*, *siddhāyam*, *śilvari* and *peruvāri*.

EXTRACT IV ¹

L 4 irandu tirunandāvilakk=erippadaṅkku pañchavāra kkalōd-okku[m*] nāhyāl
tingal

5 padin-arunāl urī ālāṅkku neyyum kōyilūkkē kondu śenru

TRANSLATION

For burning the two perpetual lamps, sixteen *nāl*, (one) *urī* and one *ālāṅku* of ghee, as measured by the measure equal in capacity to the *pañchavāraḥkāl*, shall be taken monthly to the temple.

NOTE —The above extract is dated in the 14th year (=A D 983/4) of the reign of the Chōla king Parakēśarivarman Uttama Chōla and states that the quantity of ghee given to the temple must be measured by the *nāl* equal in capacity to the measure called *pañchavāraḥkāl*. Incidentally this inscription helps us to understand that *pañchavāra* is a payment in kind and that for measuring it a special measure was employed which derived its name *pañchavāraḥkāl* from the use which it was put to. From one of the Takkōlam inscriptions of Parāntaka I,² we get the information that the capacity of a *pañchavāra* measure (*marakkāl*) was 7 *nāl* and 1 *urī* as measured by the *Rājakēśari nāl*. Thus the *pañchavāra marakkāl* was less than the ordinary *marakkāl* only by 1 *urī*.

EXTRACT V ³

L 27 Paḷan dēvadānamāna Pūngudi nilam panniru-vēhynāl mun dēvarkku nikkī iṅukka-
kkadava pañchavāram nel-

28 lu arunūṅru-kkalamum Muśittaikkudi nilam nāl-vēhynāl dēvarkku nikkī iṅukka-
kkadava pañchavāra-nell=i-

¹ S I I, Vol VII, No 114

² No 261 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921

³ S I I, Vol III, No 151

23 dāga, ittu, variyilār eḷuttatta ulvariyyum nam ō[la]yun=tara=chchonnōm [l*] laikkondu
ippaḍi cha[nḍrā]ḍityavat śelvadāga=kka[l*]lilum sembilum vet[ti]kkolgaṇḍepru tiruvāymo[li]n-
darulinār [l*]

TRANSLATION

In respect of payment of taxes of this village, the lands shall be measured by the rod Sundara-Pāndyan kōl of twenty-four feet length, the crops examined, and on lands on which crops had been realised, for *antarāya* and *vinnyōga*, for *achchu*, *kāriyavārāchchi*, *vetṭipāttam*, *pañchupīḷi*, *sandu(sandhi)virahappēru* and for all other payable dues, there shall be paid from this year one fourth *lāṣu* and three *lalam* of paddy as measured by Vira-Pāndyan (-kāl) during *Kār* on each *mā* of land, one half of this rate shall be paid on lands sown in *Tulā* and crops raised, two *tiramam* shall be paid on each *mā* of land in which *el*, *varagu*, *tirappul* and *irungu* had been harvested, and that this same rate shall be (levied) for *paśānam* also and that a copy of the tax register signed by the *variylār* as well as a copy of our order shall be issued. Thus receiving (it), let the same be engraved on stone and copper so that it may remain in force as long as the moon and the sun last

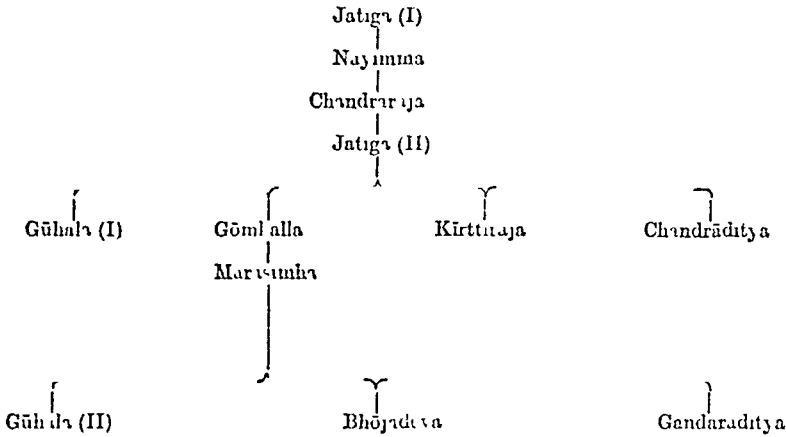
NOTE —This inscription is dated in the 8th year and 988th day of the reign of Māvarman Sundara Pāndya II and is of importance in several ways. In the first place it lets us know that arrangements existed for the periodical inspection of crops and land, that assessment was charged only on such of the lands as had been sown and crops realised, that this assessment was paid both in kind and in money, which included a number of fees, small and great. The following are stated to be the rates, viz, 3 *lalam* of paddy and $\frac{1}{4}$ *lāṣu* on each *mā* for *Kār*, half of this rate for *Tulā* cultivation, 2 *tiramam* (drammas) on each *mā* for the cultivation of *el*, *varagu*, etc., for *paśānam* also, the above rates prevailed. The information would have been complete and left nothing to be desired, had the inscription specified the quantity to be paid for each item separately. Even as it is, it serves a very useful purpose as we shall see presently. From the rate given for *mā*, the assessment for a *vēḷi* works out to 60 *lalam* of paddy and 5 *lāṣu*. This covered all the taxes payable on land, *antarāya* and others, mentioned and unmentioned as the inscription puts it, some of which were given in kind and others in money. We have already shown that one of the items included in the *antarāya* was *pañchavāra* and it was 50 *lalam* for a *vēḷi*. Therefore, deducting this 50 *lalam*, the balance of 10 *lalam* and 5 *lāṣu* should have been the charge for all the other items put together. Thus, the single item of *pañchavāra*, amounting to as much as 50 *lalam* out of 60 paid in paddy, seems to be the prime source of the state income from lands. The proportion of this item of *pañchavāra* to the entire income in paddy being five-sixths, an explanation of the connotation of this term is furnished. 'The duty of the *Pañchavāra* committee may therefore be taken to be the realisation of this important revenue. Here we may note also that a few Sanskrit charters make mention of committee assemblies and that one in particular has reference evidently to the *Pañchavāra* committee. Verse 6 of the Kolavennu plates¹ of Chālukya-Bhīm II, in describing the donee of the grant, has "yat-putra pautrāḥ pataṇḍo vataṇḍo vāragōshthiḥ" The Masulipatam plates² of the same king, besides employing the term *vāragōshthi*, refer to *pañchavārī*. The verse in question runs as follows —

1, yat-putra-pautrā vataṇḍo vāragōshthiḥ vāgmīnāḥ |
pañchavārīm samūpayya sampūjyante mahājanāḥ ||

¹ S I I, Vol I, p 45

² Above, Vol. V, p 137, r 8, see also p 138, n 7

The genealogy of the Śilāhāra dynasty given in these plates is as shown below —



It agrees with the usual genealogy of the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur¹ with the differences (i) that here we have no mention of Balliṭa, a brother between Bhōjadēva and Gandaraditya, and (ii) that Gūhala (I), in these plates, is shown as the elder brother of Gōmkalla which information we have got here for the first time. In other Śilāhāra plates² we are only told that Gōmkalla and Gūhala were the sons of Jatiga, but in the present record Gūhala is definitely mentioned as an *agraja* which cannot mean anything but an elder brother.³ Gūhala is called *īsa* here, and in the plates published by Bhagvanlāl Indrayā we also get *tad bhrātā Gūhalō rājā upāt arī rājō= 'bhavat*. But it is very difficult to say in the light of the available materials whether Gūhala ruled the country any time, for it appears to have been usual to call all the royal brothers as *rājā*, etc. Possibly Gūhala died early and without any issue. That might explain why Gōmkalla is so prominently mentioned, and after him Gūhala is mentioned casually, though he was the elder brother.

As to the contents of the plates, the grant opens with a few verses giving the genealogy of Gandaradityadēva of the Kolhāpur branch of the Śilāhāra dynasty. Then we have a long list of the titles of this ruler. Gandaraditya, in response to the request of his minister Maillapaya, is stated to have granted lands at Kōṃṃjavādā which is in the *khampana* (something like our modern Taluk) of Kōṃṃavallī in the district of Maruṣya, for the repairs of the temple of Khēdīditya at Brahmapuri in Kōllāpura and for the maintenance of eight Brahmīns whose names and *gōthas* are given. The grant was made in the Śaka year 1048 when Gandaradityadēva was in his camp at Vallavāda *grāma*. The grant concludes with the usual verses of curse on those who may violate the conditions of the grant.

A few words may be added regarding the localities mentioned in these records. The Śilāhāras are called *Tagarapurarādhiśvara*, and about the identification of the city of Tagara

¹ See J B B R A S, Vol XIII, p 8. Bhāndarkar, *Collected Works*, Vol III, p 175.

² See Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol I, p 33.

³ [The word *agraja* here has probably to be taken in the sense of 'the first born son' (i.e., Gōmkalla was the eldest son of Jatiga). The Śilāhāra grant of Maruṣmha dated Śaka 980 published in the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India* (pp 102 ff) states clearly that Gūhala was the younger brother of Gōmkalla. The Kasli plates of Bhōjadēva (*An Rep of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Mandala* for Śaka 1835, pp 222 ff), which also contain the verse under discussion give the reading *āditya* in place of *agraja*. Thus we find in the plates under publication the same order of descent of the brothers, viz., Gōmkalla, Gūhala, Kirttirāja and Chandraditya as in other Śilāhāra charters.—N. L. N.]

much has been written. Fleet's identification of Tagara with T̥r is now generally accepted. I might, however, refer here to two latest papers on the subject. Prof K. G. Kundanjar proposes that Tagara should be identified with T̥rka.¹ But it is difficult to derive the form T̥rka from Tagara, and moreover, the place is nowhere called T̥rkshyapura from which he has tried to derive it. Recently Prof Hiralal has pointed out² that a Vidyādhara dynasty is associated with T̥r, twelve miles to the north of Dhārīśiva or modern Osmanabad in the Nizam's Dominions. He indicates the possibility that Nila and Mahānila, two Vidyādhara princes from Himālaya, were the ancestors of Śilāhāras, and they migrated to T̥r for some political reasons. Thus Prof Hiralal confirms, on the authority of *Karalanda charu* and other literary sources, the opinion of Fleet that Tagara should be identified with T̥r near Osmanabad. Vallavāda is to be identified with Vajjavāda also called Vajjavāda, the site of the present Rādhinagarī about 27 miles to the south west of Kolhāpur. Kōllāpura is the present Kolhāpur, and Brahmapurī is, even to this day, a local name of a part of Kolhāpur adjoining the bank of the river Peñchagangā. Mīrīñji is to be identified with Miraj, and Kōḍavalli with Kōḍli about seven miles to the east of Kolhāpur. Kōmmjavāda is not identified, but it might have been a small village near about Kōḍavalli.

The date, Śamvīra, Ābhādha śulā Chaturthī, Śalā 1018 of the plate, as kindly worked out for me by Principal R. N. Apte, corresponds with Saturday, 26th June 1126 A.D., which was a day of Karka smkṛānti.

TEXT

[Metres vv. 1-3, 5, 9, 10 Anushtubh, vv. 1, 6, 8 Sārdūlavijrīḍita, v. 7 Uḥjāṭi]

First Plate

- 1 Svasti sri [||*] Jayaty=īśvashkṛitām Viśhnūr-vārāham kshōbbhit-īrnayam [||*] dāśchin ōmna
(ōnna)ta dāusht āgra viśrānti¹ bhuvanām
- 2 vapuh [|| 1 ||*] Āśid=vidyādhariḥ pūrvam nānmī² Jimūtavāhenah [||*] pṛt ārtḥam jīvātam
yāna Garudāya
- 3 mīrīñjam [|| 2 ||*] Śilāhār āl hya vamaśo=yam Tagarīśvara bhūbhṛtām [||*] tad vamaś
Jatigō nīma jā-
- 4 tō bhūbhṛch-chhikḥhāmanih [|| 3 ||*] Svasti sri Jatiga kshītīśa tanayō Nāyīmama nēmā nṛp-
pah putras=tasya cha Chāmdrarāt=prithu jaśīc=tasy=īpi sūnuh kila [||*] samjātō Jatigō
- 5 jagaj jana nutah śrīmāuś-cha tam(n) nandanō Gōmālallō bhuvā bhūmī pīla ti
- 6 lakas=tasy=īpy=abhūd=agrajah³ [|| 1 ||*] Gūhalēśō=tha tad bhrātā Kīrttirājō=naḥō-
- 8 sya cha [||*] Chāmdrādityas=tatas=tasya chakrē rījyam=akamtakam [|| 5 ||*] Śrīmad Gōm-
kala-bhū-
- 9 mī-pālā tanayah sri Mārasīmḥō nṛpās=tat-sūnur=nṛpīr maullī(lu) lālita pa
- 10 da sri Gūhal ākhyō nṛpah [||*] tad bhrātā bhuvā Bhōjadēva-nṛpatir=vair ībha pamechchū
(chā)-

¹ See *Karnāṭaka Sahitya-parishat patrick*, October, 1934

² See Introduction to his edition of *Karalanda charu*, pp. 41 ff, and his article in the *Annals of the B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 4 ff

³ In these plates very often anusṛāra is used in place of parasararna

⁴ Read nāmna

⁵ [See note 3 on p. 29 Ed.]

[illegible][illegible]

26 श्रीकात्यायन उच्यते निति मितं कृत्वा पुनरुच्यते इति तद्वदसा जीमेषा
 28 दसं सवर्गं पापं पुनरुच्यते मिति कर्तव्यं तदा विनिश्चितं तद्वदविष्णु
 30 तिष्ठात्तु न च मिति कीर्षया विनिश्चितं श्रीगुरुमोदितं तद्वदविष्णु
 32 यकवर्षे पञ्चमस्य पञ्चमस्य च तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति
 34 तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति
 36 तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति

38 तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति
 40 तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति
 42 तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति
 44 तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति
 46 तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति
 48 तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति तद्वदिति

- 11 nanaś=chakrē rājyam=akhauditam¹ pritha yaśā lamkaśu¹ tullj am(lyam) kila | [1 6 ||*] Tasya-
ānujō dha-
12 rmmā dharō dharitry im dadhāra varnnān=akhillā(lū)n=sva dharmmē [1*] dhairy āgra-dhuryō
Dhanadō dhanānām

Second Plate First Side

- 13 śrī Gamdarāditya itī prasiddhah | [1 7 ||*] Din-ānātha-daridra duhkhi-vikalla(la) vyākīrṇa-
nānā
14 vidha-prānī trānī parīyanah pratidinam gupt-ākhyā-dānēna yah [1] yah kṛishn-ājina-dhē-
15 nu-bhūmy-ubhayatōmukhy ādi-dīna-pradāh śaśvad=V(B)rahma-matī-pravīna-hridayō bhū-
dōvā-kā
16 lpa drumah || [8 ||*] Svasti [1*] Samadhigata-pamchamahāśa(b)da Mahāmamdaleśvaras=
Tagara pura-
17 var-ādhuś varah śrī-Śilāhāra narēmdrō Jīmūta-āhan ānvaya-prasūtas=suvarna Ga-
18 ruda dhvajō maruvamika sarppa² ayyana si(sim)hō ripu-mamdhaka bhairavō vidvishṭa-
gaja kamthirava
19 iduvar-īditō rūpa Nārāyanah Śanivāra-siddhdu(ādhir=)giri durga-lamghanah Kalī-yuga-
Vikramī-
20 dityah śrī-Mahālakshmi la(b)dhā-vara-prasād-ādi-samasta rājvalī-virājita-
21 śrīman-Mahāmamdallē(lū)śvarō Gamdarāditya dōvō dushta nīgraha śishṭa-pratīpālla(la)-
22 na-purassarām svā dharmmēn=aika chehhatrām=upabhumjānō Vallavāda-grāmē vid-
ānuvri-
23 tyā(ttyā) sukha-samkathū-vinōdēna vijaya rājyam(jyam) churam kurvan virājatē [1*] Tat-pā-
24 da-padma opajīvi-mahāpradhānēna Kaditāmātya-Maillapayyēna mahā-tīrthē

Second Plate Second Side

- 25 śrī-Kōllāpurō V(B)rahma-nirmmita-V(B)rahmapuryām śrī-Khōdāditya-dēvassya(sya) jirna-
prīśī-
26 da samudhduh(ddha)arana-purassarām Trikūta prāsādam - vimrmmāya tatra V(B)rahma-
Vishnū pra-
27 tishṭhīpya tatra dharmma-chukīrshayā vijñāpita-śrī Gamdarādityadēvas=tad=adhigammya
(mya) -
28 Śaka-varshcshu sahasr oparyy-ashtāchatvārimśati gatāyām () varttamāna-Parābhava-
samvatsa-
29 r āmtarggat Āshādha-śukla chaturthyām Śanivārē- dakshināyana samkrāntau Mīrimji dēś-
ām-
30 targgata-Kōdavallī khampan ānuvarttini Kōmījavāda-grāmē tatrātya-Nārgā-
31 vumda-Rājaya-Sēnayābhyām Nārgāvūmḍa sāmyabhūtam Kūmḍi damdēna nīvartta-
32 na dvayam mānyam chaturvīmśati-hasta vistaram magilam=ashta-bhōga tēja-sāmyam
cha krāyūn=ādāya

¹ Apparently there is a scribal error - I propose the reading *Lamkēśa*

² Read *maruvāli sarppa*

- 33 grāma bhūmi madhye tēn=aiṣa daṁdēna chatvāri nivarttanāni nikhṣipya śhan-nivarttanāni
mānyam kṛtvā ta
34 t-prativ i bhāma¹ mullavam kutruvam cha kṛtvā chaturvimsati-ha tam vistaram nivṛṣanam
anyad=ashtichatvārimśadh(d) dhasta vi-
35 staram nivṛṣanam ch=ṛty=ṛyam dvāṣṛptati hasta vistaram magilam ch-ṛty=ṛtat=sarva
Nārgvumdam sāmyam kṛtvā tan m
36 dhye V(B)rahmapuryam 4 i Khēlādity idēva sannidhau dvādaśinīm 1(b)rīhmanānām
śvṛta vīrihy oḍḍhārēna ādhakya ādi sūpēna ghṛi-

Third Plate

- 37 tēna takṛtā chaturbhūh śīlās=cha bhōjanāya tīmbūlāya cha tēn-aiṣa dāmlēna mānyam
nivarttana dāyam
38 malavam cha kuruvam cha magila madhye chaturvimsati hasta vistaram nivṛṣanam cha
ashta bhōga tēja-
39 sāmyam ch=ṛty=ṛtat | Tathā tat-sarva dharmma prachintakāh Gautama gōtrā Gaugādihara-
chaturvīdhi bhakti opādhyā-
40 yāh Bhāradvāja gōtrā Gōvinda(nda) kramavāda Atri gōtrā Bhīṣaka Chaturvīdinah
Jīmādagnya
41 Vatsa gōtrā Nīrīyana bhakti Bhāradvāja gōtrā Mithyāh Kāśyapa gōtrā Vāmanaḥ Dhan-
amra-
42 yā(ya) gōtrā Vishnu bhakti Bhāradvāja gōtrā Vāmanaḥ ṛyam=ashtau 1(b)rīhmanāh
tūbhyah pratyekam
43 tēn=aiṣa daṁdēna vappaka śīta chatuṣṭayam magila-madhye pratyekam shadh(d) dhasta-
vistaram nivṛ
44 śanam cha tathā tat-Trikūta pr²-sādasya kṛmāda sphutitā jīrṇa oḍḍhārāya tēn=aiṣa daṁdēna
vappaka śīta chatu
45 ṣṭayam ṛyam=ṛtat=sarvam pīda prakṣhālana dhārā-pūrvakam sarva-a-namasyam sarva-
vā(bā)dhā-parihāram sarv āya-aiśu
46 ddham rījakīyānām=ananguli prākṣhānīyam ā-chamdr ārkham dattavān | État=sarva dha-
rmma-gōptārō V(B)rahmapuri-
47 mahājanāh | Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā rūjabhūh Sagar ādibhūh [1*] yasya yasya yadā
bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam | [1 9 ||*] Śva da-
48 ttām para dattim vā yō harēta vasundharām | śhashtir varsha²-sahasrīni viśthāyām
jāyatī kṛmih || [10 ||*] Māngalam mā(ma)hā śrī [h||*]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Welfare ! Prosperity !

(Verse 1) Victorious is that Vishnu's manifested form of a boar which has agitated the ocean and which has the earth resting on the tip of its uplifted right tusk

(Verses 2 8) Formerly there was a Vidyādhara, Jīmūtavāhana by name, who, for the sake of others, offered his life to Garuda This family, called Śilāhāra, (is) of kings (who were) the lords

¹ Read *pratibaddham*.

² Read *śhashtim varsha*

of Tagara, in that family was born a crest-jewel of kings **Jatiga** by name Welfare¹ The prosperous lord of earth **Jatiga** had a son, king **Nāyamma** by name, his son was **Chandrarāt** of great fame, to him in turn was born a son, **Jatiga** by name, who was praised by the people of the world, and his prosperous son was **Gōmkalla** who was a saffron-mark (*on the forehead*) of all the kings on the earth His elder brother¹ was king (² *īśa*) **Gūhala**, his younger brother was **Kīrtirāja**, and next to him was **Chandrāditya** who made his kingdom free from all the troubles That prosperous lord of the earth, **Gōmkalla**, had a son, viz, king **Mārasimha**, his son was king **Gūhala** by name whose feet were fondled by the crowns of kings, his brother was king **Bhōjadēva** who was a lion to the elephants in the form of enemies on the earth, and who is reported (*lila*) to have consolidated his kingdom with wide fame like that of the king of Lankā (²)² His younger brother is the famous **Gandarāditya** who is a protector of *Dharma* on the earth, who has maintained all the *Varnas* in their respective duties, who is a courageous and foremost leader, and who is a *Kubēra* of treasures Day to day he is engrossed in sheltering by anonymous gifts the various living beings that are distressed, helpless, poor, miserable, maimed and wandering, he bestows, in both the ways,³ eminent gifts such as the skin of the black-antelope, cows and lands, his mind is skilled in reflecting on the eternal Brahman, and he is a wish-fulfilling tree to the Brahmins

(Ll 16 23) Welfare¹ The prosperous *Mahāmandalēśvara* **Gandarādityadēva**—who is honoured by all the royal titles such as one who has obtained *pañcamahāśabda*, a *Mahāmandalēśvara*, the overlord of Tagara, the best of towns, the prosperous *Śilāhāra* Monarch, one born in the lineage of *Jimūtavāhana*, one who has the banner of golden *Garuda*, one whose shelter is sought by the serpent,⁴ a lion to his father,⁵ a *Bhairava* to the inimical *Mandahlas*, a lion to the elephants (*in the form*) of antagonists, the sun of the archers,⁶ *Nārāyana* in handsomeness, one who achieved success (*even*) on Saturdays, one who seized the mountain forts, a *Vikramāditya* of the *Kali* age, and one who received the favours of the boon from *Śrī-Mahālakṣmī*—is carrying on for a long time his victorious reign enjoying the sole mastery of the kingdom by carrying out his

¹ [See p 29 n 3, above—Ed]

² The reading *prithuyasa lamkasa* is decidedly defective, and the metre too is spoiled I have taken it as *Lamkēśa*

³ *Ubhayatah* refers to gifts given in two ways, namely, openly and anonymously [Dr Chhabra correctly points out that *ubhayatōmulhī* has been used here in the sense of a parturient cow, a gift of which is highly eulogised in the *Smritis* Cf *Hemādri*, *Chaturvargachintāman*, *Dānakhandā*, *prakaraṇa* 7—Ed]

⁴ The correct reading should be *maruvakka sarppa* The nasal here is due to that deceptive *sūnya* (called *nolli*) used in Old Kannada script which has two values, when it is fat with space inside it means that the next consonant is duplicated, when small it is an *anusvāra* *Maruvakka* is a Kannada word, a further corruption from *maru* or *mare pokka* or *hokka* from the root *maru* or *mare pogu* 'to seek shelter' It is a title of the *Śilāhāras*, because they are *Garuda dhvajās*, the serpent being always at the mercy of *Garuda* [Mr N Lakshminarayana Rao suggests that it would be better to interpret the expression as a 'serpent to the hostile army' taking *maruvakka* to mean 'a hostile army'—in which sense it is widely used in Medieval Kannada literature—than to consider both the component parts of the word as corruptions (*i e*, of *mare* and *pokka*) *Maruvakka sarppa* corresponds to Skt *pari bala sarppa* which is found among the *birudas* of the chief *Mārasingha* of the *Sēnāvāra* family which, like the *Śilāhāras*, claimed to belong to *Jimūtavāhan ānvaya* and *Khachara* (*i e*, *Vidyādhara*) *vamśi* (see *Ep Carn*, Vol VI, Cm 94)—Ed]

⁵ *Ayyana simho* again a Kannada word 'a lion (like son) of his father', meaning a pet and brave son of his father This reminds us of the Kannada phrase '*bappare huliyā*', meaning, 'Bravo, my tiger', generally addressed by the father to his son

⁶ *Idūvar* is a Kannada word meaning 'those that put (an arrow to the bow)', 'those that shoot arrows', that is, the archers

duties (*śatdharmaṇa*), by punishing the wicked and protecting the good, and spending his time merrily in happy talks in his standing camp¹ at Vallavāḍa-grāma

(Ll 23 39) Kacchīmūṭya Maṇḍapasya, the Mahāpradhāna dependent on his (i.e., of Gandarādityādīva) lotus like feet, after repairing the dilapidated temple of Śrī Khṛdādityādīva, situated in Brahmapurī, created by Brahman in the great holy place of Śrī Kōllāpura, built a *Trilūta prāsāda*, installed there (the images of) Brahmā and Viṣṇu, and with a desire to do some religious act requested Gandarādityādīva who understood it (i.e., his desire). And when the Śalā years one thousand and forty eight had elapsed, in the Parābhava year, on the fourth day of the bright half of the month of Āshāḍha, on Saturday, on the Dalahūyāna samantānti, he bought, by paying the cost, from Rājaya and Śānaya of the Nūrgūvunda family in the village of Kōmṇijavāda in the *Thampana* of Kōḍavalli in the province of Mīrūṇi two *niartanas* of non taxable land (*mānya*) that had the rights of Nūrgūvundas, measured by the Kūṇḍi pole, and a plot for a house twenty four cubits in extent with the eight rights, etc., then he added thereto from the land in the village, four *niartanas* measured by the same pole, and thus made six *niartanas* of land free from tax, etc.,²

⁴ [constructed] a house 24 cubits in extent and another 18 cubits in extent thus in all 72 cubits in extent. All these had the rights of the Nūrgūvundas. In Brahmapurī, in the presence of (the god) Śrī Khṛdādityādīva, he gave two *niartanas* of land measured by the same pole with a house 24 cubits in extent along with eight rights, etc., to twelve Brahmins for their food with rice of white grains, with broth made of *ādhaḥā* and other pulses, with ghee, butter milk and four vegetables and for *tāmbūla*

(Ll 39 44) Then there are these eight Brahmins all of them intent on religious practices: Gangādhara Chaturvīdī Bhattōpādhyāya of Gautama *gōṭra*, Gōvinda Bhattōvīd of Bhāradvāja *gōṭra*, Bhīṣaka Chaturvīdīn of Atri *gōṭra*, Nārīyana Bhatta of Jāmādagnya Vata *gōṭra*, Mīdhava of Bhāradvāja *gōṭra*, Vīmana of Kīśyapa *gōṭra*, Viṣṇu Bhatta of Dhanurjaya *gōṭra* and Vāmana of Bhāradvāja *gōṭra*.⁵ To each of them were granted 100 *vappalas*⁶ measured by the same pole and to each a house six cubits in extent. Similarly for the repairs of the broken parts, etc., of the *Trilūta prāsāda* 100 *vappalas*⁶ were given by the same measure

(Ll 44-47) This *śarta namaṣya* (grant) which is free from all obstacles, which is faultless with regard to its income and which is not to be touched by finger (*utēn*) by the royal officers, is made to last as long as the sun and the moon after a libation of water and a washing of the feet. The *Mahājanas*⁷ of Brahmapurī shall protect all these religious gifts

(Verses 9 10) [These are two of the well-known imprecatory verses]

(L 18) Auspicious glory⁸

¹ *Vidanurittya* is probably to be taken as meaning 'following the custom of a *riḍu* (i.e., camp)' It reminds us of a similar expression in Kannada grants *biḷḷol* meaning 'in the camp'

² *Nargavundas* are those who are now known as Naḍagaṇḍas, a Kannada word meaning 'herdsmen of the country'

³ *Maḡila* means a site for a house

⁴ The meaning of *malanā*, etc., is not clear. The same phrase is spelt differently in Ll 34 and 38

⁵ It should be noted that some names are in singular and some in plural

⁶ *Vappala* is a measure

⁷ *Mahājanas* were members of a particular assembly probably something like our *Pāṭhas*

⁸ My thanks are due to my colleague Prof. K. G. Kundangar who helped me in translating certain technical terms in the plates

No 6—HIDDA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28

BY DR STEV KONOW, OSLO

The credit for bringing this record to light belongs to Professor F W Thomas. In a paper contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, pp 91 ff, he draws attention to some remarks by Masson about a Kharōshthī inscription he had found at 'Tope No 13 of Hidda' on an earthen jar, and which he had copied. A lithographed reproduction is found opposite p 262 of the *Ariana Antiqua*.

Professor Thomas further tells us that, in going through Masson's papers in the India Office Library, he found 'a number of attempts at decipherment of one or two Kharōshthī inscriptions', and one of them proved to be the very record reproduced in the old publication. There were several attempts, and Professor Thomas reproduced the most careful one and published his reading of the inscription, which was subsequently, with some alterations, reproduced in my edition of the record in the *Corpus*, pp 157 ff.

The copy published by Professor Thomas is far from being satisfactory, but the way in which he was able to rearrange the sequence of the letters and bring out the meaning is highly to be admired. But now new material has come to hand, which makes it possible to read the legend with greater certainty.

In a letter of the 13th December 1935, Dr E H Johnston writes 'In the course of cataloguing the Masson papers in the India Office Library, I have come across a number of copies of the inscription on the Hiddah jar. Most date from after Masson's return to England early in 1842 and have no special value. Three however are on blue paper, one seems to be a new working copy, written out for an attempted transliteration. The others are on two strips of paper, which Masson pasted on to another sheet of paper after his return to England.'

Fuller particulars about these last-mentioned copies were given in another letter from Dr Johnston of the 13th January 1936 'The copies are on two strips of blue foolscap, measuring 55 by 315 millimetres and 98 by 313 millimetres, respectively. I regard them as Masson's originals for various reasons. That he looked on them as particularly important is shown by the fact that he has cut them out of the particular sheet on which they were and pasted them on to another sheet, this must have been done after his return to England, as the kind of paper on to which they have been pasted shows. Masson used this blue foolscap almost exclusively in 1834 and many of his original sketches of the Topes of Hiddah and Chaharbagh are on similar paper, having been done that year (1834) at the time of excavation. The writing is done with a broader pen than he was in the habit of using. There are at least a dozen copies of this inscription among his papers, most of them made after he had left Afghanistan, and in every case except this the copy was evidently made in order to put between the lines an attempt at transliteration. No room has been left for such writing on these strips, though you will notice some remains of such an attempt at the bottom. I imagine the first strip was left incomplete after writing the first line because of the disfigurement by blots.'

With the kind permission of Dr Randle, the Librarian of the India Office, excellent photographs of these strips have been prepared, and I have been authorized to make use of them for an eventual new edition of the record.

There cannot be any doubt that Dr Johnston is right in considering these strips as Masson's original draft. And we can also see that the incomplete strip is the first one. It has partly been corrected in the second. And we shall find several certain indications which show that the copies reproduced in the *Ariana Antiqua* and in Professor Thomas' plate have been made from our strips.

The arrangement of the letters is the same as in the published plates, and it is clear that the two lines of the inscription run all round the jar, and that Masson failed to see where the record begins. Professor Thomas' ingenious restoration of the sequence is absolutely certain, and I shall follow it in my ensuing remarks, using the abbreviations *A* for the *Ariana Antiqua* plate, *B* for the copy published by Professor Thomas, *I* for the first strip and *II* for the second.

The first word is correctly given as *sambat-sarac* in *I*. In *II* the *anusūāra* hook is more rounded, and Masson has added an *e mātrā* above *sam*, probably because the top of the *al-shara* was blurred. This wrong *e* stroke is then found both in *A*, which here faithfully reproduces *II*, and in *B*, which represents a combination of *I* and *II*.

The ensuing *athavātati*: 20 *I I* do not call for any remark. We can only see that Masson first misread the *ti*, but corrected it in *II*.

Then follows *masc* with a bottom stroke crossed by a horizontal, bent downwards at both ends and surmounted by a curved upright, below *sc* in *I*, while these additions have been omitted in *II*, evidently as the result of closer inspection, so that we must certainly read *masc*. The bottom strokes return, however, in *B*, where they are the same as in *I*, and in *A*, where there is only a long horizontal.

Then comes *Apelac* in *I*. In *II* the *pe* and the final *c* have been slightly modified. In *A* *pe* has been misread as *pi*, and *la*, which is a little misshapen in *I*, has been miswritten. In *B* the two different forms of *c* have been entered, that of *II* in the line, that of *I*, slightly misshapen, above.

The ensuing *sasthehi* is quite clear, but it is hardly probable that *sta* with the vertical to the right had a different sound from the ordinary *sta*. The word itself is, as we know, Iranian, cf. Av. *sand* 'to appear', Khotanī Sika *sasta* 'appeared'. Between the letters *sa* and *sīc* there is in *II* a long vertical stroke. It is impossible to tell why Masson has inserted it.

The *hi* of the following *da'sahi* is misdrawn in *II*, the bottom having been continued into the preceding *sa*, causing a break in the left bar of the latter. Both forms are reproduced in *B*.

The *i* of the ensuing *i'sa* (not *i'c* as read by Professor Thomas) has an angular top in *I*, and this form recurs in *A*, and also in *B*, where, however, the rounded form of *II* is added above the line, *sa* is misshapen in *A*, and in *B* a second form has been added above the line, we cannot say from which source.

In the word *prastishapita* we can clearly follow the process of deterioration. *I* is quite clear, though the upright of *stha* is separated from the cross bar. In *II* the horizontal of *pra* protrudes slightly to the left of the vertical, and the bottom of the final *ta* has been lengthened, and a short vertical has been added, so that the *al-shara* looks almost like *ro*. The results can be seen in the apparent *phra*, the disjointed *stha* and the misshapen *ta* of *A*, and in the similar *pra* and the splitting up of *tstha* into three *al-sharas* in *B*.

In the word read as *[ra]jamātmī* by Professor Thomas, we can now see that the apparent hook which he took to be a mutilated *ja* is a clear *ma*. The preceding *ra* shows a short horizontal stroke protruding to the left just above the bottom in *I*, so that we could think of reading *ro*. But it is absent in *II*, and as the same *rama* recurs in 1-2, the reading seems to be certain. *Rama* can hardly be anything else than the name of a person, probably the Indian name, which already occurs in the *Rigveda*.

The *al-shara* following after *rama* looks like *tam*, but can also be a shortened cursive *ram*. Then comes an evidently misdrawn letter in *I*, while *II* has an unmistakable *ña*. *A* and *B* give both forms, one above the other, and here again clearly show their dependence on *I* and *II*. With the ensuing *m* we thus get *ramalamñām* or *ramaramñām*. If it were possible to assume a

doublet *tanya* besides *tanya* 'own', which we read on a Tor Dherai potsherd¹, we might think of connecting *ramatamñam* with the following *thubam* 'in the Stūpa belonging to Rāma', but we have no reason for supposing the existence of such a variant, *tanya* itself being doubtful and probably only the final portion of *atanya*. The word *raña*, Skr *aranya* 'wood, grove', on the other hand, occurs in connection with *thūba* on the Kurram casket

'The Rāma wood' is then the name of the place where the stūpa was situated, and most probably the real name. Cf passages such as *Takhasīlāe nagare—utarena—prachu deśo—Kshema nama—atra śariram [piā*]lithaveti* 'in the town of Takhasīlā,—to the north,—the eastern quarter,—KHEMA by name,—here he establishes a relic' (Taxila copper-plate, with the enumerating idiom which we know so well from Marāṭhī), *ime pradīstavita bhagavato dhatuo dhammarāe Takhasī[la*]e tanuvāe bosī(dhī)satvagaham* 'these relics of the Lord were established in the Buddha relic stūpa of Takhasīlā, in his own Bodhisattva chapel' (Taxila silver scroll), *Chhadaśīlāe śarira praistaveti gahathubam* 'in Chhadaśīlā he establishes a relic in the house stūpa'², *Vāgramari(r)aviharam(r)ṛ thu[ba]m(r)ṛ bhag(r)avada Śākyamune śarira parithaveti* 'in the Vāgramariya vihāra, in a stūpa, he (sc Vāgramariya) establishes a relic of the Lord Śākyamuni' (Wardak vase), etc. The last mentioned passage shows that such a name can be derived from the name of a living person

In my edition of the Kalawān record I have shown that the list of Yakshas in the *Mahāmāyūrī*³ contains details which may be of interest in connection with Kharōshthī inscriptions, but that the forms of the names used in the *Māyūrī* must sometimes be checked by the help of the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the work. I believe that such is also the case with reference to our record

In the *Mahāmāyūrī* l 83 we read '*Lankeśvaraś ca Kapīśyām Mārīcī Rāmakakshayām*' 'the lord of Lankā (i e, Rāvana, is the Yaksha) in Kapīśī, Mārīcī in Rāmakakshā'

Now the arrangement of the various localities in the *Mahāmāyūrī* is roughly geographical, and we are probably justified in assuming that Rāmakakshā should be looked for in Afghanistan. Professor Helmer Smith has drawn my attention to the fact that the irregular form *-lakshayām* for *-lakshāyām* may point to some corruption. Of the Chinese versions one has *lo mo-k'ī lo, i e, Rāmakakshā*, which is just as unsuitable in the rhythm as *Rāmakakshāyām*. Yü-tsing gives *o lo mo lu* 'the forest of Rāma', and the Tibetan translation *dga baḥi tshan tshin* 'the wood of the pleasant one'. From these renderings we learn that the literal meaning of the name was 'Rāma wood', and from the fact that Mārīcī and not Rāma is mentioned as the Yaksha of the place, we must necessarily draw the inference that the Rāma wood was not considered to be a grove dedicated to a Yaksha or other supernatural being called Rāma, but as a place founded or owned by a person of the name Rāma

As indicated above, the Rāma grove was most probably situated in Afghanistan, and I think that we are justified in assuming that it was the very same 'Rāma grove' which is mentioned in our record. Since the inscription in l 2 contains wishes for the welfare of Rāma, he was probably at that time the owner of the wood, and we may draw the inference from the *Mahāmāyūrī* that his name stuck to the place also in later times, after his death

The Hidda inscription would then be the oldest record in which this 'Rāma grove' is mentioned. It is, besides, written in prose, and we have every reason for assuming that it contains the genuine form of the name. The author of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, who, according to Professor

¹ *C I I*, Vol II, Pt I, p 176

² Kalawān inscription, *Ep Ind*, Vol XXI, pp 251 ff

³ Cf the late Sylvain Lévi's important paper, *J A*, XI, 11, 1915, pp 19 ff

Smith's observations, is remarkably careful with regard to the rhythm, could not use *Rāmāraṇyā* in his verse. He therefore chose a synonym of *aranya*, as indicated by Yi tsing and the Tibetan translation. *Khila* might be a translation of *aranya*, taking this to mean 'wilderness, desert', but the word does not suit the metre and is evidently a later 'improvement'. *Kaśha-yām* might be considered as a metrical license instead of *lal-shāyām*, but then *kaśhā* is not known to have had the meaning 'wood, forest'. *Kaśha*, on the other hand, has this sense, and it is, therefore, I think, probable that the author of the *Mahāmāyūrī* wrote *Rāmālal-kaśha*, and that this was subsequently changed to *lal-shāyām* by somebody who did not know that there was a 'Rāma wood', but knew the word *lal-shā*.

After *raṁamānāmī* both I and II have *thubam samghamitrena naḥalārmāna*, i.e., *naḥalārmāna* 'in the stūpa, through the Naḥalārmika Samghamitra'. The shape of *gha* is a little irregular, and the loop is half open in II, which has led to a mishearing *gha*, with the better form above it, in B. No importance can be attached to the fact that the initial *na* of *naḥalārmāna* looks like a cerebral *na*. Since we have a dental *na* in the beginning of *naḥena*, 12, it is clear that the two characters are not distinguished in such a way that the apparent *n* is used when initial and the apparent *ṇ* between vowels, in which case we should have to assume that *n* in reality denotes the dental, and *ṇ* the lingual *n*. It is, on the contrary, probable that the clear distinction between *n* and *ṇ* which we find in the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript only corresponds to the actual state of things in a restricted area and is partly due to the influence of literary tradition, while the North Western Prakrit generally only knew the dental *n*.

The designation *naḥalārmika* is used in two other Kharoṣṭhī records. In the Taxila copper plate we read, according to Professor Thomas' evident correction,² *mahādānapati Patika saja uraiha[n*] Rohimmitreya ya imāni samgharāni naḥalārmika* 'the great gift lord Patika together with the Upādhyāya Rōhimimitra, who is *naḥalārmika* in this Vihāra'. The Māhikila inscription, 12 runs *sadha Buddhena naḥalārmigena* 'together with the *naḥalārmika* Buddha'. The term is also met with in Brāhmī inscriptions, cf. Professor Lüders' List, and in several passages in Pāli literature, to which Professor Smith has been good enough to give me some references. According to *Kaccāyana* 353, *Saddanīti* 786-22 a *naḥalārmika* is one who is entrusted with a *naḥalamma*, a monk or a nun selected by the Saṅgha in order to act on its behalf. *Vinaya Pitaka* II, 159, 11-22 ff., we read about people who undertake some *naḥalarima* and take care of the monks who supervise the work (*naḥalammam adhiṭṭhenti*), and the Buddha gives instructions about the choice of such bhikkhus. A *naḥalammiḥa* monk is to be zealous so that a Vihāra may be completed quickly and dilapidated portions repaired (*naḥalammiḥo, bhikkhāre, bhikkhu ussullam āpajjissati lenti nu kho vihāro lhippam pariyoṇam gaccheyū ti, lhandaphullam patisamkharissati*), and he should be selected by the Saṅgha after such assistance has been requested by some householder. In *Vinaya Pitaka* IV, 211, Sīḥa wants to build a Vihāra and asks for a nun as *naḥalammiḥā*, and the bhikkhunisaṅgha deposes the nun Sandarīnandā for the purpose. She constantly repairs to Sīḥa's residence and asks for various implements (*vāsīdetha, pharasū detha, luthārī detha, luddālū detha, nīlādānam dethā ti*), while Sīḥa constantly goes to follow the progress of the work (*patālātām jāntum*). In accordance with such passages Buddhaghōsa, *Samantapāsādikā* on *Vinaya Pitaka* II, 160, 12 says that the *naḥalārmika* does not do the manual work, but supervises the progress (*laddhanāḥalārmīna bhikkhunā vāsparasu nīlādānādāni gaheṭvā sayam na lūtabbā, katālātām jāntabbā*). In *Vinaya*

¹ Professor Turner has been good enough to tell me that in Shina Skt. *n* regularly appears as *n* and *ṇ* as *n*.

² *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 6.

³ Professor Thomas explains *saja* = *sadya* 'at present'. I identify it with Vedic *sadā* 'together'.

Pitaka IV, 34, ll 2 ff we read about the Ālavaka monks that they were engaged in *navakamma* (*navakammam karontā*), and that they cut down trees or had trees cut down. But one of the monks, who was felling a tree, was warned by its *dēvatā* not to destroy her dwelling in order to make one for himself, and the Buddha speaks about the offence in connection with the destruction of life which was inevitable when a tree was cut.

A *navakammika* may reside for a prolonged period at one place. In *Vinaya Pitaka* II, 15, ll 29 ff we read about the venerable Sudhamma, who stayed with the householder Chitta as his *navakammika*, and in *Jātaka* IV, 310, ll 13 f about residence as *navakammika* in a great Vihāra in Kajangalā (*āvāsiko hotu mahāvihāre, navakammiko hotu Kajangalāyam*), and the commentary here speaks of a dilapidated Vihāra (*vimavhāra*), i.e., one in need of repairs.

It is evident from the above quotations that the *navakamma* was of different kinds, from the building of a Vihāra down to various sorts of repairs. *Manorathapūraṇī* I, 31, l 15 speaks of a *navakammika* in connection with Uposatha halls, almshouses, etc (*uposathāgāra-bhojanasālādīm*), and such work was formerly considered as a good means of banishing distracting thoughts (*porāṇakapanditā pana navakammam katvā pi vitakham pachhindimsu, Papañcha-sūdanī* II, 91, l 18). And in *Vinaya Pitaka* II, 172 we hear of several minor kind of *navakamma* such as heaping up clay or earth, replastering a wall, making a door or a socket for a bolt, white-washing, etc.

A *navakammika* is consequently in most cases a monk, acting on behalf of the Saṅgha in supervising new buildings, repairs, etc., and such was evidently the case with Saṅghamitra. What he had to superintend may have been the erection of the Stūpa, or some repairs, or even only the putting down of the relic.

For the second line the new material consists of one copy only, viz II. As seen by Professor Thomas, we must evidently begin with the sixth *akshara* from the end.

The first word is certainly *edena*, though the *e*-stroke of *de* is curved and joined to the upright in such a way that Masson in A and B has introduced a small loop.

The next word was correctly read as *kuśalamulena* by Professor Thomas, who pointed out that the *u* of *ku* and the final *na* are missing. The new copy shows definitely that I was wrong in assuming that the ensuing *e* was misdrawn for *na*. After *śa* follows in II what looks like a second *śa*, corrected to *na*, and then a cancelled letter which looks as an unsuccessful attempt at writing a *la*. In A both these letters are clumsily imitated, one above the other, while B seems to combine them into one misshapen *akshara*. What looks like *śa* corrected to *na* might be the *na* we miss after *le*, in which case we would have to infer that it had been misplaced in the original. It is, however, more probable that Masson has forgotten to cancel it properly. The dot before the ensuing *la* is, as Dr Johnston informs me, not an ink, but the remains of a drop of moisture.

Then follows, as read by Professor Thomas, *etasha dharmana*, where the final *na* is misshapen in A.

The next *aksharas* were read *lolika viya* by Professor Thomas, while I suggested to read *abbhūti*. The new copy clearly shows that the first *akshara* was *la*. A comparatively long sloping line descends towards the left from the underside of the hook of *la*, which itself is continued on to the vertical. It might be taken to be the *o*-stroke, which, however, protrudes from the vertical in other inscriptions. It is therefore possible that it is of the same kind as the superfluous and meaningless stroke between *sa* and *sīhe* in *sastheh* II, l 1. It is considerably shortened in B and it has led to a distorted sign in A. The next *akshara* is certainly *bhi*, as stated by Professor Thomas, and the new copy clearly shows that it is followed by *bhāma*.

The curve of *ma* is here narrower than in *rama*, l. 1, and we understand how Masson has come to write the hook which has been misinterpreted as a mutilated *ya*. If we bear in mind that the nom. pl. of *mabha* frequently ends in *ī* in Pali and Prākrit, it becomes evident that we must translate *labhi* (or, *lobhi*) *bhūma* 'may we become possessed (or, desirous) of,' and the usual wording of such wishes in other texts favours the reading *labhi*.

With regard to the ensuing *yisha*, which is perfectly clear in all copies, it is, of course, possible that it corresponds to Skt. *yāśat*. But in the first place, we should expect *śho* for *śat*, and, in the second, the parallelism with the preceding *etc. ha dharmāna* leads us to expect *yeshā*, so that *ya* is probably a miswriting or misreading for *ye*. But then it seems almost certain that the *aśvara* following after *dharma* must be *ram* and not *sha*, so that we must read *dharmanam*. The use of *ra* instead of *re* does not make any difficulty, as we have already seen. As a matter of fact the *aśvara* in question looks more like *nam* than *sha*. And there is also another difficulty in reading *sha*. This *sha* would have to be connected with the following *c* to *sha*, corresponding to Skt. *śāy*. But the regular development of old *śa* in our dialect is to become a sound written with a sign which has been variously transliterated *śh* and *c'hha*, and which clearly denotes the cerebral fricative known from Dardic.

It cannot be objected that the *anuvāsa* is suspicious. We have the same uncertainty in *Iśhunamī*, *ramāna*, *dhūna*. I shall only mention in passing that in all other instances of the genitive plural in our record a consonant follows, but here the next sound is a vowel. But it may be worth while remembering that final *ai* is written *a* in the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript, and still we can see that the final *ai* made its felt, so that, e.g., Pāli *ekam* is represented by *sila bi* and not *sila re*.

E must then be taken to the following *aśvara*, which we now cannot be but read *ra* but not *sha*, a reading which Professor Thomas mentions as possible.

Then follows what he reads as *sha*, but which looks much more like *re* and *ma*, be the enclitic personal pronoun of the second plural, used in a collective sense 'you all', much like the corresponding *ū* in Khotanī Saka.

The next two *aśvaras* seem to be *syā*, A has *syā*. I do not any more think that we can adopt Professor Thomas' emendation of *taisyā* to *śāyāśa*, because Masson's copy seems to be so reliable throughout. The only way of explaining *syā* I can think of is that the *e* above *syā* has come in in the same way as the *e* of *śāyāśa* in II l. 1, as also as used by Professor Thomas, and that there has been an invisible *i* mītrā in *ta*. I would therefore read *syā* and translate 'may we become possessed of the *aśvaras* of which *aśva* is this may be, i.e., of which *dharma*s the following may consist (or, be the cause)'.¹

The next passage can be read without any doubt, as done by Professor Thomas: *sarira sariśatana nīrtanasambhara bhavati*. The final *ra* of *sarira* is provided with a small hook, which has become a regular *anusāra* in A, but there is no reason for reading *śariram*. The *r* loop of (*sa*)*ria* runs into the vertical of the preceding *sa*, the top of the *sa* of *śatana* has been connected with the upright of the *ra* of *ita*, and there is an apparent bar to the right of the vertical of *ria* in *nīrtana*, which evidently is only the disjointed continuation of the *r* stroke of the preceding *nī*. The result is that we find various distortions both in A and in B which here again clearly show their dependence on II. *Saria* looks like *sam* and a mutilated *ria*, *śatana* has been split up and mutilated in different ways, the *ria* of *nīrtana* looks

¹ Cf. Turner, *Gypsy Lore Society, Monographs* No. 4, p. 11.

² The form *aiśaśa* (A² 15) shows that we have to do with the acc. pl., and that *abalaśari* in the *Dharmapada* is due to a misunderstanding of the original.

almost like *ila*, and in B slightly differing forms have been added above the *na* of this word. In A, moreover, the *bha* of *sambharae*, has been slightly distorted.

The whole sentence is a blessing of the same kind as the final clause of the Taxila silver scroll. We may only be in doubt whether *śarīra* should be connected with the preceding *eta*, in which case we might think of construing *y[e*]śha dharmanam* with *nirvanasambharae* and taking *bharatu* as a further explanation of *syeta*, i e, *syati* 'to the nirvāna equipment of which *dharma*s for all beings this your *śarīra* might serve'. Such an explanation seems, however, to be rather hard, and it is more in accordance with the usual formula to translate 'out of which *dharma*s this may result let the *śarīra* be for the *nirvāna* equipment of all beings', or, more probably, 'of which *dharma*s this your *śarīra* may consist (or, be the cause) Let it be for the *nirvāna* equipment of all beings'.

As already indicated the next word is clearly *ramasa*, and the suspicious form *rajaśa* instead of *rañō* 'of the king' disappears from the dialect. The form *rajaśa* in the Niya inscriptions corresponds to Skt *rājyasya*.

Then comes a difficult *akshara*, which Professor Thomas describes as an 'unintelligible form, which seems to contain a *y*'. He read the ensuing letters as *grīprachamyā* and added 'We have a sufficiency of parallels to prove that the idea intended is that conveyed by the word *agrāpratyamśa*, and we are free to choose between two suppositions either there has been a misreading of *agrāprachamśa* (confusion of *ya* and *śa* being easy), or the inscription had employed a synonym, possibly *agrāprachāya*=*agrāpratyāya*, in which the second member had the (rare) sense of "tribute," "share".'

As long as we did not know Masson's original copy, we were justified in assuming that his reproductions were not quite reliable. Now we cannot do so any more, and we must assume that the 'unintelligible' letter, which has become quite disfigured in A and B, is a fairly reliable copy of what Masson saw on the jar. So far as I can see, it is possible to read it as *no*, the *akshara* being turned backwards in a similar way as the *de* of *edena*, but it is more probable that we have to do with a misshapen *a*. Then follows *grīprachaya*. The *p* of *pra* shows the same protrusion, only more pronounced, as in *pratīsthapita* 1 1. The same is the case in A, and also in B, where we find two slightly varying attempts at rendering the *akshara*. The bottom of *cha* is curved like the bottom of *dha*, but it does not seem possible to read *cham*. *Prachaya* may represent Skt *pratyaya* as well as *pratyāya*. The latter word is, so far as I know, only found in lexicographical works as one of the meanings of *lāra*, e g, in Hēmachandra's *Anēkārthasāgraha* 405 *lārah pratyāya śuṇḍayōh raśmau varshōpalē pānau* 'lāra means toll, trunk, ray, hail, hand'. We have no right to assume that it could mean 'share'. Moreover, it is *a priori* unlikely that *prachaya* in a Buddhist inscription is any thing else than the well-known *pratyaya*, Pāh *pacchaya*.

If the reading *a* is correct, we thus have *ramasa agrī prachaya*, where *agrī*=*agrē*. It is hardly allowed to connect this *agrī* with the ensuing *prachaya* into a compound. There cannot however, in my opinion, be much doubt that Professor Thomas was right in supposing that what is meant is to invoke a blessing on Rāma as the person who is to receive the principal share of the *punya* connected with the establishment of the relic, just as we read in the Wardak vase inscription *mahīya cha Vag(r)amareg(r)as(r)a agrabhag(r)apad(r)iyamsae bhavatu* 'may it be for the sharing in the principal lot for myself Vāgramareya,' where the person there singled out is the owner of the Vihāra, which fact makes me inclined to think that Rāma in our inscription occupied a similar position, i e, that he was the donor or owner of the Stūpa and not an eponymous Yaksha.

If I am right about the purport of the sentence, (*a*)*grī* means or it is 'in future,' the locative of *agra* 'first, principal,' and means about the same thing as *agrapratyamśa*. With regard to *prachaya*, if it is not miswritten for *prachāśa*, i.e., *prachamśa*=*pratyamśa*, we may doubt whether it is to be taken as a nominative or as an ablative, but the former seems to me to be the proper explanation.

I cannot finish these lines without paying my tribute to Professor Thomas for the sagacity and ingenuousness with which he has succeeded in solving almost all the problems connected with the Hidda record at the hand of the inferior reproductions at his disposal. And I should also like to give expression to my admiration of Masson's achievement. Without apparently understanding a single word he has left us a reliable and extremely careful copy, which gives an almost perfect reproduction of the original.

With some confidence I then give the following text and translation.

TEXT

L 1 sambatārae athavātihi 20 4 4 mase Apellae easthehi daśahi 10 śā śhunammi pratīsthapita śarira Ramaramūnam thubami Samghamitrena navakarmāna(-ena)

L 2 edena k[u]śālmule[nā*] etesha dharmāna labhi bhavami y[e*]śha dharmānam eta vo syeta (syati) śarira sarvasatvāna nīrvāṇaśambharae bhavatu Ramasa agra prachaya

TRANSLATION

In the twenty eighth—28—year, in the month Appellaios, after ten—10—had appeared, in this instant was established a relic in the Rāma grove, in the Stūpa by Samghamitra the superintendent of work. Through this root of bliss, might we become recipients of these *dharma*s, of which *dharma*s this your relic may be. Let it lead to nīrvāṇa equipment for all beings and be the support in future (or, the cause for the foremost share) for Rāma.

✓ No 7—THREE MAUKHARI INSCRIPTIONS ON YUPAS KRITA YEAR 295

By PROF. A. S. ALTFARK, BRUNNEN'S HINDU UNIVERSITY

The three Maukhari inscriptions, that are being published here for the first time, were discovered by me at Badvā in Kotah State in Rājputāna on the 1st of March 1936 in the course of a tour of archaeological exploration organised by the State Historian, Dr Mathuralal, at the instance of the Kotah government. Badvā is a large village, about 5 miles south-west of Antah, a railway station on the Kotah Bina line of the G. I. P. Railway. The stone pillars, on which the inscriptions are engraved were at the time of their discovery situated outside the village, about half a mile to its east, at a locality known as Thamb Tōran¹ which is obviously a vernacular form of the Sanskrit expression *Stambha Tōraṇa*. This name was probably given to the locality, about 1,700 years ago, when two stone structures, partially resembling an arch, were raised there by the erection of four sacrificial posts by the Maukhari rulers, then ruling over the territory. At the time of their discovery only three of these pillars were *in situ*, one inclined at an angle of about 80°, and the other two lying flat on the ground. One of the latter pillars had to be raised before impressions of its inscription could be taken, as it had fallen with the inscribed side downwards. The remnants of the fourth pillar could be found at a distance of about two furlongs, where a

¹ The Kotah government is taking steps to remove these pillars to Kotah.

portion of it was discovered converted into a *salī* stone. On one side of this stone are still to be seen the letters *yajñō* of the original inscription of the 3rd century A D. It is therefore clear that this fourth pillar also bore an inscription, similar to, but not identical in its contents¹ with those on the other three.

The two pillars of the front row were separated from each other by a distance of about 25 feet. The rear row, of which only one pillar was *in situ*, stood behind the first at a distance of about 25 yards. The ends of the *yūpas* turn inwards to their proper right, as will be seen from the accompanying photograph, two *yūpas*, standing at a distance of about 25 feet with their inclined portions facing each other, must have appeared like the lower portions of a *tōrana*. This may have been the reason, as I have already suggested, for the name *Stambha Tōrana* being given to the locality, probably ever since the time of the erection of the pillars.

Each of the three pillars is described as a *yūpa* in the inscription engraved upon it. Sacred texts declare that *yūpas* should be made of wood. The *Kātyāyana-Srautasūtra* vividly describes the expedition for securing a suitable stump for this purpose²—how the tree is to be felled, how its superfluous branches are to be chopped, etc. Different results are promised to the sacrificer according to the tree that may be selected for making the *yūpa*. The *Āitarēya Brāhmaṇa* lays down that the *yūpa* itself was to be offered as an oblation at the end of the sacrifice³. No wooden *yūpas* have, however, been so far discovered⁴. The stone ones, that we have come across so far, begin from the 2nd century A D, and seem to be an innovation introduced for commemorative purposes by the advocates of the Vedic revival, probably with a view to emulate Buddhist pillars like those of Aśoka. We have so far discovered only four complete stone *yūpas*, besides the present three. In the early centuries of the Christian era the stone *yūpas*, commemorating different sacrificers, must have been fairly common, otherwise the word *yūpa* would not have acquired the sense of a *yajña stambha*⁵.

It is interesting to note that the practice of erecting commemorative *yūpas* runs counter to the sentiments expressed in this connection by the authors of the *Grihyasūtra* and *Dharmasūtra* literature. Their writers probably flourished just after the time of the Upanishadic and Buddhist revolt against the practice of slaughter of animals in sacrifices. Many of them like Vāsiṣṭha,⁶ Baudhāyana,⁷ Vishnu⁸ and Āśvalāyana⁹ declare that the touch of a *yūpa* is as polluting as that of a funeral pyre or a woman in her courses, the *Hiranyakēśi Grihyasūtra* says that by touching a *yūpa* one brings upon oneself the guilt of whatever faults may have been committed in the sacrifice¹⁰. It would appear that with the revival of Vedic sacrifices, the leaders of society and of the new movement ceased to subscribe to the above views of the *Dharmaśāstra* writers.

¹ In the inscriptions on the pillars completely preserved the word *yajñō* does not occur.

² VI, 3.

³ II, 1.

⁴ The wooden post, bearing a fragmentary inscription, discovered at Kirārī (*ante*, Vol XVIII, p 152), does not look like a *yūpa*. It has a *lalasa* at the top, which no sacred text recommends in the case of a *yūpa*. Its inscription is too fragmentary to determine whether it was a *yūpa*.

⁵ Cf. *संज्ञानिर्विद्वत्सहस्रबाहुर्द्विदशदीपनिखातयूप । अनन्यसाधारणराजशब्दो बभूव योगी किञ्च कार्त्तवीर्य ॥ Raghu vamsā, VI, 38*

⁶ Cf. *यूपचितिसम्माननस्तत्त्वान्प्रतिमुच्यते यद्येकमुपसृष्टं सञ्चिरे । अस्युपेयादप इति । IV, 31*

⁷ I, 5, 9, 5.

⁸ 22, 69.

⁹ III, 6, 8.

¹⁰ Cf. *न यूपमुपसृष्टं । दुरिष्ट यज्ञस्तत्प्रतिमुच्यते यद्येकमुपसृष्टं । I, 5, 16, 16, The commentator नादृष्ट add — दुरिष्टमिति भूतनिदृष्टात्तमास एव यागे प्रतिषेधो नासमाप्ति ॥*

and began to encourage the construction of stone *yūpas* as a triumphant and enduring testimony to the revival of the old Vedic religion. *Yūpa* is a veritable thunderbolt, says the *Āitarīya Brāhmaṇa*¹. Hindu champions of the revival of the Vedic religion were obviously ~~as~~ proud of their commemorative stone *yūpas* as Indra was of his thunderbolt.

Detailed instructions have been given in the Vedic literature about the shape and size of the sacrificial post. The height was rigidly fixed only in the case of the *Vājapātya* sacrifice, where the post had to be made 17 cubits high, in the case of other sacrifices it could vary from five to fifteen cubits². After the leaves and branches of the stem were cut off, it was to be given an octagonal shape, for that was the shape of the thunderbolt of Indra, and *yūpa* is a thunderbolt³. The stem was not to be straight, it was to be curved both at the top and the centre, the concavity in either case facing the same side⁴. It was never to be made tapering at the top, for such a post was supposed to hasten the death of the sacrificer⁵. At a distance of two to eight inches from the top of the post was to be slipped in a ring or *kataḥa*, technically known as *chashāla*, which also had naturally to be octagonal in shape⁶. *Yūpa* resembled in its external appearance a *Brahmachārin*, so it had a girdle at its centre and a triple *upavīta* across it. It was to be covered by a number of cloths⁷.

These detailed instructions about the nature of the *yūpas* do not seem to have been known to the sculptors responsible for the construction of the stone *yūpas* of King Mūlatarmān of Borneo, for they are roughly dressed stones of irregular shape⁸. In India, however, the Hindu revivalist tried to conform to the requirements of the sacred texts as far as possible. Thus none of the complete and undamaged *yūpas* discovered so far is pointed at the end. They all bend at the top. The *yūpas* on the *Āśtamīdha* coins of Samudragupta show a bend at the middle also, the omission of this feature in the case of stone *yūpas*—for we do not find it on a single *yūpa* so far discovered—is probably to be attributed to a greater regard being paid to artistic beauty than to the injunctions of the sacred texts. A stone pillar showing a bend in the middle and at the top would be hardly graceful. The portion above the ground of the three *yūpas* at Badvā is octagonal, the underground shaft of two of them is, however, square. The shafts of the *yūpas* discovered at Isāpur and Bijayagadh are, however, square at the bottom and octagonal above. This departure from the requirements as laid down in the sacred texts also seems to be due to architectural considerations. A pillar square at the bottom and octagonal above was probably regarded as more graceful than one octagonal throughout. The

¹ II, 1.

² *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, VI, 3. The cubit is to be the cubit of the *Ājāmāna*. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, however, allows any height for the *yūpa*, see III, 6, 1, 26.

³ *Āitarīya Brāhmaṇa*, II, 1. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* connects the eight sides of the shaft of the post to the eight syllables of each line of the *Gāyatrī* metre (V, 2, 1, 5). This is a fanciful reason.

⁴ The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* requires it to be *अनंत उपरिद्विपतौ सञ्च* and not *अपतौ सञ्च*, XI, 7, 4, 3, the *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* lays down that it should be *सञ्चोपपतम्*, VI, 1.

⁵ Cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 7, 4, 3, *अथ यथा यून इवाय भवति स ह कपोती नाम । यन्नादृशं नृप कुरुते पुरा चायुषोऽसं लोकमेति ।*

⁶ *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, VI, 1, 26. Some authorities permitted a *chashāla* made of wheaten dough. See *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V, 2, 1, 6.

⁷ *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III, 7, 1, 21. For the resemblance between the sacrificial post and a *Brahmachārin*, see *Rigveda*, III, 8, 4 & 5.

⁸ Vogel, *The Yūpa inscriptions of King Mūlatarmān from Kotlei*, p. 202. [As Dr. B. C. Chhabra has pointed out they might not have been intended to represent sacrificial posts, see *J. A. S. B. Letters*, Vol. I (1935), p. 41—Ed.]

⁹ *Annual Report, A. S. I.*, 1910-11, pp. 40ff. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 253.

architect responsible for the *yūpa* at Nāndsā seems to have paid scanty regard to the sacred texts, for he has fashioned a pillar entirely circular¹ None of the pillars at Badvā has a girdle at the middle, we can, however, see it clearly on the *yūpas* of the *Āśīamēdha* coins of Samudragupta² and on one of the two Īsāpur pillars Our *yūpas*, like all the rest discovered so far, do not show any *upavīta*³ Nor do they show any cloths carved round them Probably it was felt that it would not be easy to show this detail in stone, and so the architects in all cases discovered so far, have omitted it Cloths fluttering like banners at the ends of the *yūpas* on the coins of Samudragupta seem to be the ends of the cloths with which the *yūpa* was to be covered The *yūpas* on these coins have pedestals, no traces of these were discovered near the *yūpas* at Badvā Sacred texts do not recommend them

The total height of two of our *yūpas* is 13' 3" and that of the third 15' 8", the length of the shaft underground is about 4' in each case Each of them has a square *chashāla* about eight inches from the top, as laid down in the sacred texts The portion above the *chashāla* bends inwards, as is the case with all the other sacrificial pillars discovered so far

The inscriptions on these *yūpas* have been written not in horizontal lines, as is the case with the Īsāpur pillar, but in one long vertical line, reading from the top to the bottom, and about 8 feet in length⁴ The inscription on the *yūpa* of Balasimha, however, is written in two such vertical lines on two different facets of the octagonal pillar owing to some natural defect in the stone in the first facet Each of these lines is 4 feet and 8 inches long The height of the normal letters is about 1 8", of letters with verticals like *la*, *ra* etc., about 4", of conjunct letters like *lla*, *śya*, etc., 4 1/2" and of conjuncts with medial vowels like *tri* about 6". The letters on the *yūpa* of Balasimha are slightly bigger and broader, and seem to have been engraved by a different mason, copying a manuscript written in a different duct The Characters bear a general resemblance to those of the third century A D in general, and to those on the Nāndsā *yūpa* in particular, engraved 13 years earlier⁵ We do not see here any precursors of the Eastern variety forms of the Gupta alphabet Medial *ā* and *ī* strokes are still indicated by horizontal lines (except in some rare cases like *dī* in *Sōmadīva* in inscription B) usually attached at the top In *mō* of *Mōlharā* the vowel sign is attached in the middle *Ya* has developed a loop in its left limb, and when the last member of a conjunct, it shows all possible varieties of form Sometimes it is archaic,—tripartite and with a curved back (cf *śya* in *śulāśya* in the first line of the record of Balasimha, in this same inscription, however, is to be seen the relatively later bipartite form in *-simhāsya*) Normally, however, this letter shows a loop on the left In inscription C, there is the stop *m* at the end, it is denoted by the normal form of the letter *ma*, but smaller in size and written below the line as is usually found in the writing of this period

Numerical Symbols for 200, 90 and 5 occur in each of the three records The signs for 90 and 5 are the usual ones for the period, but the additional stroke attached to the symbol for hundred in order to convert it into 200 is rather unusual Instead of a short horizontal stroke being attached to the vertical, in each of the three inscriptions we find the horizontal stroke first taken upwards and then led right across the top of the symbol to more than half its breadth That this modified symbol stands for two hundred is rendered absolutely certain by its being identical in form with the symbol used in the Nāndsā *yūpa* inscription In the latter record the

¹ *Ind Ant.*, Vol LVIII, p 53

² Allart *The Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, Pl V, Nos 9 14

³ Possibly the garlands round the top of the *Yūpas* discovered at Īsāpur may have been intended as substitutes for the *upavīta*

⁴ The inscription on the Bijayagadh pillar is also vertical and written in the same manner

⁵ *Ind Ant.*, Vol LVIII, p 53

date is also expressed in words and the import of the numerical symbol engraved there is thus absolutely certain. As will be presently shown, the year 295 of the record has to be referred to the Vikrama era. The earliest known inscription of this era is that on the Nāndī gūpa, which is dated in the year 282¹. This record, however, has not yet been properly edited.

The Language of the record may be described as incorrect Sanskrit. *Kṛitā* at the beginning of the inscriptions seems to be a mistake for *Kṛitāh*. Among other mistakes may be pointed out *Phalquna* for *Phālqana*, *pañcho* for *pañchame* and *tri* for *tri*. The reading *dalśhanyam* is absolutely certain on the *yūpa* of Balasimha, it seems to be a mistake for *dalśhina*. In the inscriptions on the *yūpas* of Sōmadēva and Balavardhana *śahasram* has been spelt as *śalāśram*. Usually no *sandhi* rules have been observed, the solitary exception being *Mōlharar-Bala pitraya* in the inscription on the pillar of Balasimha.

Each record commemorates the performance of a *Trirātra* sacrifice. The *Taittirīya Samhitā* gives a detailed description of the origin and nature of this sacrifice². We are told that Prayjapati invented it for Visnu, Rudra and Āditya and won thereby the three worlds. The *Sāṃhitāyana Śrautasūtra* declares that by the merit of this sacrifice, the sacrificer can win for himself whatever is threefold (*triśha*) in all — both mundane and spiritual³. This sacrifice is an amalgam of Agnishtōma, Uktva and Atirātra sacrifice, performed on the first, second and third days respectively⁴. Its full name is *Gargya Trirātra*, it is called *Triśha* if a horse is immolated on the second day⁵. The wording of the concluding portion of each record *Trirātra eva tatsya dalśhanyam(nā) garām śhasram* appears to be suggested by that of the concluding sentence of the description of this sacrifice in the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (VII, 15) where we read,

तदेतच्छस्यमसि त्रिंशच्च सप्त दक्षिणा सप्तसप्तित, स्वर्गं लोकः ।

The Maṅkharī sacrificers gave precisely the same amount of *dalśhina* as prescribed by the sacred texts. As a matter of fact, *Trirātra* sacrifice has been described in one place as *Śahasra dalśhina Trirātra*⁶. Out of the 6,000 cows, 333 were to be given every day, in groups of ten, the three that remained every day, along with the thousandth one, which was required to be variegated in colour, were to be given to the *Hṛi* on the last day of the sacrifice.

The fragmentary *yūpa*, discovered at Navari, records the performance of a Yajñīya sacrifice by at least three brothers⁷. The three sacrificers at Bodvī, though brothers, chose to eat different commemorative *yūpas*. Their number was four but the name of the fourth sacrificer has perished along with his commemorative *yūpa*, of which only a fragment could be discovered and recovered.

The names of the brothers, whose memory has been preserved by their commemorative pillars, are Balavardhana, Sōmadēva and Balasimha. They are described as the sons of Mōlharī Mahāsīmāpati Bala⁸. The term Mōlharī is a more variant for Maṅkharī and thus our record, which is dated in the year 295 of the Vikrama era, is the earliest dated Maṅkharī record to be so far published. The Maṅkharī family of Bala is undoubtedly earlier than the house of Yajñavarman ruling in Bihār, as the former was ruling in Rājputā in the first half of the 3rd century A. D., and Yajñavarman cannot be placed earlier than the fourth

¹ *Ibid.*, ante, Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 1, No. 1.

² VII, 15.

³ XVI, 21.

⁴ *Taittirīya Samhitā*, VII, 15.

⁵ *Sāṃhitāyana Śrautasūtra*, XVI, 21.

⁶ *Śatapatha Br.*, XIII, 4, 2, 1.

⁷ *Memoriae, A. S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 120.

⁸ [See p. 52 n. 8 below.—Ed.]

century A D The seal discovered by General Cunningham in Gayā district bearing the legend *Mokhalinam* in Aśoka Brāhmī is still the earliest Maukhari document, but it bears no personal name¹

The term Maukhari connotes that the family was founded by a progenitor named Maukhara,² if he was a real historical personage, we have now to place him earlier than the third century A D Whether the Maukhari families of Bihār, Kanauj and Badvā were all descended from him, we do not know No evidence is available at present to establish any family connection between these three houses The *varman*-ending names of the members of the Bihār and Kanauj Maukhari families, along with the epithet *kshatrasthitūr-dēśīkah* given to one of the members of the former family,³ make it clear that they were Kshatriyas by caste Three of the four names of the members of the new Maukhari family, Bala, Balavarddhana and Balasimha, confirm the same conclusion It is also interesting to note that all these Maukhari rulers are seen to be zealous patrons of the Vedic sacrifices⁴

None of the Maukhari chiefs mentioned in these records were known to us so far⁵ Bala, the head of the family, is designated as *Mahāsēnāpati* It is, however, not easy to determine the precise political status denoted by this title *Sēnāpati*, the title by which Pushyamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty, was known even to posterity, is a humbler title than the one given to Bala in our records Bala, therefore, may well have been more than a mere general In contemporary Āndhra⁶ and Ikshvāku records,⁷ however, this title seems to denote a feudal chief of considerable importance, ruling over a fairly big district⁸ It would appear that the Maukhari Commander in chief Bala was very probably enjoying a similar status He does not seem to have been an independent ruler

If he was not independent, whose feudatory was he? This question cannot be confidently answered at present At the time of our record, i e, in A D 239, the Kushānas were too weak to exercise any paramount control over southern Rājputāna, even if we suppose that the accession of Kanishka took place in c 120 A D From the very brief and imperfect summary of the Nāndsā *yūpa* inscription published so far,⁹ it would appear that in A D 226, i e, 13 years earlier than the time of our record, the rule of the Western Kshatrapas extended up to Nāndsā, which is about 70 miles nearly due west of Badvī¹⁰ It is therefore not improbable that the imperial overlord of

¹ C I I, Vol III, Introduction, p 11 It may be pointed out that the facsimile of this important seal has never been published and that its present whereabouts are unknown

² See Kaivāṭya on the *Paṭanjala Mahabhashya* on Panini IV, 1, 79 Our record does not connect the Maukharis with Aśvapati, the Madra king, as does the Harāhā record The Madras were originally in the Punjab, and if the statement of the Harāhā inscription is true, it is likely as my colleague Dr R S Tripathi has suggested, that like the Milcvas and Yaudhivas the Maukharis also may have had their home in the Punjab, from where they may have gradually migrated south eastwards If so, this movement must have begun very early, for we find the Maukharis in Bihār in the 3rd century B C It is, however, possible that the connection with Aśvapati may be more Puranic than historical

³ C I I, Vol III, Inscription No 49

⁴ For the Bihār family's patronage of the Vedic religion, see *ibid*, Inscription No 49, v 1 For the Kanauj family's patronage see v 7 of the Harāhā inscription, *ante*, Vol XIV, p 116 These references are not merely conventional

⁵ A Mathurā inscription dated in the year 80 mentions Bala as a son of a certain lady (*ante*, Vol I, p 392, No 24) If we place Kanishka in c 120 A D, then the date of this Bala would be c 200 and it would be possible to identify him with Bala of our inscriptions But from the fragmentary Mathurā record it does not appear that Bala, mentioned therein, was a Maukhari

⁶ *Ante*, Vol VIII, p 94

⁷ *Ante*, Vol XIX, p 1

⁸ *Ibid*, p 6

⁹ *Ind Ant*, Vol LVIII, p 53

¹⁰ Nāndsā is 36 miles from the railway station Bhilwara on the Chitor Ajmer line

the Maukharī Commander in chief Bala was the Kshatrapa ruler Vijayadāman, who was ruling from A. D. 238 to 250¹. If agreeing with Prof. Rapson² and disagreeing with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,³ we place Iśvaradatta Ābhira's intervention in A. D. 236, it is probable that Bala may have been compelled to transfer his allegiance to the interloper, provided he had made his power felt up to Kotah.

From the Chandravallī inscription of Mayūrasarman, the famous founder of the Kadamba house, it appears that he had defeated the Pallavas, Punada, Trakūtakas, Ābhira, Pāryātriakas, Śakas and Maukharis⁴. Since the record mentions specific kings and dynasties defeated, we cannot suppose that it contains mere empty boasts. All except the first two powers in the above list, belong to Central or Western India. The date of Mayūrasarman is, however, not definitely fixed, but I think the view of Dr. Krishna that he flourished about the middle of the 3rd century A. D.⁵ is to be preferred to that of Mr. Moraes who places him a century later⁶. If such be the case, then our new Maukharī inscriptions will throw considerable light upon the political situation of the time. It has been suggested that the Maukharis defeated by Mayūrasarman were the Maukharis of Bihār, but it does not appear from the list of Mayūrasarman's victories that he had extended his sphere of activity much beyond Western India. If, as suggested above, the Maukharis of Badā were the feudatories of the Śakas (and of the Ābhira also during their temporary ascendancy) then it is very probable that the Maukharis whom Mayūrasarman defeated were some of the descendants of Bala. After defeating (or encountering) the Trakūtakas and Ābhira, Mayūrasarman attacked Central Gujarāt. He was there opposed by the Śakas, a portion of whose forces were under the command of their Maukharī feudatories of Central India. This circumstance is very probably responsible for the victory over the Maukharis claimed by Mayūrasarman. It does not seem that he had ever invaded Bihār.

It would appear that at the time of the performance of the sacrifice in A. D. 239 *Mahāśāntipati* Bala was still alive. His sons were probably occupying subordinate positions in his principality. None of them seems to have made much progress in his official career, as no title like *Sāmanta* or *Sīnāpati* or *Dandanāyaka* is associated with any one of them⁷.

The date of the records is given at the beginning of each of them in identical phrases. The expression used is —*Kṛitī 200, 90, 5, Plāḡuna śulāśya pañcīti* di.

In order to get at the real meaning of the first word used here, it is necessary to compare the expression with similar ones occurring in early Indian inscriptions. Relevant passages to be considered are the following —

- (1) *Kṛitayōr=diayōr=īarsha śatayōr=diyīśīlayōh 200 80 2 Chaitra pūrnāmāsī(śyā)m* — Nindāī pillar inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVIII, p. 53)
- (2) *Kṛitīshu chaturshu varsha satīshu=ashītām(m)śīshu 100 20 8 Plāḡuna a(na) śatayāśya pañchadaśīyām=īlayām=pūrnīyām* — Bijavagadhī pillar inscription (*Fleet, C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 253)
- (3) *Śrī(r=m) Mālava gan āmnātī prastī Kṛita samjñitē śāśashly adhikē prāptē samā śata chaturshīyāc dīnī Āśīja śulāśya pañchamyām* — Mandasor inscription of Naravarman (*ante*, Vol. XII, p. 320)

¹ Rapson, *Catalogue*, etc., p. 120

² *Ibid.*, p. cxxxv

³ *Annual Report, A. S. I.*, 1913-14, pp. 227-45

⁴ *Archaeological Survey of Mysore*, Annual Report, 1920, p. 50

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50

⁶ *The Kadamba Inula*, p. 71

⁷ [See p. 52 n. 8 below —Ed.]

- (4) *Yātēshu chatu[r]shu Kṛi(Kṛi)tēshu śatēshu sausyaishvā (ś shthā)śīta sōttara-padēshv=*
īha vatsa[rēshu]] śullē trayōdaśa dinē bhuvr Kārttikasya māsasya—Gangdhār ins-
 cription (*C I I*, Vol III, p 74)
- (5) *Kṛitēshu chaturshu varsha śatēshv=ēlāsīty uttarēshv=asyāñ Mālava pūrvāyām 400*
80 1 Kārttika-śukla pañchamyām—Nagarī inscription (*P R A S WC*, 1915-16,
 p 56, *Memoirs A S I*, No 4, p 120)

Besides the present three records, we have thus five other instances where the word *Kṛita* is used in connection with the reckoning of an era. Out of these, in three passages, viz, Nos 1, 2, and 4, the term *Kṛita* alone has been used and in the remaining two, viz, Nos 3 and 5, it is used along with a reference to the Mālavas. In the two other Mandasor inscriptions, one of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman¹ and the other of Yaśōdharman² the term *Kṛita* has been omitted altogether and the era is indicated as *Mālavānām gana śikṛyā* and *Mālava gana śikṛi vaśāt*.

The controversy connected with the interpretation of the term *Kṛita* used in the above passages has not yet closed. That all the above passages refer to the years of the Vikrama era is now admitted, but why the terms *Kṛitēshu*, *Kṛitayōh*, etc have been used in connection with the era is not yet definitely known. On the analogy of the passages Nos 1 and 2 above, it is clear that *Kṛitēhi* of our inscriptions is to be corrected into *Kṛitarh* and is to be taken as governing a term like *varsharh* which is understood. The usual locative is here supplanted by the instrumental. But the meaning is the same, viz, 'when *Kṛita* years 295 had passed away'.

Dr Fleet, while discussing the passage No 4 above, was inclined to hold that *yātēshu Kṛitēshu vatsarēshu* should be interpreted as 'when fully completed (480) years had passed'. He held that *kṛitēshu* is more or less synonymous with *yātēshu*. The passage No 3 above, however, makes it clear that *kṛita* cannot be taken in that sense, but is clearly the proper name of the year or the era referred to in that document. While discussing the passage No 3 above, the late MM Haraprasad Sastri suggested that *Kṛita* was the proper name of the first year of a cycle of four years current in ancient India. He could substantiate his theory only by supposing that Bijayagadh and Gangdhār inscriptions, which are dated in the years 428 and 480 respectively, expressed expired years. This theory is now no longer tenable, for in our present records and in the passage No 1 above, the years mentioned are 295 and 282 respectively, and still they are described as *Kṛita*. In a cycle of four years, these years would be 3rd and 2nd respectively or 4th and 3rd, if we take them to be expired years. MM Sastri's theory has therefore to be abandoned in the light of the new data.

While commenting upon the passage No 3 above, Dr D R Bhandarkar has observed that time has not yet come for suggesting a definite interpretation for the word *Kṛita*³. He was inclined to hold that *Kṛita* was not the name of a king or royal dynasty associated with this era. To him it appeared that what is now known as Vikrama era was invented by the people or astronomers for the purpose of counting years and was consequently originally known as *kṛita* or 'made'. We do not so far know of any great astronomer having flourished in c 57 B C. None of the famous Hindu astronomers like Āryabhata, Varāhamihira or Brahmagupta is known to have attempted the founding of an era. Astronomers in ancient India have *invented* eras like the Saptārshī and the Kalyuga ones going back to pre historic times, they are not known to have founded eras commencing at any specific historic date.

¹ *C I I*, Vol III, p 81

² *Ibid*, p 152

³ *Ind Ant*, Vol XLII, p 163

What then is the meaning of the term *Kṛta* in the above passages? I see no reason why it should not be taken as the proper name of the era. From the passage No. 3 above it is clear that though the era was traditionally handed down in the Mūḍava tribe, it was known as *Kṛta*. The term *Kṛta* there does not designate any particular year of the era, but the whole collection of years, cf. *Kṛta samjñāt śaśashtyadhīcī prāptī samākata chatushtayī*. The era may have been originally known by that term because of the name of its founder. *Kṛta* as a personal proper name is not familiar in later Indian history and literature, but the case seems to have been different in earlier times. *Kṛta* was the name of one of the Vīśvādēvas, Vā udēva had given it to one of his sons from Rōhinī, a pupil of Hiranyanūbha was known by that name, and fathers of Upa-richira and Harvahan were christened by it¹. What inherent improbability is there in postulating that the so-called Vikrama era may have been originally started by a king named *Kṛta*? According to the *Tagarūpa*, *ṛta* has also the sense of fruit or reward. This meaning seems to be connected with one of the Vedic meanings of the word,—‘booty’. At the time of the founding of the era, a king named *Kṛta* may probably have scored a memorable victory and won great booty (*ṛta*). To commemorate the victory an era was started called *Kṛta* named after its founder and his great achievement.

This theory is only a tentative one. I admit that so far we have no evidence whatsoever of a king named *Kṛta* having flourished by the middle of the 1st century B.C. But it is not improbable that in course of time we may discover a king of that name ruling at that time. It is also true that an era named after him *Kṛta* should be known by a *śaśata* expression like *Kṛta varṣa* or *samāt era*, on the analogy of the expression *Gaṅgā śaśata śaśa trapā varṣānā* occurring in the Gaṅgā plates of the time of Śaśanērāja². The author of early inscriptions were not particularly strong in Sanskrit (even, for instance, evidenced by the present inscriptions) and the expression *Kṛta* (*samātara*) for *Kṛta* (*samātara*) is quite possible in their compositions. It may be further pointed out that in several cases *śaśata* expressions have not been used in such cases. Thus in the Śūnī plates of Kāṇḍava³ dated in the year 1118 and in the Bhudreswar inscription of the time of Chauhāyā king Jayasiddhi⁴ dated in the year 1195, we have the expressions *Lakṣma samāt* 1118 and 1195 and not *Lakṣma samāt* 1118 and 1195. Similarly we come across the expression *Lakṣmī Samāt* and not *Lakṣmī samāt*. There is therefore nothing unusual in the years of the era of king *Kṛta* being known as *Kṛta* *varṣa* or *Kṛta śaśata* or *Kṛta* *śaśata* or *Kṛta* *śaśata*.

The foundation of the Vikrama era is still shrouded in impenetrable mystery. Dr Sten Konow has suggested on the authority of the *Kāṇḍavaśāstrīyaśāstrīya* that the era was founded by king Vikramāditya of Mūḍava in commemoration of his ousting the Śakas from Ujjayini, where they had obtained a temporary resting. What is stated by the Juna tradition is not, however, confirmed by the epigraphical date. If we analyse the inscriptions where the Vikrama era has been used, we find that the earliest instance so far known of the term Vikrama being associated with the era occurs full 794 years after its foundation⁵. Thus Vikrama is for the first time called a king only in the 11th century of the era⁶. It is therefore clear that in the

¹ See Monier Williams' Sanskrit English Dictionary under *Kṛta*.

² *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 114.

³ *Ante*, Vol. I, p. 317.

⁴ *Archaeological Survey Report for Western India*, No. 2, Appendix, p. xiii, No. 56.

⁵ Unā inscription *ante*, Vol. IX, p. 4.

⁶ *Ante*, Vol. XIV, pp. 293-5.

⁷ Dhimiki inscription of Jāṇadēva, *Ird. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 155.

⁸ Lkhingji inscription of Naravāhana, dated V. 1028, *J. L. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 163.

first seven centuries of this era, its connection with a king named Vikrama was altogether unknown. If, as the Jaina tradition asserts, king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, the expeller of the Śakas, was the founder of the era, it has to be admitted that people had completely forgotten his memory within 250 years after his death. We shall have to suppose that it was somehow revived in the 11th century, probably due to the historic researches of the time, and that the era came to be renamed after him. This seems to be altogether improbable.

The precise interpretation of the term *kṛita* being for a long time doubtful, the earliest proper name associated with the era was for a long time considered to be that of the Mālavas. Kielhorn had observed that from about the 5th to the 9th century of this era it was believed by poets to be specially used by the princes and people of Mālava.¹ The Mālavas, however, do not seem to be connected with the foundation of the era. It is interesting to note that in the three earliest instances of the use of this era, viz., the present records and the passages Nos. 1 and 2 above, the Mālavas have not been associated with the era at all. The term *Kṛita* alone is used to denote it. The same is the case with the Gangadhār inscription of the year 480 (passage No. 4 above). The passage No. 3 above is the earliest instance, known so far, of the association of the Mālavas with the era, but there it is expressly stated that *Kṛita* was its proper name, though it was traditionally handed down among the Mālavas.² The evidence available so far shows that the association of the Mālavas with the era commenced sometime towards the middle of the 5th century A.D., as evidenced by the passage No. 3 above. Towards the end of that century its original name *Kṛita* was dropped, as would appear from the name of the era in the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman.³ People of the 8th century believed that the era was founded by a Mālava ruler.⁴ Down to the 4th century, however, the Vikrama era was known as *Kṛita* and was not known to be connected with the tribe or king of the Mālavas. The supersession of the name *Kṛita* by Mālava is paralleled by the supersession of the name of Gupta era by the term Valabhī era in western India.

The geographical position of the places, where *Yūpa* inscriptions and inscriptions with the term *Kṛita* occur, is worth noting. *Yūpa* inscriptions have been found at Īsāpur, Bijayagadh, Badvā, Nagari and Nāndsā. Bijayagadh is about 50 miles south east of Īsāpur, Badvā is about 140 miles south-south-east of Bijayagadh, Nagari is about 90 miles east of Badvā, and Nāndsā is about 40 miles north east of Nagari. It would appear from this that eastern Rājputāna played an important part in the revival of Vedic religion. *Kṛita* era inscriptions have been discovered at Nāndsā, Badvā, Mandasor, Bijayagadh, Gangadhār and Nagari. Mandasor is about 100 miles south-west of Badvā and Gangadhār is about 36 miles east of Mandasor. South eastern Rājputāna was thus the country where the designation *Kṛita* was current. It is worth noting that it is precisely in this area that the term Mālava came to be later associated with the era, for Mandasor, Nagari, Kanaswa and Gvārāspur are situated in the same sector of the country. It is therefore clear that in this province the term Mālava superseded the earlier name *Kṛita* after the 4th century.

The inscriptions mention no places. The village where they were discovered, is known as Badvā, it is not improbable that Badvā may be a contraction of Balavādī and that the modern humble village may have been once a flourishing capital,—founded by the *Mahāsēnāpati* Bala,

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XXI, pp 403-4

² This is no place to discuss the precise interpretation of the terms *Mālava gaṇ āmnāt*, *Mālava gaṇa śikṣa*, *śaśat* and *Mālavānām gaṇa śikṣyā*. All these refer to the established usage in the Mālava tribe. I do not think that the era has anything to do with any tribal organisation of the Mālavas.

³ Fleet, *C I I*, Vol III, p 81

⁴ See Kanaswa inscription, *Ind Ant*, Vol XIX, p 57

who may have been the founder of the Maukharī branch in Kotah state. Its present population is only about 1,600, but half a century ago, it is said to have been four times more populous.

Before concluding, I would like to express my deep indebtedness to Major-General Ap Onkar Singh, C I E, Dewan of Kotah, and to Dr. Mathuralal, State Historian, Kotah, for procuring the photographs of the *Yūpas* and supplying valuable information for the preparation of this article.

TEXT

A The Yūpa of Balavarddhana.

L 1 Siddham [*] Kṛit̥chi(Kṛit̥aiḥ) 200 90 5 Phalguna(Phāl̥guna) suklaśya pañc̥h̥ di śri(śrī)-mahā s̥n̥āpat̥ch̥² Mōkhar̥ch̥³ Bala puttrasya Balavarddhanaśya yūpah[⁴ *] Trī rātra sammitasya dakṣiṇyam(nī) gavām sahasram(sahasram)[⁵ *]

B The Yūpa of Sōmadēva.

L 1 Siddham[*] Kṛit̥chi(Kṛit̥aiḥ) 200 90 5 Phalguna(Phāl̥guna) suklaśya pañc̥h̥ di śri(śrī)-mahā s̥n̥āpat̥ch̥² Mōkhar̥ch̥³ Bala puttrasya Sōmadēvaśya yūpah[⁴ *] Trī rātra sammitasya dakṣiṇyam(nā) gavām sahasram(sahasram)[⁵ *]

C The Yūpa of Balasimha.

L 1⁶ Kṛit̥chi(Kṛit̥aiḥ) 200 90 5 Phalguna(Phāl̥guna) suklaśya pañc̥h̥ da(di) śri(śrī) mahā-s̥n̥āpat̥ch̥[⁷ r] Mōkhar̥ch̥³

L 2 r-Bala-puttrasya Balasimbū(ha)śya vū bah̥(pah)[⁸ *] Trī rātra sammitasya dakṣiṇyam(nā) gavām sahasram [⁹ *]

TRANSLATION

Well accomplished! On the fifth day of the bright half of Phalguna (*of the year*) 205 by Kṛit̥aiḥ (*years, this*) sacrificial pillar (*was erected*) by Balavarddhana (Sōmadēva in inscription B and Balasimha in inscription C), son of Bala, the glorious Mōkharī commander in chief. The fee of a thousand cows as laid down for the Trīrātra sacrifice (*was duly given to Brahmanas*)

No. 8—NANDAPUR COPPER-PLATE OF THE GUPTA YEAR 169

By N G MAJUMDAR, M A, INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

This copper plate, which is edited here for the first time, has been in the possession of Mr Ganapati Sarkar, Zemindar of Behāghātī, Calcutta, since 1929. I first saw it at the Annual

¹ From ink impressions

² Read *patra*

³ Read *Mokhar*

⁴ There is a triangular symbol at the end

⁵ There are two symbols at the end of this record, one triangular and the other circular

⁶ The word *siddham* has been omitted in this record

⁷ The letter *sha* is a result of the engraver's carelessness

⁸ [According to the text *Mokhar̥ch̥* and *śri mahā s̥n̥āpat̥ch̥* would refer to each of the three brothers and not to their father Bala. Since all the three bear the title of *maḥā-s̥n̥āpati*, it is to be presumed that it was meant to be only a title of nobility as in the inscriptions of the southern Ikṣvāku rulers—*Ed*]

THREE MAUKHARI INSCRIPTIONS ON YUPAS KRITA YEAR 295
A The Yupa of Balavarddhana

Left half



Right half



B The Yupa of Somadeva

Left half

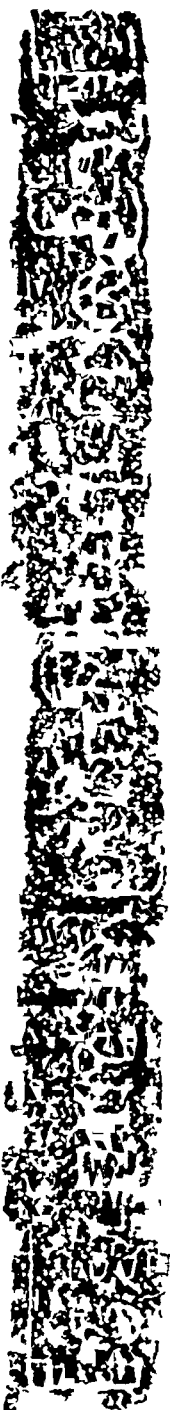


Right half



C The Yupa of Balasimha

First line



Second line



Exhibition of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, held on the 3rd February, 1936. Subsequently, at my request Mr Sarkar very kindly handed it over to me for decipherment and publication. So far as available information goes, the copper plate comes from a village called **Nandapur**¹ which lies on the southern bank of the Ganges, at a distance of about two miles to the north east of Surajgarhā in the District of Monghyr. The plate is said to have been fixed to the wall of a niche in a dilapidated temple close to the site of a *Śiva-linga* locally known as 'Buihānāth Mahādēva'. According to reports collected by Mr Sarkar, Nandapur and its neighbourhood are full of ruins representing an ancient site, a part of which has perished due to the erosion of the river bank.

This is a **single sheet** of copper, measuring about $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. It bears inscription on both sides, there being in all nineteen lines of writing of which fifteen are on the obverse and only four on the reverse. A **seal** is attached to the plate, which originally must have borne an inscription. But it has since suffered much from corrosion with the result that none of the letters is at present preserved. Probably two letters are also missing in line 4, just where the donee's name was mentioned, and a few are damaged, or partly obliterated, in lines 17 and 18. The rest of the document is in a fair state of preservation, and the engraving is, on the whole, well executed.

The **characters** belong to 'the eastern variety' of the Gupta Alphabet (cf *la*, *sha*, *sa* and *ha*) as found in the Dhānāidaha, Dāmōdarpur, Baigrām and Pāhārpur copper plates, being typical of the writing prevalent in Bengal during the fifth century A.D. Attention may be drawn to the hook like sign for medial *ā* attached to the bottom of some letters in making up the sign for the medial *ō*, e.g., in *Gōraśhita* (l 12), which occurs also in other records of the period. Another form of the medial *ā* sign is also used, in the shape of an upright stroke hanging from the right side of the *mātrā*. When applied to *na* and *ma* this stroke is lengthened, reaching the bottom of the letter where it is slightly bent to the left, e.g., in *Brāhmanā* (l 3) and *sammānam* (l 15), in which we must recognize an advanced form of the sign². The forms of the final *t* and *m* are noteworthy, e.g., in *vasēt* (l 19) and *dattam* (l 13). The numerical signs for 4, 100, 60, 9 and 8 occur in the inscription (ll 13, 19).

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit prose, excepting that there are two imprecatory verses in lines 17-18. The phraseology will be found to tally in many respects with that of the Baigrām copper-plate³. As regards **orthography**, we should note the use of both *ba* and *va*. But the writer of the document has failed to distinguish between the two letters in the words *bāhya* (ll 5, 9), *stamba* (ll 5, 9), *kutumbin* (ll 2, 13) and *Bandhudāsa* (l 8), in all these instances the sign for *va* being used instead of that for *ba*⁴. The consonants *ka* and *ta* are often doubled before a subscript *r*, e.g., in *vikkrayō* (ll 6, 9), *gōttra* (l 3) and *kshēttira* (l 13), although the word *vikraya* is spelt with a single *ka* in line 10. Some of the consonants following a superscript *r* are occasionally doubled, e.g., in *pravarttanāya* (l 4) and *dharma* (l 11).

The charter was issued from a village called **Ambila**. It records the purchase of 4 *kulyavāpas* of fallow land within the village of **Jangōyikā**, at the rate of two *dīnāras* per *kulyavāpa*, by the *Vishayapati* **Chhattaramaha**, and the transfer of the same property as gift to a Brāhmana, to enable him to perform 'the Five Great Sacrifices'. The name of the donee ending in *sāmman* cannot be made out with certainty. He was an inhabitant of **Nanda vīthi** and **Khatā pūrana agrahāra**, and belonged to the *Kāśyapa gōtra* and the *Chhandōga* (*charana* of the *Sāma-vēda*). The land was bounded on the south by the plot given away to *Gōraśhita* and on the

¹ It is marked as 'Nandpur' in the 1" scale map of the Survey of India (Sheet No 72 K 3 and 7) published in 1925.

² Cf e.g., Faridpur grant of Gōpachandra, *Ind Ant*, Vol XXXIX, Pl III (facing p 204), l 24.

³ *Ante*, Vol XXI, pp 81-82.

⁴ Similarly in the Baigrām copper plate the letter *va* instead of *ba* occurs in *stamba* in line 5, while *ka* is correctly employed in *stamba* in line 11, in *bāhya* in lines 5 and 11, and in *kutumbin* in line 2.

Obverse

2 3 4 6 8 10 12 14

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

Obverse text in Gupta script, lines 1-14 visible.

Reverse

16 18

Reverse text in Gupta script, lines 16-18 visible.

- 12 samgrīhya Jangōyikā grāmē Gōrakshita-tāmrāpatta dakṣiṇēna Gōpālībhōgāyā paśchi
māna khila-
- 13 kshēttara kulyavāpa chātushtayam dattam ku 4 [I*] Tē yūyam=ēvam viditvā kutumvi-
(mbi)nām karshan āvirōdhu sthānē
- 14 Darvivikarmma hēstēn=śhīstaka navaka nalābhīyām=apavīñchīya chira kāla sthāyi tush-
āngīr ādi chihnaś=chaturddi
- 15 n-niyamita sammānam kritvā dāsyatha datvī(ttvā) ch=ākshaya nivī dharmmūna śāsvat-
kā lam=anupālayishyatha

Reverse

- 16 varttamāna bhaviṣhyai=cha samivyavahāribhir=ctad dharmm āpckshay=ānupālayitavyam=
iti [I*] Uktāñ=cha bhaga
- 17 [vatā Vyū]s[ī] [I*] Sva dattim pīradattām vā yō harcta vasundharām [I*] sa viṣthā
yām kṛimīr=bhūtā pīribhīh saha
- 18 pachyatē [I*] [Śhīstīm] varsha sahasrīni svargē mōdati bhūmidah [I*] ākshēptā ch=ānu-
mantā cha tāny=ēva na-
- 19 rakē vasēt [I*] Sam 100 60 9 Vai sudi 8

TRANSLATION

(Ll 1 2) Hail! From the (*royal*) grant (*agrahāra*) of Ambīla village, our Head of the District (*Vishayapati*) Chhattramaha¹, with confidence² intimates, addresses in writing and informs the Court (*Adhikarana*), as well as the Brāhmaṇas, the chief officers and others, and also the householders, at the village of Jangōyikā, after having enquired about their well being

(Ll 3 7) "I wish to make over, for the sake of the increase of my religious merit, 4 *lūlya* *vāpas* of fallow land, after (*it*) has been purchased, to the Brāhmana svāmīn, an inhabitant of the *agrahāra* of Khatāpūrana in Nanda vīhī,³ belonging to the Kāśyapa gōtra and the Chhāndōga (*charana* of the *Sāmavīda*), to enable him to perform the Five Great Sacrifices⁴ Now, in your District (*vishaya*) there is established the system of sale at the rate of two *dīnāras* per each *lūlyavāpa* of fallow land, originally devoid of vegetation, which does not yield any revenue (*to the State*) and being under perpetual endowment (*alshaya-nīvī*)⁵ can be enjoyed eternally, as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure So you should accept from me eight *dīnāras* and grant (*me*) by means of a copper-plate, for the sake of perpetual endowment, four *lūlyavāpas* of fallow land in the village of Jangōyikā "

(Ll 8 11) Whereas it has been ascertained on enquiry by the Record keepers, Pradyōtasīmha and Bandhudāsa, that there is established in this District the system of sale at the rate of two *dīnāras* per each *lūlyavāpa* of fallow land, originally devoid of vegetation, which does not yield any revenue (*to the State*), and whereas there can be no loss of income to the Crown in such sale of revenue free fallow land—rather in case of gift a sixth part of the religious merit would accrue to the King (*Paramabhāṭāraka pāda*)⁶—now therefore let (*the land*) be granted

¹ [See p 54 n 2 I should translate 'From Ambīla (the Āyuktakas) intimate and write to (*bodhayanī līhanti cha*) the Court that *Vishayapati* Chhattramaha informs us' —Ed

² Cf *sa viśvasam* in a Dāmōdarpur copper plate, ante, Vol XV, p 136, l 2

³ The term *vīhī* is used in the sense of a part of a district or sub division Cf Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol III, p 71

⁴ The five sacrificial rites are *balī*, *charu*, *śāśvadīa*, *agnihotra* and *atithi*

⁵ The expression *alshayanīvī* is used in l 6 as well as in l 7 in the fifth case, evidently as *hētau* In the Brī-grām copper plate, l 17 it has the same case ending in this sense

⁶ The reigning king is thus referred to also in other grants, e g, in Baigrām (l 13), Dāmōdarpur, No 5 (ll 12-13, where the correct reading should be *dharmma śaḍ bhag avāpti*), and in Faridpur grant of Dharmāditya (*Ind Ant*, Vol XXXIX, p 195, l 13)

(II 11 13) So having realized eight *dināras* from the Head of the District, Chhatravmaha, for 11 *āṣṭa* of fallow land, he 4, is being granted in the village of Jangōyikā, (the land being bounded on the south by (the plot granted by) a copper plate charter to Gōraksita and on the west by Gōraksita)

(II 14 16) Therefore having known this, you should give away (the plot) in a land that may not cause hindrance to cultivation of householders, after measuring (it) by (the standard unit of) 8 \times 9 *rods*, according to the cubit length of Darvikarma, and also after demarcating the area in four directions by permanent marks of chaff, charcoal, etc

(II 15 16) And having made over you should still maintain (it) for ever, under the operation of the principle of perpetual endowment (*akshaya-niṭi*) Likewise, it should be maintained, out of regard for piety, by the present and future administrative officers as well And so says Lord Viśva (Here follow two imprecatory verses)

(L 19) The year 169, the 8th day of the bright half of Vai(śākha)

No 9—SRUNGAVARAPUKOTA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN, KING OF KALINGA

By PROF R C MAJUMDAR, M A, PH D, DACCA

This is a set of three copper plates, measuring 8½ inches in length and 2 inches in breadth. The right half of the third plate is broken and missing. The outer faces of the first and third plates are blank, while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. The plates are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered to a circular seal bearing in relief the figure of a conch with some indistinct emblem inside it.

The plates were discovered at the village of Srungavarapukōta, in the district of Vizagapatam (Madras). The cultivator who found them was under the impression that the metal was gold. So he broke the third plate, and had one piece melted by a goldsmith who, of course, declared it to be made of copper. Thus the remaining plates were left intact and secured by Dr C Narayana Rao, M A, Ph D. He gave them to Mr M Narasimham, who sold them to the Madras Museum where the plates are now preserved.

Mr M Narasimham edited the inscription in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* (Vol VIII, pp 153 160), with Photo prints of the plates. Unfortunately, his reading contains several errors, and many of his introductory remarks are either palpably wrong or open to serious objections.

I re-edit the inscription from ink impressions kindly supplied by Dr N P Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India.

The alphabet is of an early southern type. It is undoubtedly earlier than the early Gāṅga records, e.g., those of Hastivarman¹ and Indravarman,² dated respectively in the years 80 and 87 of the era used by the family. It shows great resemblance to the alphabet of the Kōmarī plates of Chandavarman.³ Dr Hultzsch, who edited this inscription, observed that its alphabet resembled that of the Kollāru plates of the Śālaṅkīyana King Vijayanandavarman. Since then the Pidavēgi grant⁴ of this king has given us an approximate idea of his date. He was the great-

¹ *Al.*, Vol XVII, pp 332 ff

² *Al.*, Vol III, pp 125 ff

³ *Al.*, Vol IV, pp 142 ff

⁴ *J. A. H. P. S.*, Vol I, pp 92 ff

grandson of Hastivarman, who must almost certainly be identified with the king of Vēṅgi defeated by Samudragupta. The reign of Vijayanandivarman thus falls in the fifth century A. D.

The present record is dated only in the regnal year, but so far as we can judge from palaeography alone, it would, I think, be safe to presume that the present plates belong to the century 450-550 A. D.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the three well known imprecatory verses (ll 16-19) the inscription is written in prose.

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted. Separate signs are used for *b* and *v*. Consonants are doubled after *r* with a few exceptions, viz., *chandrārka* (l 10), *-ājñair= bhava°* (l 11), *°bhur= vritam* (l 14) and *rājārshī* (l 13). Consonants *l*, *m* and *t*, followed by *r*, are also doubled, and *dh* is doubled before *y*. *Anusvāra* is used for palatal *ñ* in *prabhamjana* (l 4), the *anusvāra* sign being wrongly placed above *j*. Both *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmānīya* are used. The final *t* and *m* are indicated by small sized letters (*m* in l 12, *t* in l 19).

The inscription records the grant of the village of Kindēppa in Tēllavallī *vishaya* as an *agrahāra* to the Brāhmana Mātrīsarman, by the king of Kalinga, Mahārāja Anantavarman, son of Mahārāja Prabhāñjanavarman, and the grandson of Mahārāja Gunavarman, lord of Dēvarāshtra. The grant was issued from the victorious city of Pishtapura.

King Anantavarman is also known to us from the Sripuram copper plate grant¹. It was issued by Anantavarman, lord of Kalinga, from the victorious city of Dēvapura. It gives the name of the king's father as Prabhāñjanavarman, evidently a mistake for Prabhāñjanavarman, and that of his grandfather as Gunavarman. There is no mention, however, of the last named king being lord of Dēvarāshtra.

There can, of course, be no doubt about the identity of the donors of the two grants. Still, it may be remarked in passing that the phraseology of the two grants shows no close resemblance, and that they were issued from different places. This point is noteworthy as, very often, arguments for and against the identity or close association of two kings are based on such considerations.

Dēvarāshtra, over which king Gunavarman ruled, must be the kingdom of the same name which was conquered by Samudragupta. Formerly this was identified with Mahārāshtra. But G. Jouveau Dubreuil proved, with the help of the Kāsimkōta plates, that Elamañchī Kalīngadēśa formed part of Dēvarāshtra.² Elamañchī Kalīngadēśa was taken to mean "the Kalinga country of which Elamañchī (the modern Yellamanchili) was the chief town", and hence Dēvarāshtra was located in the Vizagapatam District. This view is supported by the present grant, inasmuch as it seems to show that Pishtapura was included within the kingdom of Dēvarāshtra. It is, no doubt, possible to take the view that Dēvarāshtra, over which Gunavarman ruled, did not originally include Pishtapura which was subsequently acquired by Anantavarman, but, even then, we must regard the two as neighbouring localities.

In any case, it appears to be reasonably certain, that Anantavarman ruled over both Pishtapura and Dēvarāshtra which were two separate kingdoms in the time of Samudragupta. Of the two 'Victorious Cities' from which he issued the grants, Pishtapura is, no doubt, the same as

¹ It was edited by Mr. M. Narasimham in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati* (September, 1931) which is not accessible to me. A short account of its contents is given in his article on the present grant (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 153). The Government Epigraphist has, at my request, very kindly placed at my disposal an excellent ink impression of the Sripuram plates. My remarks are based on the original reading of these plates.

² *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 60.

Pithāpuram in the Godāvārī District The other, Dēvapura, from the close resemblance in name, may be regarded as the capital of Dēvarīshtra, but of this there is no definite evidence as yet

Of the kings who ruled in Kalinga during the interval between the invasion of Samudragupta and the rise of the Gāṅga dynasty, only the names of Chandavarman,¹ Umavarman,² Nanda-Prabhañjanavarman,³ Śaktivarman⁴ and Viśākhavarman⁵ were hitherto known from inscriptions The present grant adds the names of three new kings belonging to a dynasty, viz, Gunavarman, Prabhañjanavarman and Anantavarman

We cannot definitely postulate any relationship between this dynasty and the kings previously known, although they all probably flourished between 400 and 550 A D But, in view of the very little knowledge we possess of the history of Kalinga during this period, two suggestions are made below in the hope that they may be of some use for future research in this direction

As regards the king Nanda Prabhañjanavarman, it has been suggested by Mr D C Sarkar, that the name probably signifies "Prabhañjanavarman of the Nanda family"⁶ If this view were accepted, this Prabhañjanavarman might be tentatively identified with the father of Anantavarman It may, however, be pointed out that no other ruler of Kalinga styles himself as belonging to the Nanda family

Some association may also be inferred between Anantavarman and Śaktivarman Both issued their plates from the victorious city of Pishtapura, and both had Varman as their name-endings Further, Śaktivarman is called 'Vāsishthīputra', while in the present grant, Anantavarman's father is described as 'moon in the Vāsishtha family'⁷

As to the time of King Anantavarman, I have already expressed above my view that the grant is to be placed, on palaeographical grounds, during the period between 450 and 550 A D The date, most probably a regnal year, was mentioned at the end of line 19, but unfortunately this portion is missing, as noted above

Mr M Narasimham has referred King Anantavarman to the first century A D⁸ He bases this conclusion on the following expression in the Siripuram grant *ashtāśśakasamḥyabhya mahāśvayujī savva(mva)tsarē* He interprets it as 'the eighth year of the Śaka era, in the year of Mahāśvayuja', He ignores, however, the fact that '*ashtāśśaka samḥyabhya*', obviously a mistake for '*samḥyēbhya*,' cannot be taken as either qualifying the word *savvaṭsarē*, or as an independent word expressing date I believe, the word qualifies the preceding word '*brāhmaṇē bhya*' and denotes the number of *Brāhmanas* to whom the grant is made I must confess, however that I am unable to explain the word, beyond merely suggesting that it might stand for 18, 28 or 88

In any case, whatever may be the interpretation of the word, the king Anantavarman can never be referred to the first century A D, as the alphabet of the inscription is too late for that

¹ Kōmarti pl, above, Vol IV, pp 144 ff,

² Brhatprōshthā grant, above, Vol XII, pp 4 ff Telkal pl, J A H R S., Vol VI, pp 53-4 King Umavarman mentioned in these two plates may be the same or different persons.

³ Ind Ant, Vol XIII, pp 48 ff

⁴ Rāgola pl, above, Vol XII, pp. 1 ff

⁵ Above, Vol XXI, pp 23 ff

⁶ Journal of the Department of Letters (published by the Calcutta University), Vol XXVI, p 66, f n 2

⁷ [It may be noted that while Prabhañjanavarman and his father Gunavarman are described as 'Moon in the Vāsishtha family', i.e., belonging to the Vāsishtha gōtra, Śaktivarman bears the metronymic Vāsishthīputra, which indicates that probably the last mentioned belonged to a family different from that of the two former rulers, —Ed.]

J A H R S., Vol VIII, p 158

period It may be further pointed out that *ashtāśśaka* is not a correct grammatical form for denoting 'the eighth Śaka year', and that no king of Kalinga was likely to use the era, under that express name, in the eighth year of its foundation

As to the localities mentioned in the inscription, *Pishtapura* and *Dēvarāshtra* have already been dealt with The village *Kindōppa*, the object of the grant, was situated in the *Tēllavallī-vishaya* Neither of these can be identified with certainty Mr M Narasimham says that the river called 'Tel' in the *Zamindary* of Jeypore used to be called the 'Telvāhī' in early times He then argues that "the modern Jayapore (sic) must have been called *Tēllavallī* (sic) *vishaya* on account of the river *Telvāhī* which flows across it"¹ This cannot, however, be regarded as a satisfactory argument

About fourteen or fifteen miles to the south-west of *Srungavarapukōta*, where the plates were found, there is a village called *Tella-gamudy* (82° 58' × 17° 58') and near it, another village, called *Kondapālem* The former is situated at the crossing of two roads, and on the bank of a rivulet, thus indicating an important site I venture to suggest that *Tella gamudy* may be identified with the *Tēllavallī vishaya* of the grant But as there are several villages of the name of *Kondapālem* in the neighbourhood of *Srungavarapukōta* it is not certain which of these is referred to in the inscription as the *Kindōppa grāma* Probably the latter has to be identified with *Kondapālem* near *Tella gamudy*

The donee is styled *Achantapura bhōgika* I have translated it as 'resident of *Achantapura*', taking the term '*bhōga*' as a territorial division I am unable to identify this place

In the inscriptions of the *Śailōdbhava*, the *Parivrājaka* and the *Uchchakalpa* kings, the term '*bhōgika*' is used as a technical official title, possibly connected, according to Fleet,² with the territorial division called *bhōga* But the term is used only with reference to the fathers and grandfathers of persons who wrote the charters³ In the case of the records of the *Gāṅga* dynasty we have, as the engravers of their charters, (1) *Āditya Mañchin*, also called *Āditya-Bhōgika*, and his son (2) *Khandichandra*, also called *Khandichandra Bhōgika*⁴ In all these cases, the term *bhōgika* must be taken as an official title, probably the chief of a *bhōga*, and whatever may be the particular duties of this official, the writing and engraving of charters were most probably included in them But there is no doubt that the office carried dignity and prestige with it, for, in the records of the *Parivrājaka* and *Uchchakalpa* kings, even high officials like *Mahāsāmdhivigrahīla* performed the same office, and described their fathers and grandfathers as *bhōgika* In Sanskrit Dictionaries, the term *bhōgika* is explained as 'groom, horse keeper' The term has also been regarded as equivalent to Telugu *Bhōi*, a palankeen bearer⁵

None of the above meanings of *bhōgika* is suitable in the present case We cannot think of the donee *Mātrīśarman* who was a *Brāhmana*, possibly following scholarly pursuits, either as a regular official, or following such menial occupations as those of a groom or a palankeen-bearer We have, therefore, to take *Achantapura bhōga* as the name of a territorial unit, and regard *Mātrīśarman* as a resident of the same

¹ *J A H R S*, Vol VII, p 157

² Fleet, *C I I*, Vol III, p 100, f n 2

³ *Ibid*, pp 100, 105, 109, 120, 124, 129, 134, above, Vol III, p 46, *J B O R S*, Vol XVI, p 182.

⁴ Above, Vol XVIII, p 308

⁵ *Ibid*, f n 8

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Ōm¹ Svasti[|*]Vijaya Pishtapur ādhishthānān=mahī mandala-vyāpi śārad ēndu-kara-nirmma-
la gunasya
2 Dēvarāshtr ādhīpatēr=anēka samara sanghatta-vijay-ādhigata-yaśasō Mahārāja śrī Gu-
3 navarmmanah parama-pautrah śakti ttray ōpanata rājya-sampadō Vāsishtha-kula cha nd-
rama-
4 sah śrī Mahārāja Prabhajamna²varmmanah priya puttras=sva bala vikkrām³ ōpārjita-
bhūr=na-
5 ya vinaya-sattva sampann ādhigata-yaśā dēva-dvijāti guru-jan ānuddhyāna sam-

Second Plate, First Side

- 6 varddhita-mahimā parama-māhēśvarō mātā-pitri-pād ānuddhyātah Kaling ādhīpatīs=
śrī-
7 Mahārāj Anantāvarmmanā⁴ Tēllavallī vishayē Kindēppa⁵ grāmē saivva-samavētān=kutu-
8 mbinah samājñāpayaty=astī ēsha grāmō=smābhūr=Uttārāyanē⁶=smat puny-ābhivṛddha-
9 yē ētasmai Kauśika sa gōttrāya Taittirīya⁷ sa bramhachārīnē⁸ Achantapura⁹-bhōgi-
10 ka-Mātrisarmmanō ā chandr ārka-tāraka pratishtham=agrahāram kṛtvā sarvva kara-
bharah

Second Plate, Second Side

- 11 parihṛitya sampradattas=tad=ēvam=avadhrit ājñair=bhavadbhis=tad-ājñ ānuvidhāyibhi-
h pratyaha-
12 m=upasthātavyam[|] Brāhmanēna ch=ātmanō=grahārah puttra-pauttrikam=upabhujyamā-
13 nō na kaś=chid=vallabha durllabhair=upahantavyah[|*] Āgāmibhūr=apī rājarshi-
14 bhūr=vṛttam=anupālayadbhūr=yyath=āśya dharmma-prasavasy=āvichchhēdēna pravri-
15 ttir=bhbbhavati¹⁰ tath=ānussthēyam ēvañ =cha satī tatra tēshām=apī dharmmēn=ābhīsamba-

Third Plate, First Side

- 16 ndhas=smāryatē || Bahubhūr=vvasudhā dattā bahubhi [ś=ch=ānupālītā | yasya yasya yadā
bhūmis=ta-*]
17 sya tasya tadā phalam [|*] Sva-dattām=para dattām vā yatnā[d=raksha Yudhishtira |
mahīm mahimatām śrēshtha dānā-*]

¹ Expressed by a symbol

² Read *Prabhamjana*

³ Read *vikram*

⁴ Read *Ananta*

⁵ N reads *Kindēppa*,—but the right vertical stroke is a regular part of the letter *ṛ* (N denotes Mr. Narasimham)

⁶ Read *Uttarāyanē*

⁷ Read *Taittirīya*

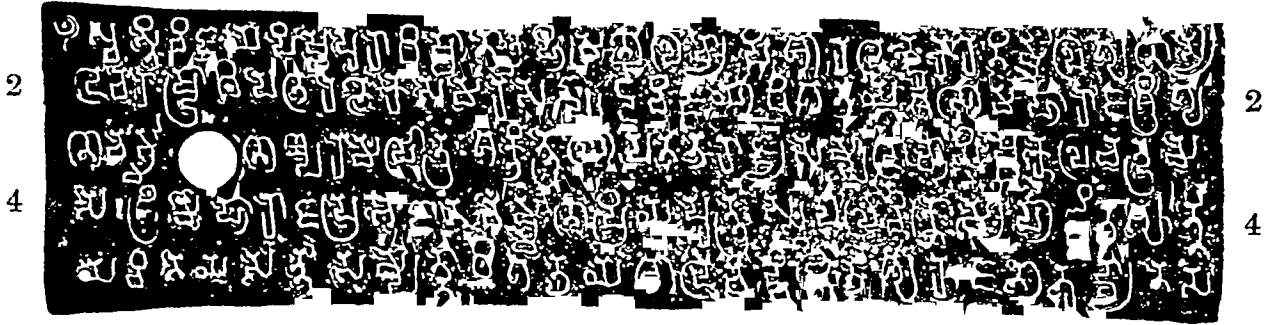
⁸ Read *sa brahma*

⁹ N reads *Achantapura*.

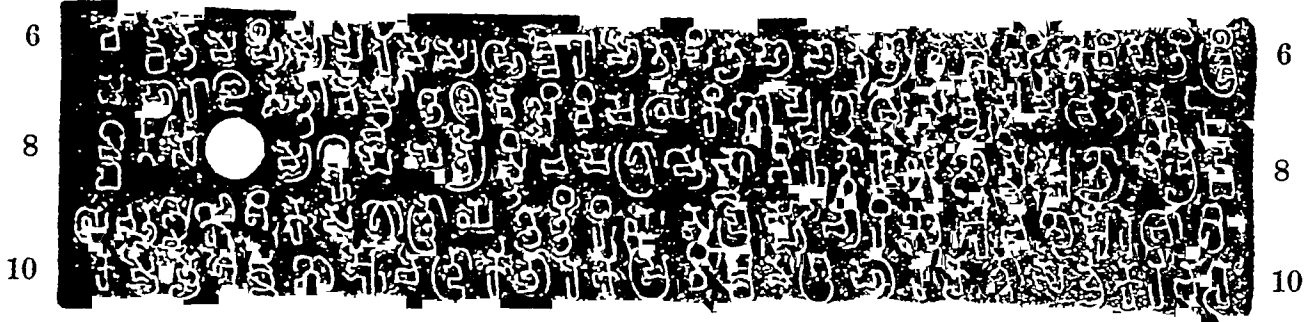
¹⁰ Read *bbhavati*

SRUNGAVARAPUKOTA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN, KING OF KALINGA

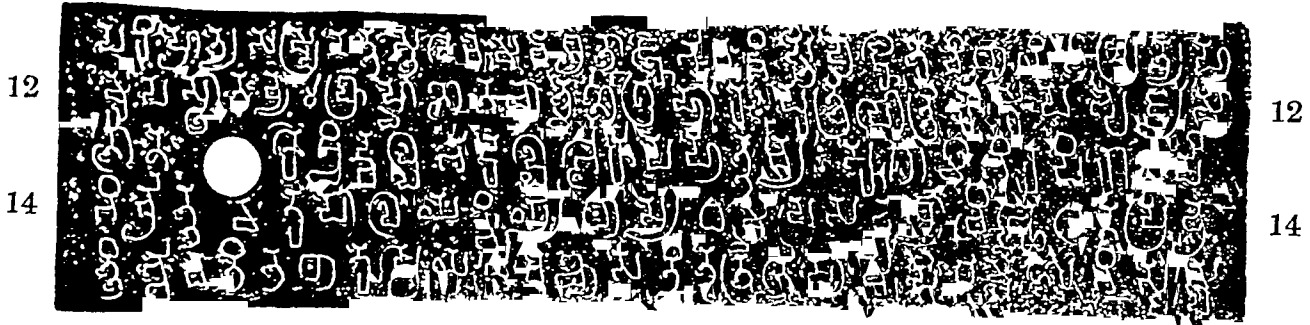
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22,a



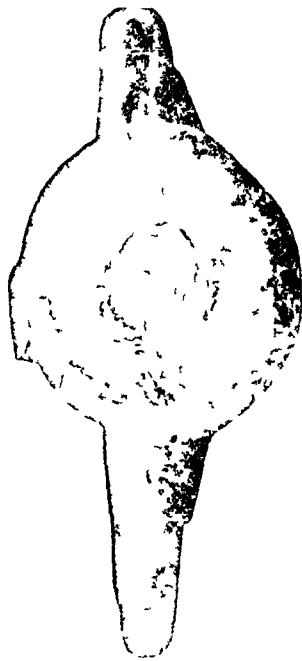
22,b



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Seal



from a photograph

18 ch=chhrēyō=nupālanam(m) [||*] Shashtim varsha sahasrāni svarggē [mōdati bhūmidah |
ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tā *]-

19 ny=ēva narakē vasēt [||*] Pravarddhamānayā rājya śriyā rājava [tra*]

20 yōdaśyām=Uttarāyanē dharmma pradānam kṛtam=itā bhū¹ . .

TRANSLATION

Om Hail ! From his residence in the victorious city of **Pishtapura**, the glorious *Mahārāja Anantavarman*,—who is the lord of **Kalinga**, who adores the feet of (*his*) mother and father, who is the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, whose greatness has been enhanced by affectionate solicitude for the gods, the twice born, and the elders, who has acquired fame by reason of his being endowed with wisdom, modesty, and virtue, who has acquired the earth by his own strength and valour

who is the dear son of the glorious *Mahārāja Prabhañjanavarman*, the moon of the Vāsishtha family, who (*Prabhañjanavarman*) brought about the prosperity of the kingdom by the three elements² of regal power,

who is the most excellent grandson of the glorious *Mahārāja Gunavarman*, who³ acquired fame by victories in many stubbornly fought battles, who³ was the lord of **Dēvarāshtra**, and whose³ spotless virtues, like the rays of autumn moon, pervaded the whole world —

commands⁴ (*as follows*) all the ryots present at the village of **Kindēppa** in the district (*vishaya*) of **Tēllavallī** this village has been granted by us, during summer solstice, for the sake of increasing our religious merit, to this **Mātrisarman**,—a member of the *Kauśika gōtra*, a student of the *Taittirīya (śākhā)*, and a resident of **Achantapura bhōga**—after having made (*it*) an *agrahāra*, which is to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the stars, and exempting (*it*) from all burdens of taxation

Having understood this command you should, every day, act in accordance with it The *Brāhmana*, enjoying his own *agrahāra* in hereditary succession (*lit through sons and grandsons*) should not be hindered in any way, by any officer (*however*) eminent⁵

The future royal ascetics, following the traditional usage, should pursue that (*course*) which would lead to continuous progress (or practice) of this act of virtue This being so, the association of these (*succeeding kings*) also with religious merit in this matter is mentioned in the *Smritis*

[*Three customary verses follow*]

By the increasing majesty

On the thirteenth (*tithi*), during the summer solstice, this religious gift is made

¹ N reads 'bha' The ū lāra-like sign may really be part of the next letter

² There are three elements of royal power (*śakti*), viz, (1) *prabhuśakti*, i.e., the majesty or pre eminent position of the king himself, (2) *mantraśakti*, i.e., the power of good counsel, and (3) *utsāhasakti*, i.e., the power of energy

³ Refers to Gunavarman

⁴ Refers to Anantavarman

⁵ The original expression is 'Vallabha durllabha' The first word means 'Overseer Superintendent, or herdsman', and probably stands for royal officials in general I am unable to suggest any definite meaning for *durllabha* One of its meanings given in the lexicon, is 'eminent or extraordinary,' and it may be regarded as an adjective of *Vallabha (Mayūra vyamsakāḍīnat)* Or possibly, from its association with Vallabha, it may also have to be taken in the sense of an Official, though the term in this sense is not known from any other source

No 10 —NARASINGAPALLI PLATES OF HASTIVARMAN, THE YEAR 79

By PROF R C MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., DACCA

This is a set of **three copper plates**, measuring $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth. The outer face of the first plate has been left blank while the two other plates bear writing on both the sides. The writing is distinct and in good preservation. The plates are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of a circular seal showing indistinctly a couchant bull, facing right.

The plates were discovered in a field in the village of **Narasīngapalli**, Chicacole *tāluk*, Ganjīm District, by one Surin Navudu, while digging earth. He gave it to Mr Byri Appalaswami Nayudu, from whom it was obtained by Mr M S Srinna and sold to the **Madras Museum**. The inscription has been published in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati*, Vol XI (September, 1934), pp 161 ff, which is not accessible to me. I edit the inscription from an excellent ink-impression supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The alphabet is of an early southern type and closely resembles that of the Utlām plates of the same king and the copper plate grants of Indravarman II. This is only what could be expected, for Vinayachandri, who wrote the present plates, is also the writer of all the plates of the Kāṇṇa kings **Hastivarman** and **Indravarman II**, viz —(1) Utlām plates of Hastivarman,¹ (2) Achutapuram plates of Indravarman II,² (3) Santabommali plates of Indravarman II,³ and (4) Parlī kūṁṇi plates of Indravarman II.⁴

If we compare the alphabet of our grant with that of the Jirjūṅṅi grant of Indravarman I,⁵ dated in the year 39, we find that the latter belongs to a distinctly earlier class, and indeed the difference appears to be far greater than would be warranted by the interval of 40 years between the two. Attention may be specially drawn to the forms of *lh*, *g*, *n*, *n*, *bh*, *m*, *v* and *s*.⁶

The final form of *m* occurs at the end of the inscription, while it is replaced by *anusīāra* in *phalam* (l 23), *°nuṣālanam* (l 24), and *diādaśyām* (l 27). The two numerical symbols 70 and 9 are used in the date (l 27).

The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five verses, the inscription is written in prose. The influence of Prākṛit may be traced in the form *l'ūnāsīti* (l 27). As regards orthography, *anusīāra* is represented by guttural *n* in *Rājāsīnhasya* (l 28) and *sanghatīh* (for *śanhatīh*, l 29), while dental *n* is represented by *anusīāra* in *gītām* (l 21). Consonants are doubled after *r*, with the exception of *śh* in *varsha* (l 25), and *dh* is doubled before *y* in *anuddhyāta* (l 8). Separate signs are used for *b* and *v*.

The inscription records the grant of a piece of land for defraying the expenses of the worship of god Nīrāyana and repairing his temples. The land included four *nuśanas* (which means houses or probably sites for the same) and was situated in the village **Rōhanakā** in the district of **Varāhavartanī**. **Mahārāja Hastivarman** of **Kāṇṇa**, who makes the grant, belongs to the **Gāṅga** family. As noted above, this king is already known to us from the Utlām plates, dated in the year 80.⁷ The present grant is dated in the year 79, and is thus earlier of the two. Except

¹ Above Vol XVII p 330² Above Vol III p 128³ J. A. S. P. S. Vol IV, p 21⁴ Ind. Ant. Vol XVI p 134⁵ J. A. S. P. S. Vol III p 19

⁶ The difference is no doubt, partly the result of difference in the style of writing but as the two records belong to the same locality we may assume with a tolerable degree of certainty, on the basis of the palaeographic examination alone, that the Jirjūṅṅi grant is earlier than the present one.

⁷ Above, Vol XVII, p 330

the Jirjungi grant of Indravarman I, dated in the year 39, this is the earliest copper-plate grant of the *Gāṅga* family so far discovered¹

The introductory portion of this grant agrees word for word with that of the Urlām plates, save that in the latter the word *sulha* is added after the word *carvanti* in line 1. As is well known, this long phraseology became stereotyped in the grants of the family, and, with some additions and alterations, continued for nearly five hundred years. The corresponding phraseology of the Jirjungi grant is, however, quite different. The present grant is, therefore, the earliest document where we can trace the stereotyped phraseology of the *Gāṅga* records. The five verses of the Urlām plates also occur in this grant.

The inscription is dated in the year 79. The exact equivalence of this date depends upon the determination of the epoch of the *Gāṅga* era to which it is presumably to be referred. As is well known, scholars differ widely on this point. This subject is too vast and complicated to be dealt with here. I may note, however, that whereas some earlier writers like Sewell² and R. D. Banerji³ placed the initial date of the era, respectively in the ninth and eighth century A D., Mr. G. Ramdas⁴ pushes it back to the fourth century A D. Dr. Fleet,⁵ who first dealt with the subject, was of opinion that the two extreme dates for the epoch of the *Gāṅga* era were A D. 481 and 634. He based his views partly on palæographic and partly on historical grounds. The latter have now lost much of their force, but I believe, his view still holds good on palæographic grounds. The present grant may be regarded on palæographic grounds as somewhat later than that of Anantavarman which I have edited above. I have there shown my grounds for referring the latter to the century 450-550 A D. The present grant may, therefore, be referred to the period 550-650 A D. The epoch of the *Gāṅga* era, would accordingly fall between 470-570 A D.

This is in accord with the latest theory on the subject, viz., that of Prof. R. Subba Rao,⁶ who is the first to work on the subject with the help of some positive data. He fixes the epoch of the era at A D. 494.⁷ Although one may differ from him in some of his arguments and conclusions, and may not be inclined to be dogmatic about the particular year A D. 494, I think, the data presented by him would reasonably lead to the hypothesis that the epoch of the *Gāṅga* era lies between 494 and 560 A D., i.e., roughly speaking, about the first half of the sixth century A D.⁸ Hastivarman may thus be regarded as flourishing towards the end of the sixth or the first half of the seventh century A D.

No new information of Hastivarman's reign is furnished by this record. As in the Urlām plates, two of his *birudas* or epithets, viz., *Rājasimha* and *Ranabhīṭa* are mentioned in the present grant. As regards the last, Dr. Hultsch, has already drawn attention to its peculiar

¹ I leave out of account the Tirlungi grant, dated 28 (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 54), for the reading of the date appears to me to be very doubtful. The writer of this grant is also Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuachandra. So if the year of the Tirlungi plate belongs to the same era to which those of Hastivarman and Indravarman II are to be referred, we have to presume that Vinayachandra was in active service from the year 28, or some time previous to it, to the year 91 (date of Parlākimēdi plates of Indravarman II), or some time posterior to it. In other words, he held the office for nearly sixty five to seventy years. This appears to be highly improbable.

² *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, edited by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, p. 357.

³ *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 239.

⁴ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IX, pp. 398 ff.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 133.

⁶ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 272-4.

⁷ Mr. J. C. Ghosh suggested that it should more properly be A D. 496, *Ind. Ant.*, 1932, p. 237. See also Bhattacharya's *List*, p. 201, note 1.

⁸ I shall discuss the question more fully in a separate article.

character and the fact that it occurs as a name of a member of the Śailōdbhava family¹ I may add that several other members of the same family bear similar names, viz, Yaśōbhīta (or A yaśō bhīta) and Sanyabhīta²

So far as is at present known, such names do not occur elsewhere. Hastivarman's rule in Kalinga falls during the period when the Śailōdbhava family was ruling in Kōngōda immediately to its north. The assumption of such a peculiar title by Hastivarman may not be totally unrelated to the rule of Śailōdbhava family, though we have no definite information as to any relation between the two.

The present grant of Hastivarman is a *dev-āgrahāra*, i.e., a free hold created, not for the benefit of an individual person, but for the regular worship of god Nārāyaṇa and the repairs of his temples³. We have a similar example in the Santabommali plates of Indravarman II⁴ which repeat the exact phraseology of this inscription denoting the object of the grant.

As noted below, the three epithets of god Nārāyaṇa (ll 12-13) occur in a single verse of Kālī-dāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (canto X, verse 21), and it is not unreasonable to presume that the composer of the record was acquainted with that work. Of far greater interest, from the historical point of view, is the designation of the god, viz, *Ranabhītōdaya* (l 13). There can be hardly any doubt, that this was derived from the king's own *biruda*, *Ranabhīta*. It thus furnishes an example, well known in India and Indian Colonies in the Far East, of designating (the image of) a god after the king who set it up⁵.

The king made this grant presumably at the request, or on the recommendation, of *Buddha-mañchi-Bhōgika* (l 16). The word *pratibōdhita* (l 17), used in this connection, literally means 'to awaken, to inform, to entrust, etc', but, considering the context, it is clear that 'to request' or 'to recommend' would convey the real sense⁶.

As to *Buddha-mañchi-Bhōgika*, there is no doubt that *Buddha-mañchin* was the name of a person who held the office of a 'Bhōgika'. The different meanings of the term '*Bhōgika*' have been discussed by me while editing the Srungavarapukōṭa grant of Anantavarman (above, p 59). For an example of personal name of this type I may refer to Āditya-mañchin, the writer of the Chicacole plates⁷, and the son of Vinayachandra who wrote the present grant. It is interesting to note that this Āditya-mañchin is referred to as Āditya-Bhōgika in the Purle plates⁸. This alteration of titles led Dr. Hultzsch to remark that like '*Bhōgika*', *Mañchin* is perhaps an equivalent of the Telugu *Bhōi*, 'a palankeen bearer'. The presence of both the words in the name of *Buddha-mañchi-Bhōgika* disproves this assertion. Besides, the sense 'palankeen bearer' can hardly be applied to either Āditya, or *Buddha-mañchin*. I have shown that the duties of the official called *Bhōgika* included writing or engraving of royal charters. In the present instance the term might mean the chief of the territorial unit called *bhōga*⁹. In that case it would be the duty of this officer to suggest to the king the grant of land for the maintenance of a temple of

¹ Above, Vol XVIII, p 331

² For the Śailōdbhava Inscriptions, cf. *Bandarkar's List*, Nos 1672-6

³ The phrase *bandha sphutita bhagna ghatana* occurs in the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta, above, Vol IX, p 98

⁴ *J A H R S*, Vol IV, p 21

⁵ Cf. my book *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Vol I. *Champā*, pp 184-6

⁶ Cf. *Ind Ant*, Vol XVI, p 132, f n 3

⁷ *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, p 121

⁸ Above, Vol XIV, p 362

⁹ It is a sub-division of a district. Cf. e.g., '*Viśayapati bhōgapati*' in Khālpur Copper plate of Dharma-pāla, above, Vol IV, p 243, also *Vōṇhara bhoga sambaddha Jyjiḷa gramā* in l 11 of the Jirjingi grant of king Indravarman (*J A H R S*, Vol III, p 52). The editor reads *Jyjiḷa*.

Nārāyana in his jurisdiction The first part of the name Buddha-mañchin may be a reminiscence of the stronghold which Buddhism once had in this region

Of the localities mentioned, Kalīṅganagara is now usually identified with Mukhalīngam¹ The district Varāhavartanī (l 9) is mentioned, in several Gāṅga records Dr Sten Konow suggested that it was probably near Chicacole² This view is supported by the present grant For the village Rōhanakī, mentioned in the present grant as situated in the district of Varāhavartanī, may be identified with modern Rōnankī (Ronunky of the Indian Atlas, Degree Sheet, 84°×18°-20'), a hamlet of Singupura of the Chicacole tāluk Further, an unpublished grant of Vajrahasta III³ refers to the village of Navagrāma in Varāhavartanī-*viśhaya*, and this village can be easily identified with the present Naogam in Tekkalī tāluk of the Ganjām District Mr. G R Pantulu has identified the village Siddhārthaka in the Varāhavartanī *viśhaya* with Siddhāntam near Chicacole⁴ The Varāhavartanī district would thus roughly correspond to the coastal region between Chicacole and Tekkalī It was presumably bounded on the west by Kurakaraśhtra, corresponding to modern Palakonda tāluk⁵ According to Mr G Ramdas, the village Sellāda in the Rūpāvartanī-*viśhaya*⁶ belongs to Tekkalī tāluk If this identification be accepted, Rūpāvartanī *viśhaya* may be located to the north of Varāhavartanī As already suggested by Hultzsch, this Rūpāvartanī *viśhaya* is probably the same as Rūpyavatī-*viśhaya* mentioned in the Tekkalī plates of Indravarman⁷

About two miles to the south east of Rōnankī, there is a village called Byrey in the Atlas It is at the junction of two roads, and on the bank of the Vamśadharā river Is the name a reminiscence of the old Varāha-vartanī² Local investigations alone can solve this problem

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Ōm^a Svastī [||*] Saivv-arttu-ramaniyād=viṣaya Kalīṅga nagarāt=sakala bhuvana-
- 2 nirmān-aika-sūtradhārasya bhagavatō Gōkarnna^a svāmīnaś=charana-kamala-
- 3 yugala-pranāmād=apagata-kalī-kalankō vinaya-naya-sampadā-
- 4 m=ādhārah sv-āsi-dhārā-parispand-ādhigata-sakala-Kalīṅg-ādhurājya-
- 5 ś=chatur-udadhi-taraṅga-mēkhal-āvanī-tala-pravitat-āmala-yaśāh anēka-
- 6 samara-samkshōbha-janita-jaya śabdō Gāṅg-āmala-kula-pratishthah pratā-
- 7 p ātisay-ānāmīta-samasta sāmanta chūdā-maṇi prabhā-mañjarī-

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 puñja-rañjita-charaṇō mātā-pitri-pād ānuddhyātah parama-māhēśvarah

¹ Kalīṅganagara was identified by Fleet with Kalīṅgapatam (*Ind Ant*, Vol XVI, p 132) Mr G V Ramamurti proposed the identification with Mukhalīngam (above, Vol IV, pp 187 8) This view is now generally accepted, but it is not free from doubts (*cf Ann Rep S Ind Ep* 1924 25, p 79) Fleet's view is still upheld by some (*cf, eg*, Prof B C Bhattacharya's article in *J B O R S*, Vol XV, pp 623 ff) For a detailed discussion of the subject, *cf J A H R S*, Vol VI, pp 57 ff.

² Above, Vol IX, p 95

³ Edited below, pp 67 ff

⁴ Above, Vol XIII, p 213

⁵ See above, Vol XIV, p 361

⁶ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol XIV, p 271.

⁷ Above, Vol XVIII, pp 307 ff

^a Expressed by a symbol

^a This letter has been read by Dr Hultzsch (above, Vol XVII, p 332, l 2) as *ṛṇa* But undoubtedly we have to take it as the normal symbol for *ṛṇa*, in which the curves of *ṛ* are not repeated twice

- 9 śrī Mahārājō Hastivarīmā/ Varāhavarttanī-vishayē Rōhanakyām
 10 saivva-samavṛtān=kutumbas=samājñāpayati [*] Viditam=astu vō ya-
 11 th=āsmīn=grāmē shannām halānām bhūs=chhēdīkṛtya chatur mivē-
 12 śana sahitā bhagavatē sapt ārnava śāyinē sapta sām ōpa-
 13 gītāya sapta lōka nāthāya Ranabhītōday ābhidhānāya
 14 Nārāyanāya bali-charu satra pravarttanāya khṇḍa-sphuṭita-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 samskārāya cha saivva-karah parihṛity=ā-chandr-ārka-pratishtham dēv āgrahāram
 16 kṛtvā mātā pītūr=ātmanas=cha puny-ābhivṛddhyē Buddha-maichī-bhōgikēna prati-
 17 bōdhitaur=asmāblur=ddattā [*] tad=viditvā na kēnachit=parivādhā² kāryā [*]
 18 Sīmānta lūgāni ch=ātra pūrvvēn=āsyā grāma-garttā dakṣhīnēna
 19 varandakah³ paśchimēna vishaya-garttā kuravaka-mūla sahitā utta-
 20 rēna saha tāla vātīkay=ēti | Bhayishyad-rājabhūṣ=ch=āyan=dāna-
 21 dharmmō=nupālānīyas=tathā cha Vyāsa gītām⁴ ślōkān=udāharanti [*]

Third Plate, First Side

- 22 Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhīs=ch=ānupālītā [*] yasya yasya
 23 yadā bhūmīs=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) ||[*] Sva dattām=para dattām vā
 yatmād=ra-
 24 ksha Yudhishtira [*] mahīm=mahimatām śrēshtha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam
 (nam) ||[*]
 25 Shashṭim varsha sahasrāni mōdatē divi bhūmudah [*] ākshēptā ch=ā-
 26 numantā cha tāny=ēvā narakē vasēd=it⁵ | pravārdhamānā vijaya rājya sāmva-
 27 tsarāh ēkūnāsīti (ēkōnāsīth) 70 '9 Jēshthā⁶ śukla dvādaśyām(syām) || Idam Vinaya-
 chandrēna
 28 Bhānuchandrasya sūnunā [*] śāsanam Rāja sinhasya⁷ hkhitam, sva-mukh-ājñayā
 ||4*]

Third Plate, Second Side

- 29 Mandalāgr āgra nishpēsha-nishpīst ārāti sanghatēh⁸ [*]
 30 Śrīmatō=pratigh ājñasya Ranabhītasya śāsanam || 5*]

TRANSLATION

Om Hail! From the victorious (city of) Kaṭṅganagara, which is pleasant in all seasons, the glorious Mahārāja Hastivarīnan⁹ commands (as follows) all the ryots assembled at Rōhanaki, in the district of Varāhavarttanī:

¹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary

² Read paribādha

Read varandakah

⁴ Read gītān

⁵ -ad vaset ||[*] it

⁶ Read Jyēshthā

⁷ Read sinhasya,

⁸ Read samhatēh

⁹ The long epithets of the king are omitted in the translation, as they have been translated many times (cf above, Vol III, p 129)

2

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

12, a

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

12, b

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

22 22
 24 24
 26 26
 28 28

30 30

Seal From a photograph



Be it known to you, that having constituted *six* *halas* of land, with four cottages, in this village, as (a separate) section, and making it an *agrahāra* for god, which is to last as long as the moon and the sun, and having exempted it from all taxation, we have, at the request of (*it being informed by*) Buddha-mañchi, the Bhōgika, and for increasing the religious merit of (*our*) parents and ourselves, granted it to god Nārāyana,—who lies on the seven seas, who is sung in seven hymns (*Rāthanāra*, etc.), who is the sole lord of seven worlds¹, and who has the designation *Ranabhītōdaya*,²—for the sake of performing (*oblations known as*) *balī*, *chāru* and *satra*, and for the repairs of dilapidations (*of the temple*)

Having known this, nobody should cause any hindrance

The boundary marks are as follows —On the east, the trenches of the village, on the south, the mound of earth, on the west, the trenches of the district with the Kuravaka thicket, on the north, along with the palm grove

The future kings should maintain this religious gift And likewise the verses sung by Vyāsa are quoted

(*Here follow three of the customary verses*)

In the year **Seventy-nine 70, 9** of the prosperous victorious reign, on the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of *Jyēṣṭha*

(*Verse 4*) At the command of his (*the king's*) own mouth, this charter of Rājasaṁhā has been written by Vmaṣachandra, son of Bhānuachandra.

(*Verse 5*) (*This is*) a charter of the glorious Ranabhīta, whose commands are irresistible, and who has totally crushed the hostile confederacy by the strokes of the point of (*his*) scimitar

No 11 .—GANJAM COPPER-PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III, ŚAKA-SAMVAT 991

By PROF R C MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., DACCA

This is a set of five copper-plates measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and about 4 inches in breadth. The outer face of the first plate has been left blank, while there is no writing on the last plate, which was evidently put in to protect the writing on the second side of the fourth plate. The plates are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of a circular seal bearing a couchant Nandī, a drum, a conch, two fly-whisks (*chāmaras*), two darts or lances, an umbrella, a *maḥara tōraṇa* and the sun and the moon.

The inscription consists of fifty-three lines. It is, generally speaking, in a good state of preservation. The second side of the third plate and the first side of the fourth plate, are, however, partly corroded, and a few letters are either wholly or partly effaced.

The plates were found somewhere in the Ganjam District and are now deposited in the Madras Museum. The text was published in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati*, which is not accessible to me. I edit them from excellent ink-impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The alphabet is northern Nāgarī of the same kind as is used in four other plates³ of Vajra-hasta. The final form of *m* occurs in *maḥim* (l. 36) where, in addition to the sign of the *virāma*, the top stroke of the letter is omitted. The sign of the *virāma* is also found in *aiḍaḷān* (l. 17) and

¹ All the three epithets of Nārāyana occur in the *Raghuvamśa*, X, 21.

Sapta sām ūpagāṁ tām sapta āraṇa jalāsāyam |

sapt-ārcheṣu mūlham-āchalhyuḥ sapta-loḥ-aṣṭa samśrayam ||

² See introductory remarks.

³ (a) The Nādagām plates, year 979 Śaka (above, Vol. IV, p. 183), (b) The Madras Museum plates, year 984 Śaka (above, Vol. IX, p. 94), (c) The Chacole plates, year 971 Śaka (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 171) and (d) Narasapatam plates, year 967 Śaka (above, Vol. XI, p. 147).

vāranān (l 41) The letter *ñ* in conjuncts *ñch* and *ñchh* is placed after *ch* and *chh* and is not connected with it (cf, e g, *lāñchhana* in l 8, and *pañchabhñh* in l 13) The *anusvāra* is denoted by a circle after the consonant, and very often a *virāma* is added underneath

There are several superfluous signs of interpunctuation in the grant (cf ll 47, 51, 52), the most glaring instance being that in line 2, where the sign is used between two words of the same compound, *dālshinya* and *satya*

As regards **orthography**, the class nasal is used before surds, the only exception being *samlhyām* (l 33) The letter *v* is used throughout for *b* Consonants are doubled after *r*, except in *varsha* (l 16), and *paursha* (l 53), but cf *varshshāni* in ll 26 27 In doubling *bh*, the form *bhbh* is used instead of *bbh* In one case alone, *t* seems to be doubled before *r* (*puttrah*, l 51), though it is doubtful whether the letter really denotes *tra* There are several cases of interchange of sibilants Thus *s* is used for *ś* in *samit-āri* (l 24), *mahisah* (l 26), and for *sh* in *Āsūdha* (l 50), *ś* is used for *s* in *śahla* (l 3), *āśinē* (l 42), and *sh* for *s* in *shutah* (l 12) As in the other plates¹ of Vajrahasta, we have *prakshyāhita* (l 3) instead of *prakshāhita*, and *samuṣṣala* (ll 8, 25) instead of *samuṣṣala* It is difficult to distinguish between medial *ṛ* and *ē*

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit It contains twelve verses, the remainder being in prose

The inscription is one of king Vajrahasta (III, or, according to another reckoning, V) of the Gānga dynasty, the son of Kāmārnavā and Vinayamahādēvī Six other copper-plate grants of this king are known, of which four have been edited and published in well known journals¹ Of the remaining two, the Triplicane Grant, dated in the Śaka year 982, is noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924 25 (p 7, No 5) with a summary of its contents The remaining one, the Boddapādu Grant, is described by Prof Subba Rao², but no reference is given It was published in the Telugu Journal *Bhārati* (Vol II, No 5)³ In the following remarks I shall confine myself to the four published copper plate grants of the king known to me

The introductory portion of the present grant, which covers the first forty two lines and six letters of the forty third line, is an exact repetition of what we find in the other four plates⁴ It contains, in addition to the opening stereotyped panegyric passage, the genealogical account of the family, to which we shall refer later

The next portion beginning with *Kaṅga nagarāt* in l 43, and ending with *viditam=astu bhavātām* in l 46, also occurs in the first three grants mentioned in footnote 1, with this difference, that whereas in the present grant, and the Madras Museum plates, the name of the king is written as *Śrīmad-Anantavarman Vajrahasta devah*, it is simply "*Śrīmad Vajrahasta devah*" in the other two

The remaining portion, which actually records the grant, is, of course, different, though the usual legal phrases, which occur in ll 47-49, are common to all Thus, with the exception of the name of the village in l 47, the first forty nine lines of the present inscription contain nothing new⁵ It must be noted, however, that the present grant contains, comparatively speaking, fewer mistakes than the others

¹ (a) The Nadagām plates, year 979 Śaka (above, Vol IV, p 183), (b) The Madras Museum plates, year 984 Śaka (above, Vol IX, p 94), (c) The Chicacole plates, year 971 Śaka (*J A H R S*, Vol VIII, p 171) and (d) Narasapatam plates, year 967 Śaka (above, Vol XI, p 147)

² *J A H R S*, Vol VI, pp 203 205

³ This has been noticed also in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1925 26 (No. 1 of Appendix A) But by mistake the name of the dynasty is given as Eastern Chālukya instead of Eastern Gānga

⁴ A few minor changes are introduced in Narasapatam plates

⁵ Hence I do not give any translation of the text, for which cf above, Vol IV, pp 192-93 and Vol XI pp 152-53,

From the concluding four lines of the inscription we learn that the village mentioned in l 47, viz , Navagrāma in (the district of) Varāhavartanī was granted by the king, in the Śaka year 991, on Monday, the seventh day of the first fortnight of the month of Āshādha, to Gōkananāyaka, son of Bhīmana nāyaka and his wife Prōlakavā, and the grandson of Mallapa nāyaka. The donee is said to be *Vēsyā(śyā) vamsōdbhava*, i e , descended from a courtesan. The word *vēsyā* is possibly a mistake for *Vaiśya*, but I may point out that grants to courtesans, who were royal favourites, were not unknown in those days¹. The word *paursha* in the last line I am unable to explain, but it is possibly a mistake for *paurusha*. In that case, the royal grant was a recognition of the donee's devotion and valour extending over a long period.

The date of the grant has been calculated to correspond to 9th June, 1068 A D , taking the Śaka year as current.

Of the localities mentioned, the village Navagrāma is to be identified with the present Naogām in Tekkalī tāluk of the Ganjām District. As to Varāhavartanī, which must have been in the neighbourhood of Chicacole, and Kalinganagara, usually identified with Mukhalingham, I have already discussed their identification while editing the Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman, on p 65 above.

Lastly, there is the title, 'Lord of Tri-Kalinga', applied to Vajrahasta. Tri-Kalinga is usually interpreted as the whole of Kalinga in its widest extent². Thus Prof R Subba Rao, on the strength of the above title of Vajrahasta, infers that " he was also the paramount sovereign of Tri-Kalinga country which extended from the river Ganges in the North to the river Godāvarī in the South " ³. Apart from well known historical facts which militate against this view, I may point out that it is impossible to accept this meaning of the term Tri-Kalinga, at least for the period to which the present grant belongs. A perusal of the records of the Eastern Chālukyas throws very interesting light on this point. We learn from the Masulipatam plates of Chālukya-Bhīma⁴ I (888 918 A D), and the Pithāpuram Pillar Inscription of Mallapadēva⁵, dated Śaka-samvat 1124, that the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya III (844 888 A D) took ' by force the gold of the Gānga kings of Kalinga ', and ' received elephants as tribute from the Kalinga king '. The Masulipatam plates of Amma⁶ I (918 925 A D) tell us that king Vijayāditya IV (918 A D) ruled the ' Vēngimandala, joined with Tri-Kalinga forest ' (*Trikalimgg-ātavi yuktam*). According to the Kolavennu grant⁷ of Chālukya—Bhīma II, king Vikramāditya II (who ruled some time after 925 A D) ruled over Vēngī and Tri-Kalinga. Ammarāja II (945 970 A D) is also stated to have at first ruled over the Vēngī country with Tri-Kalinga⁸, but later left the parental throne and ruled in Kalinga for fourteen years (956-970 A D). Dānārṇava, too, ruled in Kalinga for three years, after the loss of Vēngī⁹.

These extracts show that in the Eastern Chālukya records of the tenth and subsequent centuries, Tri-Kalinga is distinguished from Kalinga and is obviously regarded as a place of less

¹ [Apparently *vēsyā* in the present record is an error in writing for *Vaiśya* to which caste the Nāyakas in this part are known to have belonged. Cf *Ann Rep on Epigraphy*, 1918 19, C P No 5—Ed.]

² Cunningham—*Anc Geogr*, p 594. Fleet, above, Vol III, p 327. Recently Mr B C Majumdar and Mr B Misra have interpreted Tri Kalinga as denoting the three countries 'Kalinga, Kōngōda, and Utkala' (*Orientalis* in the *Making*, p 187, *J B O R S*, Vol XIV, p 145).

³ *J A H R S*, Vol VI, p 203.

⁴ *Ann Rep on Epigraphy*, 1914, p 84.

⁵ Above, Vol IV, p 240.

⁶ Above, Vol V, p 131.

⁷ *S I I*, Vol I, pp 43 ff.

⁸ Ārumbāka pl of Bādapa, above, Vol XIX, p 137.

⁹ Mungallu Grant, *Ann Rep on Epigraphy*, 1917, p 132, also cf *I H Q*, Vol XI, p 43.

importance than Kalinga. In any case, it is impossible to take Tri Kalinga in these records in anything like the sense in which Prof Subba Rao has taken it. The same conclusion follows from the fact that the Haihayas, the Chandēllas, and the Sōmavamśi kings of Kōśala also assumed the title *Tri Kaling ādhipati*.

Mr. G. Ramadas has suggested that Tri Kalinga denotes the highland to the west of the Mahēndra hills of Ganjām, from the upper course of the Mahānadi to about the source of the Lānguhīyā river¹. He was apparently unaware of the references to Tri-Kalinga and Kalinga in the Chālukya records cited above. But there is no doubt that they generally support his view, though we may have to extend the boundaries of the region further south. Without entering into further discussion on this point, I think we have to admit, that we cannot take Tri-Kalinga in the present record to denote the whole of Kalinga, and that it was the designation of a separate region, most probably the hilly tract to the west of Kalinga.

The genealogy of the Gāṅga family, as given in this and the four other inscriptions² referred to above, was shown in a tabular form by Mr. G. V. Ramamurti, while editing the Nadagām plates. The same scholar also drew attention to the fact that it differs substantially from the genealogical account given in the Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga, dated Śaka 1040³. The latter is also repeated in the Korni copper plate grant⁴ of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga, dated Śaka 1034. Curiously enough, the other copper plate grants⁵ of the same king Anantavarman Chōḍaganga corroborate the genealogical account given in the plates of Vajrahasta, including the present grant.

This is not the proper place for entering into a detailed discussion on these discrepancies. It is only necessary to point out that the genealogy given in the present grant and the other plates of Vajrahasta III appears to have far more historical value than the more elaborate genealogical account in the Korni and Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga, dated respectively in 1034 and 1040 Śaka. The former looks like one based on family records, while the latter is undoubtedly an artificially concocted pedigree, reaching back to the creator of the universe.

The grant, like the other plates of Vajrahasta III, gives the exact time of the coronation of the king (ll 33-35). This has been calculated to correspond to 3rd May, 1038 A.D., 8 h 27 m P.M.⁶

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Ōm⁷ svasti [||*] Śrīmatām=akhīla-bhuvana-vihuta naya vinaya dayā-dāna-dākṣi-
- 2 nya [ṣ⁸-satya śaucha-śaṇṛya-dhairyv ādi guna ratna-pavitrakānām=Ātrē
- 3 ya'gōtrānām vimala-vichār-āchāra-punya śāhla⁹ prakṣhyāhita.¹⁰ka¹

¹ *J B O R S*, Vol XIV, pp 547 ff., Vol XV, pp 635 ff.

² See f. n 1 on p 68. The Triplicane Grant also gives the same genealogy (*Ann Rep on S Ind Ep*, 1924: 25, p 78).

³ *Ind Ant*, Vol XVIII, pp 165 ff.

⁴ *J A H R S*, Vol I, p 106.

⁵ (a) Vizagapatam Grant, dated 1003 Ś (*Ind Ant*, Vol XVIII, p 161), (b) Vizagapatam Grant, dated 1057 Ś (*Ibid*, p 172) and (c) Korni Grant, dated 1003 Ś (*J A H R S*, Vol I, p 39).

⁶ Above Vol IV, p 185. Prof S Rao gives the date of Vajrahasta, once as 1037-1070 A.D. (*J A H R S*, Vol V, p 276, Vol VI, p 208), and again as 1038-1069 A.D. (*Ibid*, Vol VI, p 212).

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ This sign of interpunctuation is unnecessary.

⁹ Read *śāhla*.

¹⁰ Read *prakṣahita*.

- 4 l kāla-kalmasha-mashinām mahā-Mahēndr āchala śikhara-pra-
 5 tishthatasya¹ sa char-āchara-gurōh sakala-bhuvam² nirmmā-
 6 n-aika-sūtradhārasya³ śaśānka-chūdā manēr=bhbbhagavatō³ Gōkarnā svāminah pra-
 7 sādāt=samāsādit-aikā śankha bhēri-pañcha-mahāśayda(bda) dhavala-chēhhatra-
 8 hēma chāmara vara vṛishabha-lāñchhana-samujvala⁴-samasta-sāmrājya-ma-

Second Plate, First Side

- 9 himnām=anēka-samara sañghatta samupalavāha⁵-vijaya lakshmi samāli-
 10 ngit-ōtunga⁶-bhujā danda manditānām Tri-Kalāga mahibhujāh Ga-
 11 ngānām=anvayam=alanakarishnōr=vVishnōr=rya vikram ākrānta dhārā-mā-
 12 ndalasya Gunamahārnnava ksha(ma)hārājasya shutah⁷ ||o|| Pūlvam bhū-
 13 patiblu[r]=vṛibhajya vasudhā -yā pañchabhūh pañcharthā bhuktva⁸ bhūm-
 14 parākramō bhujā-valāt⁹=tām=ēka ēva, svayam [I*] ēkikṛitya vijitya
 15 śatru-nivahāna¹¹ śri-Vajrahastāś=chatuschatvārimśatām=atyudāra charitah
 16 saivvām=arakshīt=samāh|| [I*]¹² Tasya tanaṇyō Gundama-rājā¹³ varsha-trayam=
 apālāya

Second Plate, Second Side

- 17 d=mahim || (I) tad ahujah Kāmārnnavadēvah pañcha trimśatam=avdakān¹⁴ || Ta-
 18 sy=ānujō Vmayādityas=samās=terah || Tātah Kāmārnnavāj-jātō jagatī-
 19 kalpa-bhūrubah || (I) yō=rājad=rājita-chēhāyō Vajrhastō=vanipātīh || [2*]¹⁵ Prās-
 chyōda(ta)-
 20 n mada gandha luvdha¹⁶-madhupa vyālīdha gandān=gajānn(n)=artthibhyas=samadāt=sa-
 21 hasram=atulō yas=tyāginām=agrānī[h*] sah¹⁷ śrīmān=Aniyan¹⁸kabhīma-nri-
 22 patir=gGang ānvay-ōtamsakah¹⁸ pañchātrimśatam=avdakān¹⁹=samabhuna-
 23 k=pithvīm²⁰ stutah pārtthivai || [3*]²¹ Tad-agra-sūnuh sura rāja sūnunā samas-
 samastā-
 24 m samit²² āri mandalah [I*] sma pātī Kāmārnnava-bhūpatir=bhbbhuvam²³ samrid-
 dhimān ardhha
 25 samām samujvalah²⁴ || [4*]²⁵ Tad-anu tad anujanmō²⁶ chittajanm-ōpamānō gunā-

¹ Read *pratishtasya*.

² Read *bhagavatō*.

³ Read *samupalavdha*.

⁴ Read *Ga*.

⁵ Read *bhuktā*.

⁶ Read *nivahān*.

⁷ Read *rājō*.

⁸ Read *avdakān* [This also appears to be a verse in faulty *Āryā* metre, though none of the published editions seems to have noticed it—Ed]

⁹ Metre *Ślōka*

¹⁰ Read *sa*

¹¹ Read *avdakān*

¹² Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*,

¹³ Read *bhuvam*

¹⁴ Metre: *Yamastha*.

¹⁵ Read *bhuvana*

¹⁶ Read *samujvala*

¹⁷ Read *ōttunga*

¹⁸ Read *sutah*

¹⁹ Read *balāt*

²⁰ Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

²¹ Read *ludha*

²² Read *gGang ānvay ōttamsalah*.

²³ Read *prithvīm*

²⁴ Read *samit*

²⁵ Read *samujvalah*

²⁶ Read *janmā*

Third Plate, First Side

- 26 mdhur=anavadyō Gundam ākhyō mahisah¹ [*] sakalam=ida[m=arakshat=]trīni va-
 27 rshshāni dhātī valayam=alaghu tējō-nirjūt-ārātu-chakrah || [5*]² Tatō dvai-
 28 māturas=tasya Madhukāmārnnavō nripah | avatī sm=āvanīm=ētām=avdā
 29 m³=ekārnnā⁴vimsatim ||o|| [6*]⁵ Atha Vajrahasta-nripatēr=agra-sutād=akhūla gu-
 30 ni jan-āgranyah [*] Kāmārnnavāt=kavīndra-pragīyamān-āvadāta-
 31 śubha kīrttēh ||[7*]⁶ Śīya⁷ iva Vaidurnv⁸-ānvaya payah-payōndhi-samu-
 32 bbbh(dbha)vāyās=cha[*] yah samajani Vinayamahādēvyāh Śrī Vajrahasta ita
 tana-
 33 yah ||[8*]⁹ Viyad ritu mdhi-samkhyām yāti Śāk-āvdā¹⁰ samghē Dinakriti Vṛshabha-
 34 sthē Rōhini bhē sulagnē [*] Dhanudhi¹¹ cha sita pakshē Sūryya-vārē tritīyām¹².

Third Plate, Second Side

- 35 yuji sakala-dharitram¹³ rakshitum yō=bhushuktah ||[9*]¹⁴ Nyāyyēna yatra samam=ā-
 36 charitum tri-varggē¹⁵ mārggēna rakshati mahīm mahita-pratāpē [*] nirvvyā-
 37 dhayaś=cha niraghās=cha nirāpadaś=cha śāsvat=prajā bhuvī bhavanti vibhū-
 38 timarttyah¹⁶ ||[10*]¹⁷ Vyāptē Ganga¹⁸-kul-ōttamasya yaśasā dik chakravālē
 39 śāśi-padyōt¹⁹-āmahnēna yasya bhuvanah²⁰-prahlāda sa-
 40 mpādīnā [*] saindūrar=ati-sāndra-panka-patalai[h*] kumbha-sthali pattakēshv=āh-
 41 mpanti punah pūnaś=cha haritām=ādhōranā vāranān || [11*]²¹ Anurāgēna
 42 gumnō²² yasya vakshō mukh-āvjayōh²³ [*] āśīnē²⁴ Śrī Sarasvatyāv=anu-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 43 kūrē virājatah ||o|| [12*]²⁵ Kalinganagarāt=parama-māhēśvara-parama-
 44 bhattāraka-mahārāj ādhirāja-Tri-Kaling-ādhipati śrīmad Anantava-
 45 nirmā Vajrahasta-[dē]vah kuśali samast-āmātya-pramukha-janapadān=sa-
 46 mādhyā samājñāpayati viditam=astu bhavatām || [Viditam=a-

¹ Read mahisah² Read abdān³ Metro Ślōka⁴ Read Śrīya⁵ Metro Giti⁶ Read Dh-rushi.⁷ Read dharīm⁸ Read vargar⁹ Metro Vasantatīlaka¹⁰ Read pradyōt¹¹ Metro Śārdūlavatī-riṣṭa.¹² There is a redundant medial ē sign before g¹³ Read āśīnē¹⁴ Metro Mālinī.¹⁵ Read ekanna.¹⁶ Metro Giti¹⁷ Read Vaidumb.¹⁸ Read Śāk ābdā.¹⁹ Read tritīyā.²⁰ Metro Mālinī.²¹ Read matyab.²² Read Ganga²³ Read bhuvana.²⁴ Read ājayōh.²⁵ Metro Ślōka.

2

2 2
4 4
6 6
8 8

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 १ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 २ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ३ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ४ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ५ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ६ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ७ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ८ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥

2v, a.

44 44
46 46
48 48
50 50

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 १ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 २ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ३ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ४ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ५ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ६ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ७ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ८ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥

2v, b

52 5

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 १ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 २ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ३ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ४ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ५ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ६ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ७ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥
 ८ ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥ अथ राजा ॥

47 stu bhava]¹ ²Varāhavarttanyām | Navagrāmaś=chatus sīm āva-
 48 chchhinnas=sa-jala sthalas=sarvva pīdā-vivarjñtam=ā chandr-ārka-
 49 kshiti sama-kālam [vāvan]³=mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha punya-yaśō bhivridha-
 50 yē | śasi nanda nidhi [śā]k āvdē⁴ | Āsādha⁵-māsa-prathama-paksha sa-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

51 ptamyām Sōma-vārē vēsyā⁶ vamś ōdbhavah | Mallapa nāyakas=tasya puttrah
 52 Bhimana-nāyakas=tasya bhāyyā Prōlakavā | tayōh putrāya | Gōkana⁷-
 53 nāyakāya chira kālam=ārādhya sva paursha-paritōshitāya datta iti ||

No 12—INDIAN MUSEUM PLATES OF GANGA DEVENDRAVARMAN
 THE YEAR 308

BY B CH CHHABRA, M A, M O L, P H D (LUGD), OOTACAMUND

The charter under examination is one of the nine sets of copper plates that were acquired, in the year 1935, by Mr N G Majumdar, Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, through Mr Satyanarayan Rajguru of Parlakimedi, District Ganjām. Regarding its find spot no definite information is available. Mr Rajguru, however, informs me that a cultivator, while digging a field in a village of the Badakhimedi Estate of Ganjām, came upon an earthen pot containing some ten sets of copper plates of which the present record is one. Ink-impressions of these plates were kindly supplied to me by Mr Majumdar with whose permission I edit them here.

These are **three copper plates**, each measuring $5\frac{3}{4}" \times 3"$. They were strung on a ring, about 3 inches in diameter, fixed to a circular seal. The seal, $1\frac{1}{4}"$ in diameter, is intact and bears the figures in high relief of a seated bull, facing the proper left, a crescent and a star above it and a blown lotus below. The plates weigh 112 *tolas*, while the ring and the seal together weigh 14 *tolas*. The plates have flat rims. The writing on them has undergone a slight damage, especially on the obverse of the second plate. There are 38 lines of writing in all, the first and the last faces bearing 7 each and the remaining three 8 each. All the three plates are inscribed on both the sides, the charter ending on the obverse of the third plate. On the reverse of this last appear two different writings, one upon the other, but neither seems to be relevant to the present grant. The three lines of writing on the lower portion, the first consisting of four *aksharas* only and the

¹ The syllables within the brackets are indistinct. Probably the engraver, through mistake, repeated the phrase *Viditamastu bhavatam*, and then tried to cancel it by rubbing off the letters.

² The portion of the plate before this letter is very damaged, and there might have been two or three letters. The last one, immediately preceding *Va*, seems to be *tra*. There might be the word *atra*.

³ These three letters are very indistinct as this portion of the plate is very damaged.

⁴ The letter *sā* is very indistinct. Read -*Śaś ābd*⁵.

⁵ Read *Ashādha*.

⁶ Read *vēśya* or *Ṣaśya*.

⁷ There is a dot over *ka*, but I doubt whether it was intended for *anusvāra*, as this is usually represented in this plate by a circle to the right of the consonant.

other two of nine each, in clearer and bigger letters, were evidently engraved later without first completely smoothing the surface, for it shows traces of a previous engraving a considerable part of which can still be read. It presents the same text as found in ll 27-32 of our inscription. It also betrays the same hand to which the incision of the present charter is due. Probably, the engraver, while incising the record on the plates, omitted the text contained in the ll 24-26. But later, when he had engraved the subsequent six lines, he discovered his mistake. Thereupon he rejected that plate and carved afresh on the other one, beginning with what he had omitted. The rejected engraving was left as it was. The later addition of the three lines of writing in bigger characters, though quite clear, does not yield any coherent sense to me.

The alphabet belongs to a Northern variety and resembles closely that of the other known records of the king, *Dēvēndravarma*. The writing is cursive and is rather carelessly done. It does not look uniform. There are even instances where two independent syllables have been written with one flowing stroke, cf °śah of *luśah*, l 14, and °śati of *samadiśati*, l 16. In these as well as in certain other cases, the letter ś does not show the central bar which is shown clearly elsewhere, e g, in *śasāmka*, l 5. Several letters exhibit each more than one form, cf g in *-dagarān=*, l 3, *-gurē*, l 4, *bhagavatō*, l 6, and *Gāng-*, l 8, ḡ in *viḡaya°*, l 2, *-janita*, ll 9-10, *-jaya*, l 10, t in °rtu, l 1, *-piatishthi°*, l 4, °gata l 8, *-tilakō*, l 9, *-janita*, ll 9-10, and *samaritām*, l 15, d in *samadiśati*, *viditam=*, l 16, and *ādibhah*, l 26, n in *-ānu°*, l 1, and *janita*, ll 9-10, r in *sa-char-āchara*, l 4, l in *Kalanga*, l 2, and °mala *lula tilakō*, l 9, ś in *śasāmka*, l 5, *śavda*, l 10, and *-dandapāśik*, l 26, s in *sa char-āchara*, l 4, *sa[ra]la*, ll 4-5, and *-saghatta*, l 9, etc. Moreover, only in one instance, *m* has its Nāgarī form, whereas in all the other cases it has been represented by its ancient form. Both of them may be compared in *Śrīsāmantēna* and *pravarddhamāna* in the last line *re*, l 38. It may further be noticed that, except in one or two cases, the medial long ī has throughout been represented by the sign of the medial short i, the exceptions being °thi°, l 37, and śri, l 38. In like manner the signs of medial u and ū are not distinguished that of the former representing the both.

The record is composed in Sanskrit prose, except that three verses occur in ll 28-36. It offers only a few noteworthy points of orthography. The consonant after *r* is very rarely doubled, see for example *sarivartu*, l 1, *nirman*, l 5, *-Rājēndravarma*, l 13, *Yajurvīda*, l 18, *Gōvin-daśarmaṇē*, l 19, and *-kuttay[ō]*, l 35. In most cases *v* is used for *b*, like in *-savda*, l 10. *Anus-vāra* is used instead of the class nasal, in *śasāmka*, l 5, *-kalamlā*, l 8, *-āmbu* l 33, etc., as well as for the final *n*, cf *samavītām*, l 15, and *jānapadām*, l 16. In certain instances an *alshara* or *visarga* has been wrongly left out, e g, in ll 2, 6 and 8. A few more mistakes of spelling, possibly attributable to the engraver, will be noticed in the footnotes to the text.

The charter records the gift of a village called *Puruṣvanā* (?) in *Bukudrivaka* or *Bukudravakōṇa*, in *Lōhadhr̥ngara*, by the Ganga king *Dēvēndravarma*, son of the *Mahārāja Rājēndravarma*, to one *Gōvin-daśarmaṇa*, son of *Bhūttā Nārīyana*. The donee is described to be a resident of a place in *Uttara Rādhā*, a member of the *Vṛtsa gōtra* and a follower of the *Yajurvīda* and the *Katha charana*. The name of the donee's native place could not be clearly made out. The name of the donated village which may be read as *Purushthanā* or *Puruṣvanā* occurs in l 21, but the subsequent details are not clear, as that part of the inscription is badly disfigured.

What is of chief importance in this record is its date which is the year 308. Although it is indicated only by decimal figures, yet there can be no uncertainty or ambiguity about its reading. This mention of date throws, as we shall presently see, a decisive light on the date, which up till now rests on a mere surmise, of another grant of the same ruler.

Besides the present one, three more records are known of the same Dēvāndravarmaṇ, namely (1) Bangalore Plates,¹ (2) Chicacole Plates² and (3) Tekkaḥ Plates³. The first of these, like the present one, has been issued from Kāḷiṅganagara, but it contains no date beyond mentioning an *ayana samkrānti* on which occasion the village Sīdhatā of the Varāhavarṭaṇi *viśaya* is stated to have been granted to an individual "in order to provide for the worship and offerings to (the god) Paramēśvara". The Chicacole grant, it is reported, "records the gift of the village Viriṇṭika in the Puṣṭakaraṇi *viśaya* to four brothers"⁴. It is undated, and it has been issued from Kāḷiṅganagara. The Tekkaḥ Plates have been edited by Dr Hultzsch. This record has likewise been issued from Kāḷiṅganagara and it is dated. The wording of the date is, however, doubtful. The editor has supposed it to be the year 310. This supposition now becomes most acceptable in the light of the present record, as has been pointed out above. The year refers itself to the Ganga era the initial date of which has been much discussed, but not yet been quite settled. Recently Mr R. Subba Rao has outlined a history of the Gangas of Kāḷiṅga. According to his calculation, the Ganga years 308 and 310 would correspond respectively to A. D. 802 and A. D. 804,⁵ which may not be far wrong, if not exact. This date may, moreover, be borne out by the palaeographical evidence.

The name Dēvāndravarmaṇ has been borne by several Ganga kings. That of our record stands, in the genealogical order, as Dēvāndravarmaṇ IV.⁶ That the self same person figures as the grantor in all the four, dated and undated, records described above, is evident from two main considerations: firstly in all the instances he is mentioned as the son of Rājēndravarmaṇ, and secondly all the four charters have evidently been engraved by one and the same person. Moreover, except for the Bangalore grant which does not mention the composer's name, the re-

¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IX, Bn 140, and Plates, see also the Introduction, p. 9 (text on p. 33 of the section called *Text of the Inscriptions in Roman characters*, and translation on pp. 26 f. of the section called *Translations of the Inscriptions*). It is stated that there is the figure of an 'elephant on the seal'. Possibly the figure of a bull has been mistaken here for that of an elephant. Moreover, the editor assigns the plates roughly to A. D. 700, of course without the knowledge of the dated records of this Dēvāndravarmaṇ.

² *An Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1918-19, Appendix A, No. 7. These plates have been published first in Telugu by R. Subba Rao in the *Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu Garu Commemoration Volume*, pp. 294 f. and later in English by C. Narayana Rao and R. Subba Rao jointly in the *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 185 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 311-313, and Plates.

⁴ According to the editors, while the name of the village is *Viriṇṭika*, it was granted "to Hēṭlōka, son of Vilachi" (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 193). It may be pointed out that the text given by the editors is obviously inaccurate in several places. Their account, therefore, may not entirely be depended upon. At the same time, it may be admitted that the writing on the plates is not very clear.

⁵ The reading is *śata mayē daś ōṭṭarē*. The first compound is suggested to be a clerical error for *śata trayē*, cf. above, Vol. XVIII, p. 312, and *A. R. on S. I. E.*, 1923-24, pp. 97-98.

⁶ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 196-97. See also *A. R. on S. I. E.*, 1911-12, p. 45, where the origin of the Eastern Ganga era has been discussed, and almost the same conclusion has been reached.

⁷ This is according to R. Subba Rao, whereas according to some other views, he is Dēvāndravarmaṇ III, see e.g., B. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 234.

maining three have likewise been composed by an identical individual Both the composer and the engraver bear titles, as is shown below —

Plates	Composer	Engraver
Bangalore	Nal	Sri Khandimala
Chicacolo	Sarvachandra Srisāmanta	Srisāmanta Khandimala
Tel kahi	Rahasya ¹ Srisāmanta Sarvachandra	Al shatālin Srisāmanta Khandimala
Indian Museum	Rahasya Sarvachandra	Al shatālin Khandimala Srisāmanta

Notwithstanding the variant readings presented and in spite of the omission of titles in certain cases, we may safely assume that the composer and the engraver, in each case, were respectively *Rahasya Srisāmanta Sarvachandra* and *Al shatālin Srisāmanta Khandimala*.

The official titles *Rahasya* and *Al shatālin* are met with also in several other Ganga records.² They have been rendered by Dr Hultsch respectively as 'private secretary' and 'keeper of records'.³ The latter term perhaps simply denotes 'an engraver'.

Among the localities mentioned in the inscription, *Kalinganagara* has been identified with Mukhalingam, a place of pilgrimage, 20 miles from Parlakimedi in the Ganjam District, while *Uttara Rādhā* is that part of Bengal which includes a portion of the district of Murshidābād. I am unable to identify the other places occurring in the record.

TEXT⁴

First Plate, First Side,

- 1 Ōm⁵ Svasty= Amarapur ānukīrṇaḥ sarva artu
- 2 sukha ramani(nī)yā[d*]=vijayavatā(tah) Kula(l)inga
- 3 da(na)garān=Mahānda(ndr ā)chala (l ā) mala śikhara
- 4 pratīśthīda(tr)sya sa char āchara gurc(ō)[h*] sa-
- 5 [ka"]la [bh]uvana nirma(rmā)n aīka⁶ su(sū)tradhārasya śaśūmkā-
- 6 chu(chū)dīmanā[r*]=[bha]gavā[tō⁷] Gō⁸karṇa¹⁰-svāmīnas=cha-
- 7 rana [ka]mala-

First Plate, Second Side

- 8 yugala pr(pra)na(nū)ma(mā)[d*]=v[ī]gata kalī kalī[m] ā(kō) Gāṅg ā
- 9 mala kula tilakō=nīka samāra sa[m*] ghatta jani
- 10 ta jaya śrīda(bdah) pratāp ā[v]jāta samasta sīma-
- 11 [n*]ta chūdāmanī prabhū⁹ māñjari(rī) puñja rāñji-

¹ This reading is due to restoration

² See, for instance, *Ind Ant*, Vol XXIII p 145

³ Above, Vol III, p 21

⁴ From the impressions

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ This *ti* looks more like *ni*

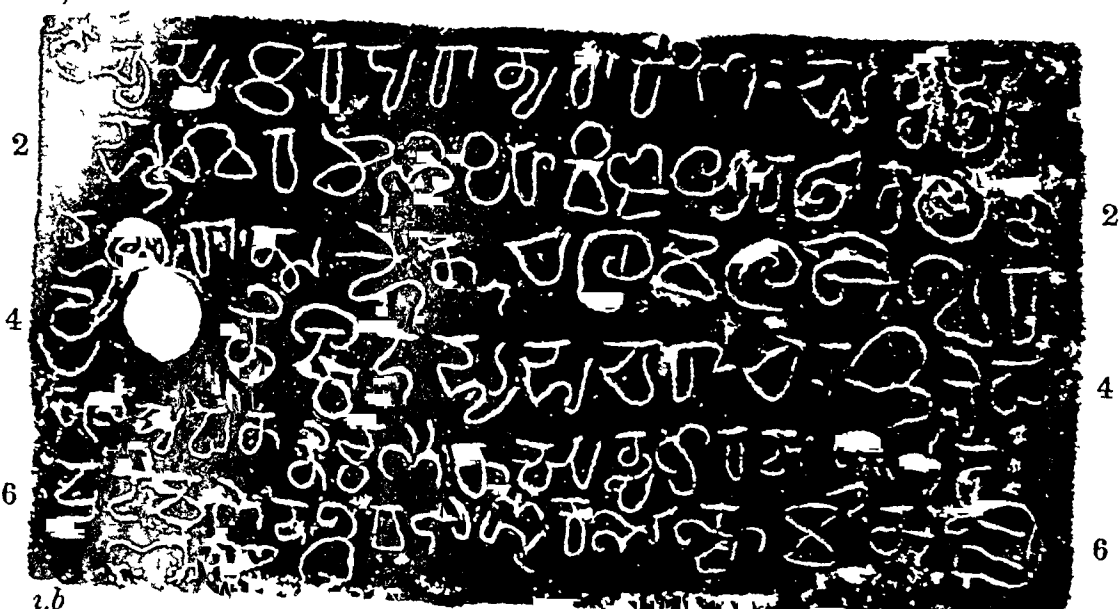
⁷ This letter has a peculiar form. It no doubt stands for *la*. In *ūanata*, l 10, *ta* has an almost *li* shape, but in that case only the central dash is superfluous.

⁸ The right hand curve attached to the *ka* is superfluous here. Usually it represents medial *u* in this inscription, see, for example, in *kubāli*, l 14.

⁹ The formation of this syllable is hardly recognizable.

¹⁰ The doubling of the consonant is doubtful here.

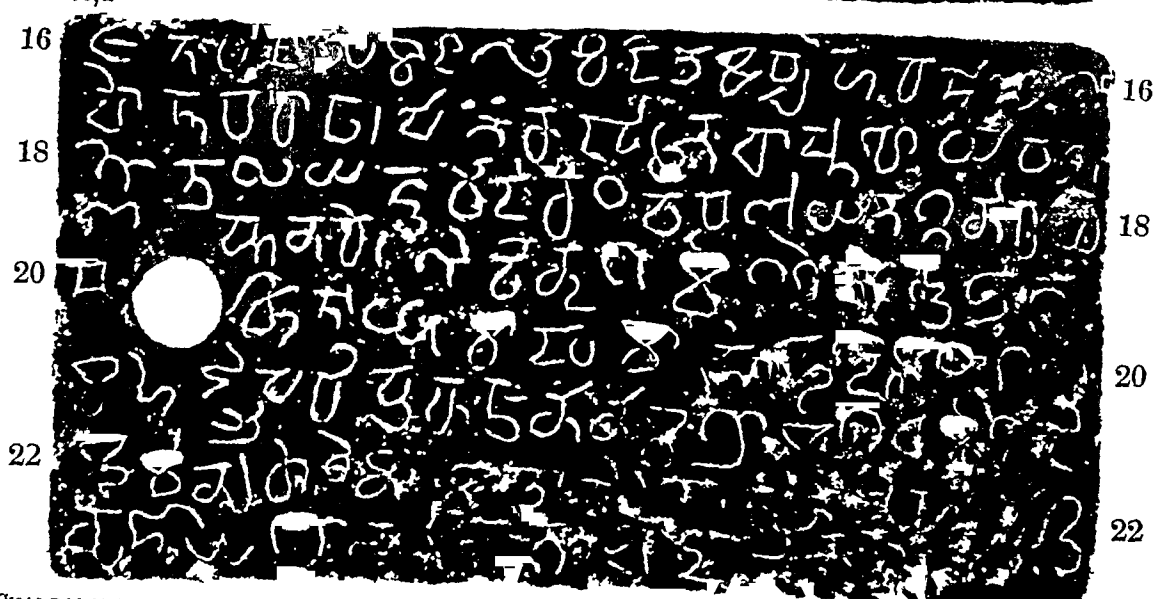
2,a



2,b



22,a



24 24
26 26
28 28
30 30

22, a

32 32
34 34
36 36
38 38

Seal



- 12 ta charana[h*]¹ parama mähcśvara(rō) mātā pitri
 13 pād ānudhyāta(tō) Mahārāja śri(śrī)-Rājēndravarma-
 14 su(sū)nu[h*] śri(sri) Dēvēndravarma(rmā) kuśala(lī) ² Lōhadhanga-
 15 ra samva(ba)ndhim Bukudravakē sa³ samavēt⁴[ā]m(n)

Second Plate, First Side

- 16 jānapadām(n) sama(mā)disati vīditam=astu bhavatā[m yathā ?]
 17 ch=Öttara-Rādha ² Pū[ta⁵]ka[bōjya⁶ ?] vāstavyāya Vatsa-
 18 gōtriya Yajur vīda katha charanāya bhatta Nāra(rā)ya-
 19 na su(sū)navi ² Gōvīndasarmānē
 20 ba(pa)nditāya Māgha-māsē
 21 ma pari Furushtha(or jva)nā-nāma-grāma[s=tri dharma . . .
 22 mām-ānuvō(bō)[dhcna][mā]tā pī[tr]ō[r=ātma]naś=cha pu[ny] ābhi-
 23 vīd[dh]ajc śāsa⁷ . . . chandr-ā⁸

Second Plate, Second Side

- 24 gra(grā)mī(mō)=yam=asmābhū=datta[h] | yatō⁹=sya bha-
 25 vish¹⁰ad rāja pu(pū)rva rājā(ja) va[l*] labha ² chāta-bhata-
 26 dandapāsik ādibhūh kē(kai)[ś]=chid=ā(bī)dhā na kartavy[ā] [l*]
 27 pūrva¹¹ sthityā si(sī)mā sctu parich¹²(chchhī)dc na pra-
 28 bhasyatc¹³ uktañ=cha | Va(Ba)hubhū=vasu[dh]ā
 29 da[t*]tā rājabhūh Sagar¹⁴ ādibhūh [*] yasya yasya
 30 yādā¹⁵ bhū(bhū)mis=tasya tasya tadī phalam(lam)¹⁴ [l*] [l*]¹⁵ Sva datām(ttām)
 31 para-datām(ttām)vā ² yō harīta vasumdharam(rām) [l*]

¹ A dash and a dot above are superfluously added to the left hand vertical stroke of the *pa* That they may have stood for an *upadhmānīya* is highly improbable Besides, the right hand vertical stroke of the *pa* is abnormally long

² The *danda* is unnecessary

³ This syllable seems to be redundant Mr N L Rao reads *Bukudraia* *ōrē* in which case there will be no superfluous syllable

⁴ The formation of this syllable is hardly recognizable

⁵ The reading *ta* is tenable, only if the dash and the two dots above it are regarded superfluous

⁶ The reading is very uncertain Moreover, in case of the suggested reading, the form of *j* would be Nāgarī.

⁷ Read probably *sasancna*

⁸ The corresponding phrase in the Tekkālī Plates is *chandr āditya paryantam*

⁹ Perhaps we have to read this syllable as *pu* and correct it into *pū*, but the vowel sign here is quite different from that in the *pu* of the *puria*, l 25

¹⁰ There is a curve below the *ch*, but it can hardly represent the required *chh* after the *ch*

¹¹ Read perhaps *prabhūshyāt* The *visarga* after this word must originally have been intended to be a *danda*.

¹² The syllable *rā* here resembles the *ra* as seen in *arika*, l 5

¹³ The right hand portion of the *ya* looks separated from it and affixed to the next letter

¹⁴ There is a sign after *phalam*, perhaps meant to be the required double *danda*

¹⁵ Metro *Anushubh*

the Parlakimedi¹ plates on palaeographical grounds. The former appears to be the son of Prithivivarman who issued a Guṇṭim grant² which like the present record was also issued from Śvēt(ā)ka, written by the *Samdhūgrahin* Śrī Sāmanta, and engraved by Svayambhu. The name of this Indravarmān is known from our plates for the first time. He is described as *Kōlālālapurapattanavirgata* (ll 7-8). Prithivivarman, father of Indravarmān, also calls himself *Kōlālālapurapattanaka* i.e., belonging to the city of Kōlālālapura. Generally the Eastern Ganga kings have the title *Kōlālālapuravarāṇsīara* (Lord of the city of Kōlālāhala). The terms Kōlālālapura, Kōlālālapura and Kōlālālapura seem to denote one and the same place which has been identified by Mr L. Rice with Kolār in the Mysore State. Indravarmān bears the title of *Nandagirinātha*, or the Lord of Nandagiri, which has been identified with the well known fortified hill to the west of Kolār District, Mysore, now called Nandidroog.³ It may be noted that both the above titles were also adopted by some of the Western Chālukya⁴ and Western Ganga⁵ kings.

The inscription was written by the *Samdhūgrahin* who also bears the designation Śrī Sāmanta but his name seems to have been omitted. It was engraved by the *Śrēṣṭhin* the Śrī Sāmanta Svayambhu of the brahmin class, son of Nripa, and registered by the Vaishnavī Śrī-Gōsvāminī Śrī Mahādēvī by which the chief queen may have been referred to.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Ōm⁶ svastī (i*) Śvēt(ā)ka ādhishthānād-bhagavataḥ sacharācchara-gurōḥ |⁷ sa(śa)-
- 2 kālā-śaśa-īmukha⁸ śākhara dharasya |⁷ sthity-utpatī(tti) pralya-kārana⁹-hē-
- 3 tōr=Mahācāndrāśa(cha)la śi(śi)khara nīāśi(śi)nah śrīmah(ma)dah(d) Gōkarna(nē)sva(śva)ra-
bha
- 4 ttīrakasya charana kamalātrādhānāt(d=a)vāpta punya(nya)nichaya(yah) ||⁷ śakktī(kti)-
traya pralā
- 5 riśh ānuranjīt-ā(ā)śā¹⁰ sāmanta cakra[h*] śva(sva) bhūja va(ba)la-parākram ākrānta sa-
- 6 kālā Kalingādhīrājī(jyah) |⁷ parama-māhātārō mātā-pitri-pād ānu-
- 7 dhītō |⁷ Gang-īmala kulā tilaka[h*] |⁷ śrī Nandagirinātha[h*] Kōlālāvala-
- 8 pura pattana virgata kāmvalya varayaghōsa-mā(ma)hārājādhīrāja-pa-
- 9 ramāśvara paramabhīrtāraka-śrī-Indravarmadēva[h*] kusa(śa)li śrī-Prithi-
- 10 vārmadēva sutah Hallanyara viśaṭ(yē) yathākālādhīyāśi-mahāśa-

Second Plate, First Side

- 11 manpā(ntrī) śrī-sāmanta rājānaka rājaputra-kamārāmāty utpā¹¹-dandanā-
- 12 yakah(ha) viśhaṭapātī [grā]mapātī(tin) anyā(nyīm)ś=cha chīta bhā(bha)ta vallabha jā
- 13 tī(tī)yā[n*] rātrakuta kutumvīm¹² sāmavājika¹³ sāmanta-janapadānā(dān) sa-
- 14 mādisatī viditam=astu bhavatā |¹⁴ etad viśhaya samvandha |¹⁵ grāmō=yam Tana-

¹ *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 131

² *Imp Gaz.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 359

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 95, 124, 125, 130, 132 and 133

⁴ *Danda unnecessary*

Karana has been omitted in the Sāmantavarman inscription. Above, Vol. XV, p. 277

¹⁰ Read *-pralāśh ānuranjīt āśēśa*

¹² Read *rashtrā āja Puṣumbāśa*

¹⁴ *Danda unnecessary* Read *etad*

² Above, Vol. IV, pp. 198 f

⁴ Kielhorn's *List of S. I. Inscr.*, Nos. 168, 170a

⁶ Expressed by a symbol

⁸ Read *śāsānka*

¹¹ Read *ōparika*

¹³ Read *samavajjan*

¹⁵ Read *samboddha*

- 15 rdā nāma sa jala sthal ārānya¹ chatuh si(sī)m ōpalla(la)kshitañ(tas)=cha²
 16 Chhāndōga charanāyah(ya)³ Rārānī³ sã(śã)khāya² Vāchha(Vatsa) gōtrāya² pã(pa)ñcha-
 17 pravarāya || Aurvva(Aurvva) Bhri(Bhri)gu Chyavana A(Ā)pnavāna Jāmadagnī(ni)|| tatha iva
 (tath=aiva)
 18 anupavarā[h*] pañcha || bhātaputra-Duga(rga)khandi[nċ*] ||² bhatta-Vō(Bō)dhana-
 sutah(tāya) ihi
 19 va (ih=aiva) su(sū)rya grahanē² datā⁴ mātā pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha² punya(nya)-
 pravridhaē(ddhayċ)² salī(li)-
 20 [la*] dhārā-purāhsarēpa⁵ ² chandr ārka sthiti² -sama kāla[m*] a karī(rī)kritya² pratipā-

Second Plate , Second Side

- 21 *pādītō=smābhur=yatam⁷ ² sã(śū)sana darasanāt dharma-gauravāht-tasmādah dgau-
 22 ravā cha⁸ na kċna-chipta(t=pa)ripanthinā bhavitavya[m*] tathā cha pathyatċ dharma śūstrċ
 []⁹Va-
 23 hubhur=vasudhā datā rājānai Sagar-idhibhūh []² yasya yasya yadā bhumī tasya tasya ta-
 24 dā phalam []² Mā bhumī phala-saukā va para dat=ēti pārthiva¹⁰ Haratē harayatē
 25 bhumī manda vudhī tamō-viita[]² sa vadhdhō Vārūnai pāsai tīrya-yō
 26 nyāñ=cha gachhati|| Sva datām para datām=ā yō harētī vasundharā | sha
 27 vishthāyā krimur=bhūtvā pītribhūh saha pachatċ || Hī[ra*]nvam=ċkam gōmē
 28 lañ=cha² rbhum ċkam chātur-āngulam []² haran=narakamm=āyātī yāv ad=āhu
 29 ti samplava || Sashtim=varisa satām svagram mōdati bhumīja ||()¹⁶

Third Plate

- 30 ākshēptā ch=ānumantā[cha*]tāny=e[va*] narakam vñjēt || sva dānāt phalam kuryā
 31 paradatt ānupālanam []² ubhau tō punya karmānau nyatō svarga gā-
 32 minau || Iti kamala-dal āmvu vīndu lōlā[m] śrīyam=anu-
 33 chintyā manusya jivitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛtam vudhā
 34 na hi purusa para kīrtayō vilōpyā|| līkhitam=idam sa-
 35 ndhivigrahi śrī sāmamtēna || utlīrnañ=cha¹² sã(śã)sanam kamsārā kulaputraka-
 36 śrēshṭi(shṭhi) śrī sāmanta Svayambhunā Napa suttēna¹³ | lāñchhitañ=cha parama-
 37 vaishnavī¹⁴ śrī Gōsvāmīni(nī) śrī mā(ma)hādēvyā || uny-āksharam=adidhikāksha
 38 ram=vā¹⁵ tat sarvva[m] pramānam=itih(tī) || ॐ ||¹⁶

¹ Read *aranyas-*

² Read *Raṇayanīya*

³ Read *purāhsaram*

⁴ Read *yatah*

⁵ Read *darśanād dharma gauratād asmad gauratach=cha*

⁶ Reading of these verses is hopelessly incorrect Since they are well known no correction is made.

⁷ The second half of this verse is found in li 30 31

⁸ The first half of this verse has been omitted.

⁹ Read *utlīrnañ cha*

¹⁰ Read *Nṛpa sūtēna*

¹¹ Read *vaishnavī*

¹² Read *ān āksharam-adhik āksharam va*

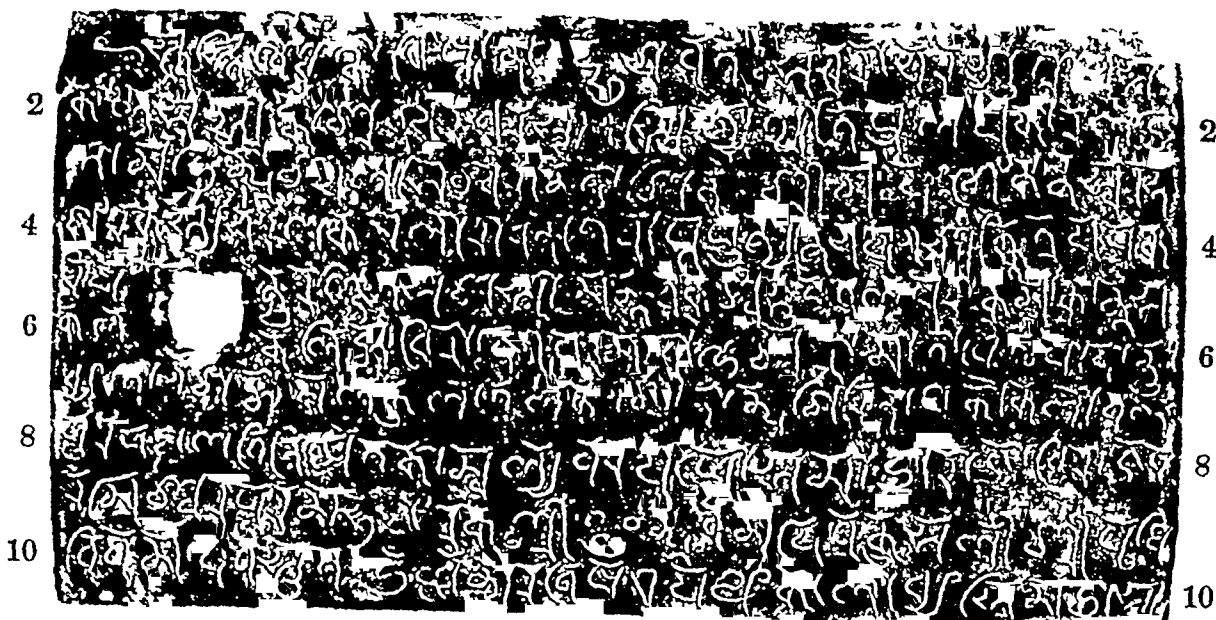
¹³ There is a symbol after this,

² *Daṇḍa unnecessary*

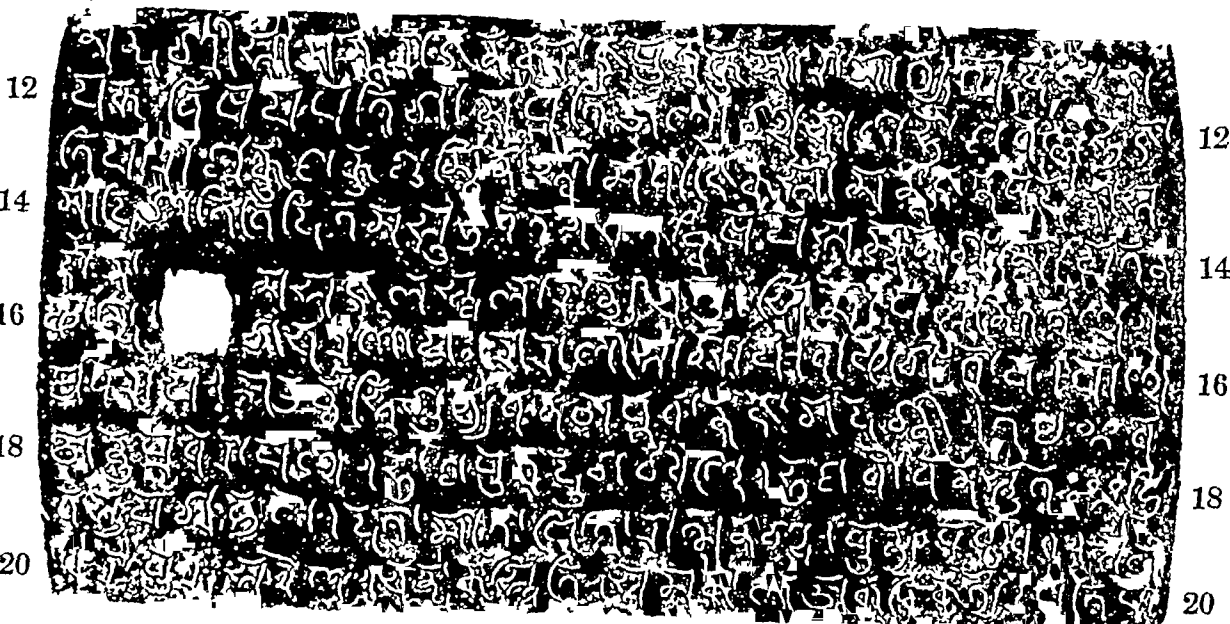
⁴ Probably intended for *dattā* which is superfluous

⁶ This *pā* is superfluous

2

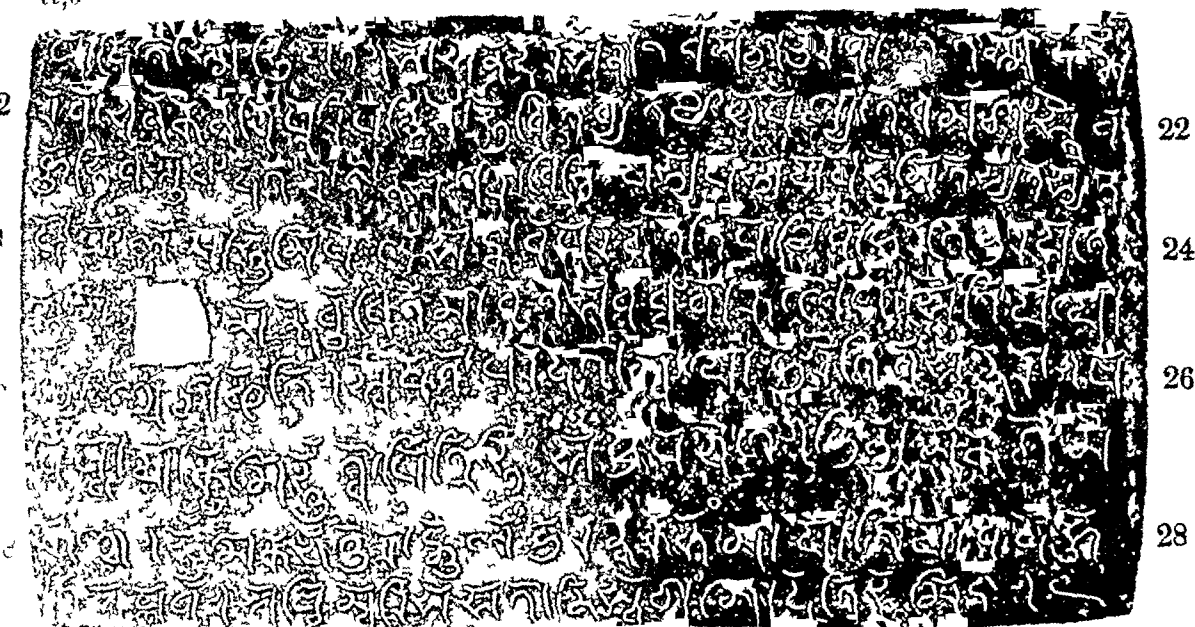


11, a



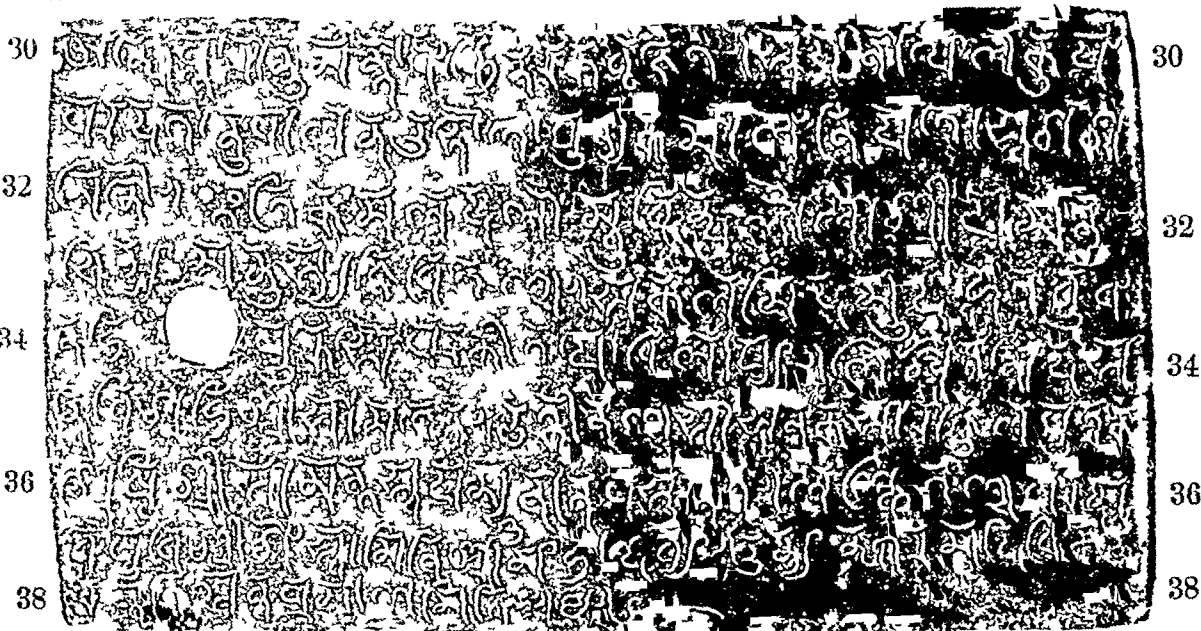
u, b

2 22
24
26
28



iii

30 30
32 32
34 34
36 36
38 38



No 14 —PATTAN PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

By PROF V V MIRASHI, M A, NAGPUR

Pattan is a substantial village with a population of about 1,500 souls in the Multāi *taluk* of the Betul District, Central Provinces. It lies about 10 miles south of Multāi, on the Multāi-Amrāoti road. Tradition says that the original village was turned upside down and buried underground by the curse of a Muhommadan saint Sulaiman Shah¹. Even now when excavations are made, large size bricks, beads of onyx and coins are found, which also shows that the modern village is occupying an old site. The present plates were turned up in a field by the plough of a farmer in 1935. Mr Rajaram Jain, Head Master of the local Vernacular Middle School, first brought them to notice in the beginning of the next year. Finding himself unable to decipher the record, he made fairly accurate eye copies of it, one of which reached the hands of Mr M A Suboor, of the Central Museum, Nagpur. The latter took immediate steps to acquire the plates for the Museum and thoroughly cleaned them when they were received. They are now deposited in the Museum. I edit them here as desired by Mr Suboor.

They are **five copper plates** of which the first and the last are inscribed on one side only and the remaining three on both the sides. Each plate measures 6 9" by 4" and is about 1" in thickness. The ends of the plates are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims for the protection of the writing. About 1 9" from the proper right side of each plate there is a hole $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter for the ring which originally connected the plates. When the plates reached the Nagpur Museum, the ring had been straightened, and its **seal**, which is a round disc, 3" in diameter, separated from it. The usual band, to which the seal must have been rivetted, is not forthcoming now. The weight of the plates is 134 *tolas* and that of the seal 8½ *tolas*.

Some of the plates have cracked at the edges. Their surface, which originally was not made quite smooth, has been further damaged by rust. The letters were deeply cut. Some of them show through on the reverse, especially in the case of the first and last plates which are somewhat thinner than the rest. Many letters in the right half of l 45 and most of those in the two following lines have been almost obliterated by friction but can be read, though with some difficulty, from the traces left on the plate. The record consists of 47 lines. Each inscribed surface contains six lines, except the first side of the third plate which has only five lines incised on it. The seal contains the usual Vākātika **legend** in verse, inscribed in four lines.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety and closely resemble those of the Tīrōḍi plates². They include the signs for the initial short *i* in l 27, long *ī* in l 46 and for the initial short *u* in l 28. The only peculiarities worth noticing here are that the length of the medial *ī* is generally denoted by a ringlet in the curve which represents its short form, but in one case by a curve turned in the opposite direction, cf *Bhāgīratthy*, l 7, and in another by a dot in the circle, cf *Śrī Pravara-sēnasya*, l 19, the *mātrās* for the medial *ā*, *ē* and *ō* are added at the foot of the letters *m* and *kh*, see *°m-Āptōryyām Ōkthya*, l 1, *Āśvamēdha*, ll 2-3 and *Varadākhēta*, l 20, the medial *ō* is 'cursive' in *Lōhanagar*, l 20, the medial *au* is everywhere bipartite, see *Gautamīputra*, ll 8-9, the subscript forms of *n* and *ṇ* are not distinguished, while those of *j* and *b* have no notch on the left, see *utpannasya*, l 18, and *suvarṇna*, l 45, -*ārjjava*, l 10, and *āyur-bbala*, l 27, a final consonant is indicated by its small form and in some cases by a short horizontal line at the top (see *Pravara-purāt*, l 1, *dattam*, l 23, etc). The *upadhmānīya* occurs in ll 15, 18, and 35 of the inscription and

¹ Betul District Gazetteer, p 256² Above, Vol XXII, pp 167 ff.

in l 3 of the legend on the seal. Punctuation is marked by two or three vertical and somewhat curved lines followed by a dash

The language is Sanskrit. Except the legend on the seal and the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. It abounds in mistakes of orthography, *sandhi*, syntax, declension, conjugation, verbal and nominal derivatives, etc., most of which must be attributed to the ignorance or carelessness of the writer. As regards mistakes of orthography, we find *sunōh* everywhere written for *sūnōh* (see ll 4, 9, 15 and 16), *Bhārasivānām* for *Bhārasivānām* in l 8, *atyantiya* for *atyanta*, ll 4 and 10, *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in *Prithivī*, l 14, and *vice versā* in *kṛiyābhī*-, l 35, similarly *li* is used for the vowel *li* in *-llipti ṣpalliptah* in l 33, the dental *n* is used for the lingual *n* in *kārunya*, l 10 and *puny*, l 38, the *anusvāra* before a sibilant is incorrectly changed to the dental nasal in *ansa*, l 5, and to the guttural in *vanśā*, l 6 and *saptāvinsē*, l 43. Other instances of orthographical mistakes are furnished by *datyā*, l 28 *dhimātra*, l 11, *agrāhāra*, l 30, *vēshī*, l 32, etc. In many cases rules of euphony have not been followed or have been violated, see for instance *-nyuktāh ājñā*, l 24, *gunar samuplāsya*, l 12, *aganayamāna svalpām*, l 36, etc. For mistakes of declension, see *samrāt* for *samrājah* in l 3, *pūrvviyā* for *pūrvvayā* in l 25, etc., and for those of conjugation, notice *kārayita* for *kārayit*, l 36 and *kuryyāmah* for *kuryyāma*, l 37. Attention may also be drawn here to the verbal derivatives *vyñāpyēna* for *vyñāptyā* in l 23 and *kārārika* for *kāraka* in ll 46-47, and the nominal derivative *rājalya* for *rājalya*, l 22. The writer has violated the elementary rule of concord in *sutāyāh* *Prabhāvatiguptāyām*, l 17 and in *ēshā pratisrīstah*, ll 26-29, and of compounding in *mūrdhna-ābhishiktānān*, l 7. His carelessness is responsible for the repetition of *pātra gata bhaktita* in ll 11-12. As regards the orthographical peculiarities sanctioned by Sanskrit grammar, we may notice that the consonant preceding *r* and *y* is doubled in *parāllkrama*, l 6, *sarvāddhyaśha*, l 24, etc., and that following *r* is similarly doubled in *varddhamāna*, l 13, *dharmma*, l 12, etc.

Like several other Vākātaka records, the present plates contain the word *drīshita*² in the beginning. They were issued by the *Mahārāja Pravarasēna* II, of the Vākātaka dynasty from *Pravarapura*³. His genealogy is given here as in his other plates, his maternal grandfather being called *Dēvagupta*. The present plates record the royal grant of 400 *nvartanas* of land by the royal measure⁴ in the village of *Asvatthakhētaka* for the maintenance of a *sattra* or charitable hall in honour of the footprints of *Mahāpurusha* (Vishnu)⁵. The village was situated on the road to *Varadākhēta* in the division (*bhāga*) of *Lōhanagara*. The gift was made at the request of *Nārāyanarāja*. The charter was written on the seventh day of the dark fortnight of *Kārttika* in the twenty seventh (regnal) year. The scribe was *Kāldāsa* who was serving under the *Sēnāpati Kātyāyana*. The record was engraved⁶ by the goldsmith *Īśvaradatta*.

¹ The Chammak plates use the word correctly, see *C I I*, Vol III, p 237

² In the present record its masculine form *drīshīh* is used, whereas everywhere else its neuter form *drīshitam* is met with

³ Since the grant was made at the capital, the expression *rajayitā dharmasthānē*, 'at the victorious office of justice', occurs in it as it does in similar other Vākātaka grants, cf. above, Vol XXII, p 170

⁴ *Rajakya mānēna*, l 22, like *rāja mānēna* in the Karnūl plates of the Chālukya Vikramāditya I (*J B B R A S*, Vol XVI, p 240) denotes a royal measure as distinguished from local measures which were called '*vishaya-māna*' as in the Sankhādā plates (first set) of Dadda II (above, Vol V, p 39). The second set of the Sankhādā plates of the same king mentions a *brihan māna* 'larger measure' (*Ibid*)

⁵ For a similar grant of a slightly later period see the *Pōdāgā* inscription, above, Vol XXI, p 156. For *Mahāpurusha* or *Mahapūrusha* meaning Vishnu see the *Bhagavata Purāṇa*—II, l 10, V 15, 4 and 6, 17, 16 17, VIII, 5, 32, etc.

⁶ With *khātam* 'engraved' cf. *lshatam* in the Rathpur plates of Bhavattavarman, above, Vol XIX, p. 103

who was a servant (*santaka*)¹ of Kaundarāja. It is stated at the end that Pītāmaha and Nanda caused the charter to be drafted.²

Till now the latest known year of Pravarasēna II's reign was the twenty third, furnished by his Dudiū³ and Tīrōḍi⁴ plates. The present plates therefore increase his reign by about four years. Kaundarāja, whose servant Īśvaradatta incised the present charter, is evidently identical with Kōndarāja,⁵ the son of Śatrughnarāja, at whose request the grant recorded in the Chammak plates was made.

The mention of Kāldāsa in the present grant raises the interesting question of his identity with the illustrious Sanskrit poet of that name. The date of the latter has been for more than a century the subject of controversy, and various theories have been advanced, attempting to fix it in periods ranging from the first century B C to the sixth century A D. Of these the theory which places him in the Gupta age and makes him a contemporary of Chandragupta (II)-Vikramāditya is gradually gaining ground and receiving general acceptance. But nothing short of a contemporary inscriptional record mentioning the poet's name would remove the doubts of sceptics in this matter. The earliest epigraphical mention of this name, so far known, was that in the Aihole *prasasti* of Pulakēśin II, Śaka 556 (=A D 634).⁶ This is, therefore, the first time that the name Kāldāsa has been discovered in a record of the Gupta period.

Kāldāsa, no doubt, figures only as a scribe in the present grant, but that does not *per se* disprove his identity with the great Sanskrit poet. Such charters were generally drafted and written on copper plates by clerks working in the office of the *Sāndhivagrāhika* or Minister for peace and war, but sometimes we find even great officers mentioned as writers of such documents. Thus the writer of the recently published Tīrōḍi plates of this very Pravarasēna II was the Chief Minister (*Rājyādhipati*) himself.⁷ The Añjanavatī grant of the Rāshtrakūta Gōvinda III, was written by his Minister for peace and war.⁸ So there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the writer of the present plates was identical with Kāldāsa, the great Sanskrit poet. Recent researches have, again, shown that Kāldāsa was for some time at least connected with the Vākātaka court. From certain passages in the *Kuntalēśvaradautya*,⁹ a Sanskrit work ascribed to Kāldāsa, which have been cited in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*¹⁰ of Rājasēkhara, the *Śṛīṅgarapralāsa*¹¹ and the *Sarasvatī-lanṭhābharaṇa*¹² of Bhōja, and the *Auchityavichāracharchā*¹³ of Kshēmendra, it has been conjectured with great probability that Kāldāsa was sent as an ambassador by his patron Vikramāditya to the

¹ *Santaka* which is connected with the Pāli word *santika* meaning 'proximity, presence' occurs elsewhere as a technical territorial term (see *C I I*, Vol III, pp 118, 120 and 132). It is used in Vākātaka grants in the sense of a subordinate officer or a servant.

² Cf *C I I*, Vol III, p 99 note 3. The word *Kārūvala* used here corresponds to *Kārūpala* which occurs elsewhere, e.g., in the Fiklingi Stone Inscription, *J B B R A S*, Vol XXII, p 167.

³ Above, Vol III, p 262.

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol XXII, p 174.

⁵ *C I I*, Vol III, p 237.

⁶ Above, Vol VI, p 3.

⁷ Above, Vol XXII, p 174.

⁸ Above p 18, also *C I I*, Vol III, p 99, note 3.

⁹ The name occurs as *Kuntalēśvaradautya* in the *Auchityavichāracharchā* of Kshēmendra (*Nirnayasāgara* Press ed., p 139), but it is there probably a mistake for *Kuntalēśvaradautya*.

¹⁰ Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Second edition, pp 60-61.

¹¹ *Śṛīṅgarapralāsa*, Chapters XXII-XXIV, Intro., p cxi.

¹² *Nirnayasāgara* Press ed., p 168.

¹³ *Kāvyamāla*, *Guchchha I*, *Nirnayasāgara* Press ed., pp 139-40.

court of a Kuntalēśa (lord of Kuntala) ¹ He stayed there for some time and when he returned, he reported to his patron that the lord of Kuntala was spending his time in enjoyment, throwing the responsibility of governing his kingdom on him (i.e., Vikramāditya) This lord of Kuntala is probably none other than the Vākātaka king Pravaraśēna II, for it was during his reign that Gupta influence was at its highest at the Vākātaka court ² It seems that the Vākātaka princes had assumed the title of Kuntalēśa since the conquest of Kuntala by Prithivishēna I ³ It may be noted in this connection that the author of the *Sētubandha*, who is none other than this Pravaraśēna II, is called Kuntalēśa in the Sanskrit work *Bharatacharita* ⁴ According to a tradition recorded by Rāmadāsa, a commentator of the *Sētubandha* ⁵ Kālidāsa composed the Prākṛit work for Pravaraśēna by the order of Vikramāditya This he must have done during his sojourn in Vidarbha The idea of writing the *Mēghadūta* seems to have suggested itself to his mind at Rāmtēk near Nāgpur (Rāmagiri of the *Mēghadūta*) which, we know, was a holy place visited by the Vākātakas ⁶ It is not unlikely that while in Vidarbha, Kālidāsa was attached to the office of the *Sēnāpati* as stated in the present record There is, thus, *primā facie*, nothing against, and much in favour of, the identification of the scribe of the present grant with the illustrious Sanskrit poet

But a close examination of the present record shows that this view is untenable The scribe of the present plates had a very imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit As pointed out above, there are numerous orthographical and grammatical mistakes, for most of which the writer, and not the engraver, must have been responsible On the other hand, Kālidāsa had a great command over the Sanskrit language He has emphasised the importance of correct speech in one of his similes ⁷ and his works contain fewer instances of solecism ⁸ than those of his predecessors and successors It is incredible that such a great poet as Kālidāsa would commit so many mistakes of orthography, *sandhi*, syntax, nominal and verbal forms, etc., which disfigure the present record Disappointing as it is, one has to admit that the scribe was only a namesake and contemporary of, and not identical with, the prince of Sanskrit poets We may note here that similar names ending in *dāsa* were current in Vidarbha in the age of the Vākātakas Thus we know of Namidāsa a *Sēnāpati*, Chamidāsa the Chief Minister, as well as Chakradāsa and Gōladāsa the scribes of the Poona and Dudiā plates respectively

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant Varadākhēta is probably Warūd in the Morsi *tālulā* of the Amraoti District, about 12 miles due south of Pattan Lōhanagara, the headquarters of an ancient division, may be represented by Lōni about 9 miles south-west of Warūd The name of the village Asvattha khētaka, in which the donated land was situated,

¹ For a full discussion on the subject see A. Rangaswami Sarasvati 'Further glimpses into Gupta Literary History' *Quart. J. Mythic Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 93 ff., K. S. Aiyangar *Vakatalas and their Place in Indian History*, pp. 40 f., V. V. Mirashi, *Kalidasa* (Marāṭhī), pp. 37 ff., N. Lakshminarayan Rao, 'The Gupta contemporary of Kākusthavarma', *I. H. Q.*, Vol. IX, pp. 200 f., K. S. Ramaswami Sastri 'King Pravaraśēna and Kālidāsa', *Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh Oriental Conference*, pp. 99 ff.

² Note for instance that in both the Poona and Riddhapur plates of the Vākātaka Dowager Queen Prabhāvatiguptā, the genealogy of the Guptas, and not that of the Vākātakas is given in the beginning

³ See the inscription in the Ajanta Cave XLVI, *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 125

⁴ जलशय्यान्तरगोदमार्गमलज्वन्म गिरि चौर्यदत्तः ।

लोकेष्वल कान्तमपूर्वसेतु बन्धु कीर्त्या सह कुन्तलेशः ॥ Canto I v 4 Trivandrum Skt Series

⁵ Nirnayasāgara Press ed., p. 3, see also the colophon of the last chapter, *ibid.*, p. 497

⁶ The Riddhapur Plates of Prabhāvatiguptā (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 58 ff.) were issued from the feet of the Lord of Rāmagiri

⁷ *Kumārasambhava*, Canto I, verse 27

See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 214

can no longer be traced, its site seems to be occupied by the modern village of Pattan. It may be noted in this connection that it lies on the way from Multāi to Warūd (ancient Varadākhēta), and thus, answers to the description of its situation in the present plates

I edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 दृष्टः¹ [।*] स्वस्ति ॥ प्रवरपुरात्² अग्निष्टोमोऽथोऽथोऽथोऽथो-
- 2 उश्रितिरात्रवाजपेयवृहस्पतिसवसाधस्त्रचतुरश्व-
- 3 मेधयाजिन. विष्णुद्वसगोत्रस्य सन्नाट्³ वाकाटका-
- 4 नाम्भाराराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सु(स्त्र)नोः सु(स्त्र)नोरत्यन्त्य(न्त)स्त्रामिभ-
- 5 हामैरवभक्तस्य अन्तः⁴भारमन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्घनशि-
- 6 वसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवङ्गा⁵नाम्भारारक्षसाधिगतभा-

Second Plate, First Side

- 7 गौरत्या(त्य)मलजलभूर्धर्मा(र्धा)मिषितानान्दशस्त्रमेधावष्टयस्त्राता-
- 8 नाम्भारशी(शि)वा⁶नाम्भाराराजश्रीभवनाग[दी]⁷हित्रस्य गौतमीधु-
- 9 त्रपुत्रस्य⁸ वाकाटकानाम्भाराराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सु(स्त्र)नोर-
- 10 त्यन्त्य(न्त)माहेश्वरस्य सत्यार्जवकारुण्य(ण्य)शौर्यविक्रमन-
- 11 यविनयमाहात्म्यधौमत्व(त्त्व)पात्रगतभ[क्तित्व]⁹पात्रगतभ-
- 12 क्तित्वधर्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्भत्यादिगुणै[ः]*] समुपेतस्य

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 13 वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौ-
- 14 त्र(त्रि)णः युधिष्ठिरदत्तेर्वाकाटकानाम्भाराराजश्रीमिथिविसे-¹⁰

¹ Read दृष्टम् as in other Vākātaka grants

² Here and in many places below, rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

³ The letter ट् is clear on the original plate Read सन्नाज

⁴ Read अन्तः

⁵ Read वङ्गा⁶

⁶ The box at the top of the letter त्वा is not completely incised

⁷ The right curve at the top is not sufficiently raised for want of space

⁸ All the other Vākātaka plates discovered so far read गौतमीधुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य, thus making the construction ambiguous. See, above, Vol XXII, p 175. The reading in the present grant shows that the adjectival expressions from अत्यन्तस्त्रामिभहामैरवभक्तस्य onwards qualify रुद्रसेनस्य

⁹ This expression is unnecessarily repeated

¹⁰ Read युधिविप्रेत्यस्य,

- 15 नस्य सु(सू)नोर्भगवत्सङ्गपाणिप्रसादोपार्जितश्रीसु-
 16 दयस्य वाकाटकानामहाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सु(सू)नो-
 17 म्(म्)हाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाः¹ प्रभाव[ति]गुप्ता-
 18 यामुत्पन्नस्य शम्भोप्रसादप्रतिपत्ति²युगस्य वाकाटकाना-

Third Plate, First Side

- 19 म्परमसाहेश्वरमहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना[त्*] ॥
 20 लोहणगराभागे वरदाखेटमार्गे अश्वस्थ(त्य)खेटके
 21 सन्नाहणपुरोगो ग्रामो वक्तव्यः [1*] अत्र ग्रामे रा-
 22 जकथमानेन⁴ भूमेर्निवर्तनशतानि⁵ चत्वारि महापुररूपा-
 23 दमूलसत्तोपयोच्च⁶ नारायणराजविज्ञाप्येन⁷ दत्तम्⁸ [1*]

Third Plate, Second Side

- 24 यतोस्मत्सन्तकास्त्वर्वाङ्मनियोगनियुक्ताः आज्ञासञ्चा-
 25 रिक्कुलपुत्राधिष्ठाता भट्टा⁹लास्य विभुतपूर्वा(र्व)याज्ञया-
 26 ज्ञापयितव्याः [1*] विदितमस्तु य(वी) यथे(घी)पास्माभिरात्म-
 27 नो धर्मायुर्वलविजयैश्वर्यविहृषये इहासुखहिता-
 28 र्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजयिके धर्मस्थाने अपूर्वदत्त्वा(त्वा) उदक-
 29 पूर्वमप्रतिष्ठः¹⁰ [1] अथास्योचिताम्पूर्वरा[जा]नुमता चातु-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 30 त्रै(र्वै)द्याया(य)हारमर्थ्यादान्वितराम.¹⁰ [1*] तद्यथा अकरदायो अभट-

¹ The medial *u* sign is faintly seen on the plate

² Read सुताया

³ So in the Seoni and Chammak plates Read प्रसादप्रतिपत्ति²युगस्य

⁴ Read राजकीयमानेन

⁵ The engraver has cancelled a wrongly incised stroke on the left of *tu*

⁶ Read *yogyāni* and *dattam*

⁷ It is better to read विज्ञाप्येन

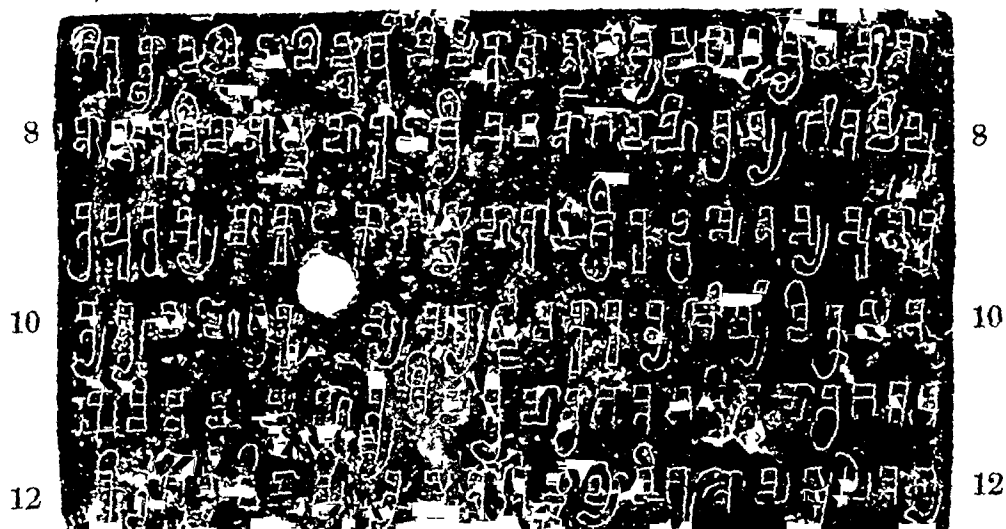
⁸ The engraver first incised the subscript letter as *cha* and then tried to convert it into *chha* by adding a vertical stroke in the middle of the rectangle Contrast the proper form of *chha* in l 42

⁹ The feminine form *या* in l 26 seems to qualify some word like भूमि प्रतिष्ठेत is, therefore, required here The writer has, however, used the masculine form throughout, as he has blindly copied the usual draft for the grant of a village (ग्राम) [The intended reference here may be to the *agrahāra* mentioned in l 30 in which case *śh=āsmābhīh* should be corrected into *śhō=smabhih* Apparently the 400 *niwartanas* of land constituted the *agrahāra* granted to the temple and an expression like *agrahārīkṛtīya* has been omitted before *dattam* in l 23 As such an *agrahāra* would be mainly inhabited by Brahmins, the objections raised by Prof Mirashi in this note and the next do not seem to be justified —Ed]

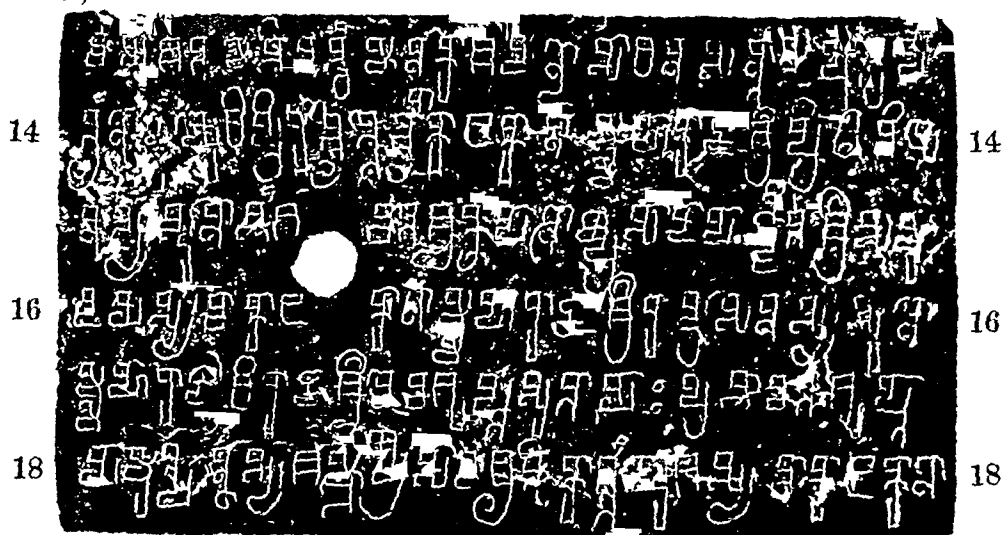
¹⁰ Read मथ्यादा वितराम । The writer has forgotten that the present grant was made to a temple and not to Brāhmanas versed in the four lores See also ग्राहणैर्वैदितस्य in ll 36 37 below Some of the prohibitions and exemptions laid down here are appropriate only in the case of the gift of a whole village



ii,a



ii,b



20 22

20 22

24 26 28

24 26 28

30 32 34

30 32 34

- 31 च्छ(च्छा)त्रप्रावेश्यः अपारंपरगोत्रलिखद्. अयुष्यक्षीरसन्दोह[ः*] अ-
 32 पा(चा)रासनचर्माज्जग(ह्वार) अलवणक्षेत्रिखनक सर्ववे(वि)ष्टिपरीहा-
 33 रपरिहृत[ः*] सनिधिः सोपनिधिस्सक्ति(क्ल)सोपक्ति(क्ल)सः आचन्द्रादित्यका-
 34 लीय. पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुज्यमान(नो) न केनचिद्व्याघातयितव्य
 35 सर्व्वक्ष(क्रि)याभिस्स(स्त्र)रक्षितव्यपरिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च [1*] य[श्चा]स्सच्छासनम-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 36 गणयमान[ः*] स्वयामपि परिवाधा कुर्व्यात्कारयौत वा² तस्य ब्राह्म-
 37 णैर्व्वेदितस्य सदण्डनिग्रहं कुर्व्यामः(म) [1*] अस्मिन्³ धर्मादरका-
 38 [र*]णि अतीतानेकराजदत्ता(त्त)सञ्चिन्तनपरिपालन⁴कृतपुन्या(प्या)
 39 नुकीर्तनपरिहारात्⁵न्न कीर्तयाम[ः*] व्यासगीतौ चात्र श्लोकौ
 40 प्रमाणौकर्त्तव्यौ [1*] सदत्ताभ्यरदत्ता व्या(वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् [1*]
 41 गवा शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृत[म्]⁶ ॥[1*]

Fifth Plate

- 42 षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद[1*] आच्छेत्ता
 43 चातुसन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ॥⁷ [२*] साव्यत्सरे⁸ सप्तविंशे⁹
 44 कार्त्तिकवहुलपक्षसप्तम्याम्¹⁰ सेना तिकाव्यायन-
 45 सन्तकोन लिखित(तं) कालि¹¹दासेन [1*] [कौण्डराजसन्तकोन सुव]¹² रण-
 46 कार¹³ ईश्वरदत्तेन खातं ॥ अस्य शासनस्य कारा-
 47 वकौ पितामहनन्दे ॥

¹ As the stroke for medial ā at the side of r was not quite clear, the engraver seems to have added another at the top

² Read *lārayāda*

³ Read अस्मिन्

⁴ Read परिपालन कृत-

⁵ The *anusūtra* is superfluous

⁶ Metro *Anushtubh*

⁷ Read *vasēt* [1*] *it* ॥ Metro *Anushtubh*,

⁸ Read सवत्सरे

⁹ Read सप्तविंशे

¹⁰ Read सप्तम्या

¹¹ What looks like a dot in the middle of the circle for medial *t* is probably due to a fault in the plate

¹² The letters in the brackets and those in the next two lines can be read with certainty on the original plate

¹³ Read सुवर्णकारेश्वरः,

The Seal

- 1 वाकाटक(ल)न(ला)मस्य
- 2 क्षेमप्राप्तपथियः [1*]
- 3 राज्ञप्रवरसेनस्य
- 4 शासनं विमुखासन(नम्) [11*]

No 15 —TANDIVADA GRANT OF PRITHIVI-MAHARAJA 16TH YEAR

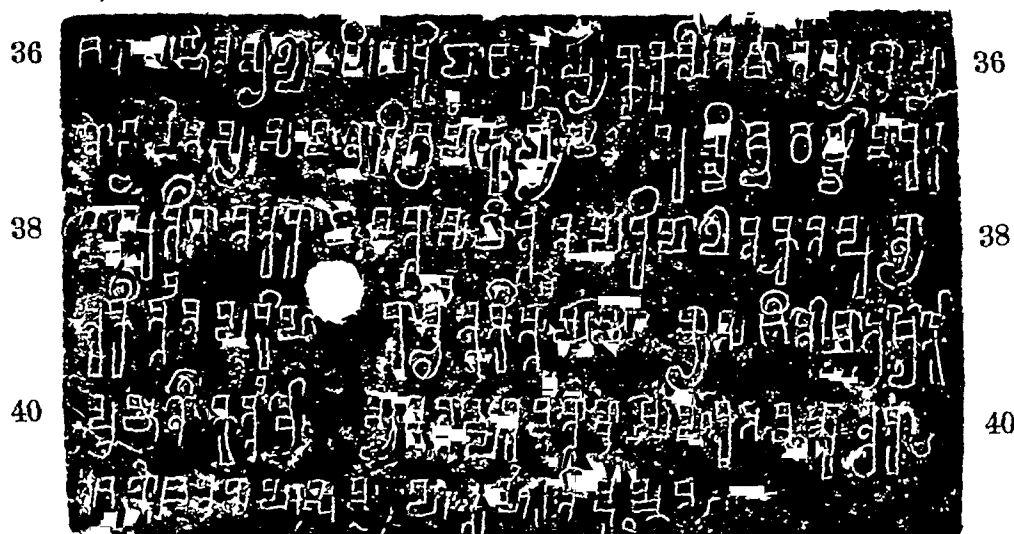
By R S PANCHAMURTHI, M A, MADRAS

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a set of four copper plates received by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from M R Ry M Ram Prishna Kavi Garu, M A, Assistant Curator, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, in the year 1917. They are included in Appendix A of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras*, a C P No 6 of 1916-17 and described in a slip attached to the impression as follows: "There are four copper-plates oblong in shape and bearing a ring hole of about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter at about $\frac{3}{4}$ " from the proper right margin. They have a writing on six faces in all, the first and the last plates being blank on the outer faces. All the engraved faces have very slightly perceptible runs. The plates have an average thickness of about $\frac{1}{16}$ " and measure about $6\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and a little over 2" in height. It is much to be regretted that the seal of this record, the dynasty of which is not known, is missing."

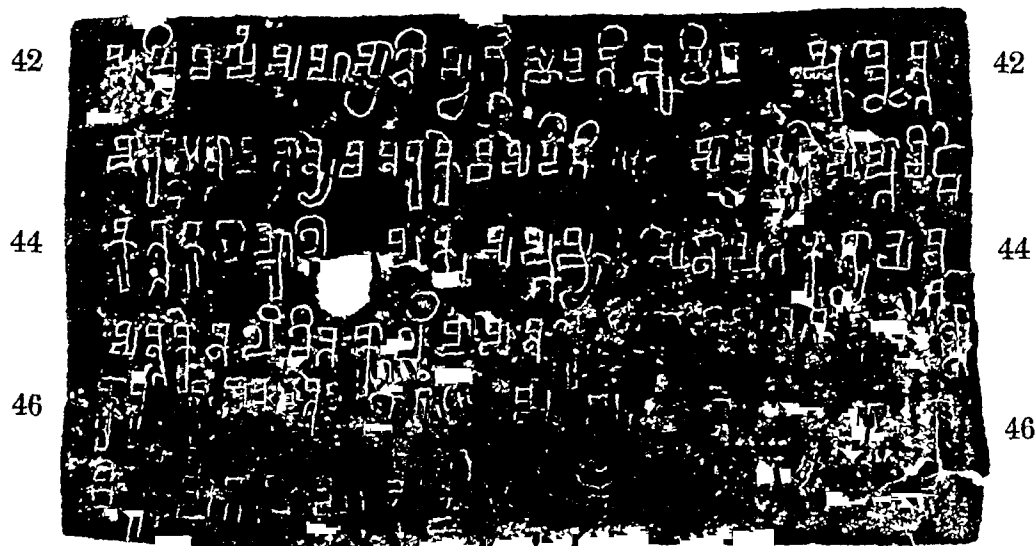
The alphabet is of an early Southern type. It resembles the characters of the Chuluka plates¹ of Vikramāditya Varman, the Pulam̐būru grant² of Mādhanavarmā in the Koppuram plates³ of Pulikēśin II and the Gōdvarī plate⁴ of Prithivīmūla. The letters of the British Museum plates⁵ of Chārudāvi and the Ipūr plates⁶ of Dēvavarmā's son Mādhanavarmā are angular in shape and more antique than those of the present inscription. The Pulam̐būre grant⁷ and the Peddaviṭṭi plates⁸, both belonging to the Eastern Chālukya King Jayasimha I, appear to be written in more developed characters. Thus the alphabet of the present inscription may be said to belong to the period between the dates of these two sets of inscriptions, i.e., to the beginning of the 7th century A D. The letters *t* and *n* are not distinguished here by a loop as both have a similar shape except that the right curve of *t* is continued on the left side at the bottom. The medial long *ī* is distinguished from the short one by an inside curl at the top as in *Prithivī Mahārāja* (l 8) and *Prithivīśarmmanah* (l 11). The initial *a* is used thrice (ll 11, 19 & 24) and *ā* in two places (ll 23 & 28). Orthography is generally free from errors. The language is Sanskrit prose with the exception of the three verses at the end.

¹ Above, Vol IV, p 193² *M D R*, 1913-14, C P No 7, *J A H R S*, Vol VI, pp 17 ff³ Above, Vol XVIII, p 257⁴ *J B B R A S*, Vol XVI, p 111.⁵ Above, Vol VIII, pp 143 ff⁶ *Ibid*, Vol XVII, p 337.⁷ *Ibid*, Vol XIX, p 254⁸ *Ibid*, Vol XIX, p 258.

vv,b.



v



Seal



The object of the record is to register a grant of the *agrahāra* village 'Tāndivāda in Pāgunāra-*vishaya* made from Pishtapura by Prithivī-Mahārāja of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* who bore the *biruda* Śrīrama,¹ son of Vikramēndra and grandson of Mahārāja Ranadurjaya, to Bhavaśarman of the Kīmakāyana *gōtra*, who was the son of Prithivīśarman and grandson of Vishnuśarman and was a resident of 'Kōndamañchi, on the full-moon day of Kārttika in the 46th year of his reign. The *Āgriapti* of the grant was Rāmalenrurāja. The donor is extolled as meditating on the feet of his parents, a *parama-brahmanya* and as having subdued the whole circle of the *sāmantas*. His father Vikramēndra is not given the regal title *Mahārāja*, which perhaps indicates that he did not rule at all or his rule was very short and uneventful. The donee is described as a scholar well-versed in the Vēda, Vēdānga, Nyāya, Upanishad and Yōga and in 'three thousand sciences' (त्रिसहस्रविद्या) and as the author of twenty commentaries (*vyākhyāna*). His father, Prithivīśarman, had mastered the three thousand sciences and could expound and comment on them and his grandfather, Vishnuśarman, had studied the Śruti and Smṛiti and performed the *Agnishtōma* and other sacrifices.

There is no clue in the record to find out the exact period when Prithivī Mahārāja lived. The language, phraseology and the 'formal elements'² of the inscription are strictly official and unostentatious and remind us of the Sanskrit charters of the early Pallava kings, the plates of the Śālanakāyanas and the Vishnukundins, the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman, etc. As stated above, the alphabet belongs to about the beginning of the 7th century A D. Since it is known from the Aihole inscription³ and the Timmāpuram plates⁴ that Pishtapura passed to the Eastern Chālukyas after its conquest by Pulikēsin II and remained in their hands since then, the present record must be assigned to a period prior to that event. A clear understanding of the political situation in the East Coast before the time of Pulikēsin (II)'s expedition will help us to determine the most approximate time when Prithivī-Mahārāja might have lived.

The earliest epigraphical reference to Pishtapura is found in the Allahābād Pillar inscription⁵ of Samudragupta (4th century A D) which shows that the city was held by Mahēndra⁶ at the time of the Gupta king's southern expedition. The Rāgōlu plates⁷ which may belong palaeographically to the 5th century A D, were issued from Pishtapura which was evidently the capital of the Kalunga king Vāsishthīputra Śaktivarman who calls himself "an ornament of the Māthara family". The Kindōppa grant of Anantavarman 'Lord of Kalunga' who belonged to the

¹ See note 1, p 99

² Dr O Stein opines that the "formal elements" in inscriptions "serve as a guide for chronological considerations, when other sources are lacking", see the *Ind Hist Quarterly*, Vol IX, pp 215 ff

³ Above, Vol VI, p 4

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol IX, p 317

⁵ C I I, Vol III, p 7

⁶ This Mahēndra has been conjectured to be a king of the Pallava family (*The Gōdarī Dist Gazett*, p 18). This does not, however, seem likely, since (Pallava) Vishnugōpa of Kāñchi is mentioned separately in the same epigraph. Further, there is no evidence to show that the Pallava territory had extended in the north beyond Kammarāshtra, the modern Guntur District, since the Śālanakāyana Hastivarman was holding the Vēngī country (i e, the Kistna District) at this period. We know that the Chandālūr plates of Kumāravishnu and the Ōmgōdu grants 1 and 2 mention Kammarāshtra as the district under the control of the Pallavas. The towns of Palakkada, Dasanapura and Menamātura from where the Sanskrit charters were issued, were probably situated in this district (*J Dubreuil Ancient History of the Deccan*, p 66). And Kudrahāra *vishaya* of the Śālanakāyanas is identical with Gudrahāra of the later inscriptions, which comprised portions of the Kistna District.

⁷ Above, Vol XII, pp 2 f. The alphabet is similar to that of the Kūdagere plates of the early Kadamba king Śiva Māndhātīvarman. Compare also the Bṛhatprōshtha inscription of Umāvarman and the Kōmarti plates of Chāpāvarman which are assigned to the first quarter of the 6th century A D (*Ancient History of the Deccan* by J Dubreuil, p 94).

Viśiṣṭha lūla is also stated to have been issued from Vijaya Pīṣṭapurādhishthāna¹. After Anantavarman, Pīṣṭapura appears to have been a bone of contention between the Kings of Kalinga and the Viśnukundins of Dendalūru who had succeeded the Śīlāukīyanas in the Kīrtana and a part of the Guntur Districts, and ultimately to have passed into the hands of the latter whom the Chālukya is of Bidāmi conquered in the first half of the 7th century A.D. Since, as stated above, the present charter belongs paleographically to this period, it is necessary to find out exactly when and in what capacity Prithivī Mahārāja ruled at Pīṣṭapura during the Viśnukundin supremacy in the east coast. This object cannot be accomplished, as is evident from the sequel, without a full discussion of the genealogy and chronology of the Viśnukundin kings.

The most important document of the Viśnukundin family is the Pulōmbūru grant of Janāśraya Mahārāja Mādhyavarman III issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Phālguna in the 18th year² of the king's reign. During the period of about seventy years in the sixth and the seventh centuries to which the record may be assigned on paleographic grounds, lunar eclipse in the month of Phālguna occurred in the following years: (1) A.D. 593, February 21, Saturday, (2) A.D. 594, February 10, Wednesday, (3) A.D. 612, February 22, Tuesday, (4) A.D. 621, February 12, Thursday, (5) A.D. 639, February 23, Tuesday and (6) A.D. 678, February 23, Friday. Of these, on (1) and (3), the eclipse was not visible in India, (2) is too early for the 18th year of a king who was defeated, as shown below, in about A.D. 631, by Pulikēśa II or his brother Kubja-Vishnūvarddhana, (5) and (6) are too late for the king who had been defeated with his territory annexed to the Chālukya dominion prior to them. Hence the date of the Pulōmbūru grant may be equated with A.D. 621, February 12, Thursday on which day the lunar eclipse was visible in India³. It is noteworthy that this grant furnishes a few synchronisms for determining the genealogy and chronology of the Viśnukundin dynasty. Janāśraya Mahārāja Mādhyavarman is described with the significant epithet *Trivara neṣara bhavana gata parava upaṇāṣa viharana ratih* (l. 8) 'who delighted himself in playing with the maidens in the palace of Trivara nagara'⁴, i.e., the city founded⁵ by Trivara who has been identified in the sequel with Mahāśiva Triśardīva of Mahīkōṣala. Secondly, Śivarman, the donee of this record, figures as the father of Rudraśarman who was the recipient of a gift in the Pulbūmr grant of the Eastern Chālukya King Jayasimha I. In addition to these, other historical and astronomical considerations gathered from the published charters of the family and contemporaneous history will help us considerably in the study of the family. These are: the archaic method of dating the inscriptions in seasons and fortnights, the Viśākṛta Viśnukundin relationship in the time of Mādhyavarman I, an ancient work⁶ on prosody called *Jānāśraya Chhandōuchitī* written presumably under the patronage of Janāśraya Mahārāja of the Pulōmbūru record which quotes a verse from the *Aṣṭāṅgurpūṇīya* of Bhīṣma, and lastly, the Eastern Chālukya conquest of Kalinga which has an indirect bearing upon the subject. The cumulative evidence of all the points proves, as shown below, that the

¹ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VIII, p. 153.

² This regnal year is expressed by the numerical symbol 𑀓𑀭 which appears to have been made up of 𑀓 standing for 40, (see Kaye in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 52 and Bühler's *Indian Palaeography* plate IX) and 𑀭 which resembles the one in the Chiklull plates (l. 26) for 8. Mr. D. C. Sircar, however, takes it to be a single symbol for 40 which lacks epigraphical support (*Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 275, fn. 2).

³ See *Sewell's Eclipses of the Moon in India*.

⁴ Scholars have attempted to identify this place with Tewar in Central India (above, Vol. XVII, p. 331). This is unlikely, for Tewar is known to ancient literature and epigraphy under the name of Tripura or Tripura.

⁵ Similar instances are not rare in inscriptions. Pravarapura was the city founded by Viśākṛta Pravaraśena and Yayātinagara by Yayāti, otherwise known as Mahāśiva gupta of the Sōmavanshī family.

⁶ I am indebted to Mr. T. N. Subramaniam for drawing my attention to this work.

Viṣṇukundins ceased to be an independent ruling power by the middle of the 7th century A D and that Janāśraya-Mahārāja Mādhavarman was the last king and a later member of the family different from the homonymous king who was probably the originator of the dynasty

Of the five copper plate inscriptions belonging to this family, the Īpūr plates (set I)¹ bears a date in the seventh fortnight of the hot season (*gṛhṃ*) and the Īpūr plates (set II)² in the seventh fortnight of the rainy season (*vāsa*). Similarly the Chikkulla plates³ are dated in the eighth fortnight of the hot season (*gṛhṃ*). This dating presupposes the division of a year into three seasons of eight fortnights each, which is mentioned in the earliest extant works *Vēdāṅgavyūṭṭha* and the *Brāhmaṇas*. The latest epigraphical instances giving similar dates belong to about the 6th century A D⁴.

From the Rāmatīrtham and the Chikkulla plates we get four generations of kings, viz., Mādhavarman I, his son Vikramēndravarmān I, his son Indrabhattārakavarman, his son Vikramēndravarmān II. In both the records Mādhavarman is described as a performer of one thousand *Agnishlōma* and eleven *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. The Īpūr plates (set II) furnish us with the genealogy Mādhavarman I with the above epithets, his son Dēvavarman, his son Mādhavarman II, the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya. On account of the common epithets and the relatively early script of the record, Mādhavarman II may be supposed to be the grandson of Mādhavarman I through his another son Dēvavarman. The Īpūr plates (set I) and the Pulōmbūru grant should be studied together. The former supplies the pedigree for two generations only, viz., Gōvindavarman and his son Mādhavarman, while the latter supplements it by adding Gōvindavarman's father Vikrama[ma*]hēndravarmān⁵. In both the inscriptions, Mādhavarman is given the additional adjunct *Trivara nagara*, etc.,⁶ which distinguishes him from the homonymous king Mādhavarman I, mentioned above⁷. *Trivara* is evidently the Sanskritised form of *Tivara*, a Sōmavamsī king of Mahākōśala who flourished about this period and who is the only king of that name known to Indian History. He is also mentioned under this Sanskritised name in the Kōndēdda and the Nivinā grants⁸ of the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarājadēva. Dr N P Chakravarti who has edited the Nivinā grant is inclined to think that Tivara-dēva of Mahākōśala was a contemporary of Dharmarāja, grandson of Mādhavarāja II whom he has identified with Mādhavarāja Sanyabhīta of the Ganjām plates dated in the Gupta Era 300 (A D 619 20)⁹. The only known regnal year of Madhyamarāja, son of Mādhavarāja II, being twenty-six, Dharmarāja may have to be placed in the middle

¹ Above, Vol XVII, p 334

² *Ibid*, p 337

³ *Ibid*, Vol IV, p 193

⁴ The Halsi plates of the Kadamba king Ravivarman (*Ind Ant*, Vol VI, p 28). See also above, Vol XVII, p 337, f n 7 and Vol IV, p 195, f n 4

⁵ Vikrama[ma*]hēndravarmān is presumably the Vikramēndravarmān II of the Chikkulla plates

⁶ I find from the impressions of the Pulōmbūru grant, and of the Īpūr plates (set I) that the *z* sign in *Trivara* is distinctly long

⁷ This descriptive clause does not occur in connection with Mādhavarman of the Chikkulla, Rāmatīrtham and Īpūr (set II) plates. This is significant and I take that it is a *vyāvartala dharma*, which differentiates him from his namesake though there are other adjectives common to both

⁸ Above, Vols XIX, pp 267ff and XXI, pp 34 ff

⁹ Above, Vol XXI p 36.

of the 7th century A.D. and accordingly his opponent Tivaradēva would belong to that period.¹ It is thus clear that Mādhavarman of the Īpūr plates (set I) and the Pulōmbūru grant, who was a contemporary of Tivara, must be considered to be one and the same person and that he was a later member of the family, in spite of the fact that he bore some of the epithets of Mādhavarman I.² It is noteworthy that the alphabet employed in both the charters belongs roughly to the same period and from the examination of individual letters, it does not appear to differ much from that of the Rāmātīrtham and the Chiklulla plates, whereas the script of the second set of the Īpūr plates is undoubtedly more archaic as remarked by Dr. Hultzsch.

Since Vikramēndravarmā is described as an ornament of the Vishnukundin and the Vālātaka families, his mother must have been a Vālātaka princess.³ According to Dr. Dubriail, this Vālātaka princess was the daughter or the grand daughter of Rudrasena II whose son Pravarasena II placed his relative Vishnukundin Mādhava (I) on the throne of Vengi by uprooting the Śālanakāyanas in the 5th century A.D.⁴ But neither Rudrasena II nor his son Pravarasena II is known to have conquered any of the territories in the East Coast. On the other hand Harishena, the last Vālātaka king (c. 500 A.D.) is stated in the Ajantā inscription to have conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kōsala, Trisūta, Iṭṭa and Āndhra, and it is very likely that he contracted some matrimonial alliance with Mādhava I and with his help defeated the Kings of the East Coast as stated above.

Indrabhattarakavarmā, who has been identified with Indrabhattarakā of the Gōdāvari plates of Prithivīmūla,⁵ was an opponent of Adhirāja Indra who may possibly be the same person as the donor of the Jirjungi plates⁶ dated in the year 39 of the Gaṅga era. If the view of some scholars⁶ that the era was started in about A.D. 196 be correct the date of this grant would be about A.D. 335. According to the Chiklulla plates Indrabhattarakā defeated all the *dāyādās* in battle. We do not know of any *dāyādās* excepting the members of the collateral branch, viz., Dēvavarman and his son Mādhavarman II. Since, as shown above, the Vishnukundins ceased

¹ Fleet and Kulhorn have placed Tivara in about the 8th century A.D. (*C. I. I.* Vol. III, p. 293, also Vol. IV, p. 238). The Sirpur Lalshimara Temple inscription of Mahasrayagupta (above Vol. XI, p. 184) is written in characters of about the 8th century A.D. Hence his grand uncle Tivara would belong to the middle of the 7th century A.D. More likely he lived in the beginning of the 7th century. Tivaradēva appears to have had a long reign since there is a reference to Tivara-nagara in the Īpūr plates (set I) dated in the 37th regnal year (i.e. A.D. 610) of Mādhavarman III whose 18th year has been equated with A.D. 621. This date would no doubt be too early for him if it is assumed with Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar (above Vol. XVIII, p. 210) that Chāndragupta mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha as the contemporary of Govinda III (A.D. 780-814) was the son of Nannavadeva and brother of Tivaradeva of Mahāśāla. But for reasons stated above, he cannot be identified with the brother of Tivaradeva.

² The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has expressed a similar opinion in *M. F. R.* for 1912-13, pp. 6 and 102. [But the description of Mādhavarman in the two sets of plates as a 'performer of eleven *śaravardha* sacrifices and one thousand *kratus* or *apriśthomas*' seems to show that he may not be different from Mādhava I of the other Vishnukundin charters. It may also be pointed out that according to Dr. Hultzsch, the palaeography of the Īpūr plates (first set) is earlier than those of the Pūnatīrtham and Chiklulla plates (above Vol. XVII, p. 334).—Ed.]

³ *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 74. We know that the principality of Vengi and Kutrakīra was held by the Śālanakāyanas up to the 5th century A.D. (*J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. V, pp. 28 ff.)

⁴ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 114 ff. and above, Vol. IV, pp. 193 ff.

⁵ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 19 ff.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 237.

to be an independent ruling power before A D 631,¹ all the kings of the family must be accommodated in the interval of about 131 years (*circa* 500 631). According to our scheme of the genealogy there will be only six kings in the main line who can be very reasonably fitted in in this period. But if the kings Dēvavarman and Mādhavavarman II are also to be included, there will be in all eight kings among whom the regnal years 10, 27, 48 and 47 are so far known for four kings. Granting that these are the last regnal years of the respective kings, the periods of their reign will cover at least 132 years which is in excess of the allotted interval and we will be driven to the contingency of eliminating the remaining four kings from the family. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Dēvavarman and his son Mādhavavarman II belonged to the collateral branch and held a small principality in the Vishnukundin territory.

Vikramēndravarman II, the eldest son of Indrabhattāraka, as stated in his Chikkulla plates, appears to have become king even as a child, which perhaps indicates that his father died young leaving his eldest son only a child and consequently his rule might not have extended beyond 27 years. The next king was Mahārāja Gōvīndavarman who bore the *biruda* Vikramāśraya. Lastly his son Mādhavavarman III was the most powerful king of the family who bore the distinguished *biruda* Janāśraya Mahārāja.

Mādhavavarman III, Janāśraya Mahārāja, must have been the last crowned king of the Vishnukundin dynasty from whom the Eastern Chālukyas conquered portions of their eastern possessions. He must have lived some time after Bhāravī, the celebrated author of *Kirātārjunīya*. For, there is an ancient work on prosody called *Janāśrayī Chhandōvichitī*² which quotes the verse अथ वासवस्य वचनेन, etc., of Bhāravī³ under the *Udgatā prakarana*. The work must have been named after Janāśraya-Mahārāja of the Vishnukundin family, who is the only king of that name in the whole range of Indian History.⁴ We know from the *Avantisundarikathā* that poet Dāmōdara was introduced to the presence of prince Vishnuvarddhana by Bhāravī.⁵ Consequently Bhāravī must have lived in the Court of Vishnuvarddhana who is no other than Kubja-Vishnuvarddhana, the younger brother of Pulhēsīn II.⁶ Since Ravikīrtti compares himself to Kāldāsa and Bhāravī in the Aihole inscription of A D 634, Bhāravī must have been well known as a great poet by A D 634. It is probable that he flourished about 600 A D⁷ and Janāśraya, Mahārāja lived some time after that date. This date can be determined to some extent by the following synchronism. The king is stated in the Pulōmbūru grant to have endowed the village Pulōmbūru in Guddavādī-*vishaya* upon Śivaśarman, son of Dāmaśarman and grandson of

¹ [In spite of the arguments of the author, it is not impossible that the Vishnukundins were struggling hard to maintain their independence in some portion of their territory even after A D 631. The description of Indravarma in the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulla plates as 'having gained victories in several *chāturdanta* battles' might also indicate the same state of affairs.—Ed.]

² The work is published partially in the *Tirumalai Śrī Venkatesa* by Mr M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M A.

³ *Kirātārjunīya*, XII, 1.

⁴ The opening verse in the work describes the king with the *biruda* Janāśraya, as having celebrated several sacrifices. This is in keeping with the account given in the Pulōmbūru grant and the Ipūr plates (first set). See *A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts* 1925-26 to (1927-28, Madras), Introduction p 1 and R No 5043. [From the information available at present it is not certain whether Janāśraya refers to a different ruler or is an abbreviation of Avam Janāśraya which was a surname of the Gujārāt Chālukya king Pulakēśārāja.—Ed.]

⁵ See the correct text of the relevant passage of the *Kathā* in *Ind Hist Quarterly*, Vol III, p 169.

⁶ As Vishnuvarddhana is called merely *rāja sūnu* in the *Avantisundarikathā*, p 6, it is probable that he had not yet become king.

⁷ This date is rendered plausible by the fact that Dāmōdara, after staying with Vishnuvarddhana for a short period, went to the court of the Gaṅga king Durvinita, whose last date in the Gaṅga chronology cannot be beyond A D 605.

Rudrasarman of the Gautama *gōtra* and Tattirika-*śākhā*. The same village was granted by the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasimha I in his 15th regnal year (A.D. 618) to the *pūriāgrahārīka* Rudrasarman of the Gautama *gōtra*, who was the son of Śivasarman and grandson of Dāmīśarman. It is evident that this Rudrasarman was the son of Śivasarman, the donee of the Pulombūru grant. The word *pūriāgrahārīka* indicates that he was in the enjoyment of the village for some time after his father, and that he had lost it during some troublous period, or his title to the village was contested and confirmed by a fresh order after the change of political power from the Vishnukundins to the Eastern Chālukyas. This latter event took place probably some time before A.D. 631 when the Koppuram plates¹ of Pulikēśin II were issued. For, we learn from this copper plate grant that Kammaraśhtra, which had been included in the Pallava and the Vishnukundin Kingdoms formerly, formed part of the Chālukya country at the time. A study of the political history of the Kalinga Kingdom at this period would help us in fixing the date more precisely. The Chipurupalle grant² of Kubja Vishnuvardhana records the gift of land by the king from his camp at Cherupūra in Plakāśhaya to two Brahmins, Vishnuśarman and Mādhavaśarman, sons of Durgasarman, who belonged to the Gautama *gōtra*, in his 18th regnal year, i.e., A.D. 632. In the Achyutapuram plate³ of the Eastern Ganga king Indravarman bearing a date in the year 87 of the Ganga era, the donee is stated to be Durgasarman of the Gautama *gōtra*. This date may be equated with A.D. 581 provided the initial year of the Ganga era is accepted to be A.D. 496. It is very likely that the donees of the Chipurupalle grant were the sons of the donee in the Ganga record⁴. If this is correct, the southern portion of the Kalinga country must have been conquered and annexed by the Chālukyas some time between A.D. 581 and 632. This period is brought into a narrower compass by the statement in the Aihole inscription (A.D. 634) that kings of Kalinga and Kōśāṭṭa submitted of their own accord to the increasing power of Pulikēśin II (A.D. 610). It may be noted that the Varhavartam *śākhā* of the Ganga grant⁵ was situated close to the Plakāśhaya (or *rāshtra*) and that the latter district had been a disputable ground between the Vishnukundins and the Eastern Ganga for a long time. The Eastern Ganga appear to have occupied it for some time after the date of the Rāmavarman plates of Indravarman (c. 555). It is probably to wrest back this province that Mādhava III started on an expedition to the Eastern region (*prāgdiś*) as recorded in his Pulombūru grant, the result of which is, however, not known. The conquests of South Kalinga and the territory of the Vishnukundins must possibly have been effected in one and the same campaign by Pulikēśin II. Since Tivaradēva lived as shown above, in the middle of the 7th century⁶, it is possible that Mādhavaśarman⁷ of the Vishnukundin

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 16.

³ Above Vol. III, pp. 127 ff.

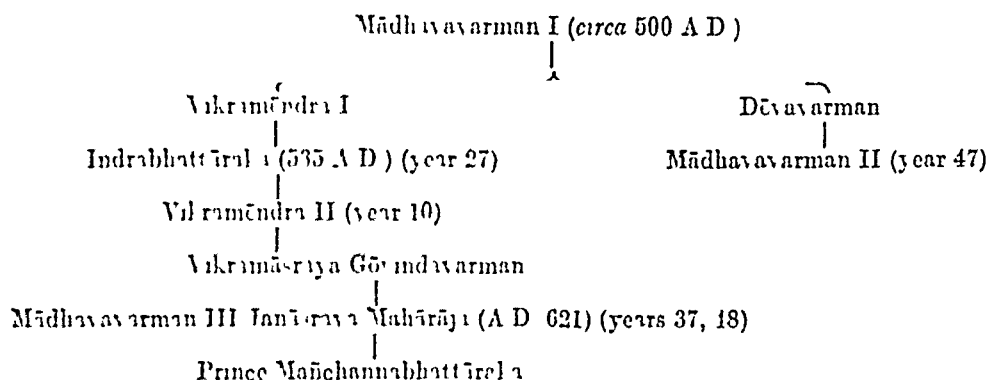
⁴ [But it may be noted that while the two sons of Durgasarman of the Chipurupalle plates were followers of the Tattirika-*charana*, which is a branch of the Yajurvēda, Durgasarman of the Achyutapuram plates was a Brāhmana of the Chhandōga school which is a *śākhā* of the Samaveda.—I d.]

⁵ Prof. V. V. Mirashi postulates two Tivaradēvas in the Sōmavāsi family and thinks that Tivaradēva was a contemporary of the Vishnukundin Mādhavaśarman, an earlier member and lived between A.D. 527-568 (above Vol. XXII, pp. 15 ff.). But among the Sōmavāsi kings there is only one Tivaradēva known so far (above, Vol. XI, p. 187). And such an early date is not possible for Mādhavaśarman who must have been an immediate predecessor in time of the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasimha I (*ibid.*, p. 21, fn. 3 and Bhandarkar's *Northern Ins.* p. 293, fn. 3).

⁶ The Kōndāṇḍa and Nivāṇa grants of Dharmarāja mention a certain Mādhava, who contemplated to oust the elderly relations (*gyāśhān bhāraṇ*) from the country, but being foiled in his attempt took shelter under Tivaradēva and was ultimately defeated along with his master at the foot of the Vindhya hill. Since this Mādhava is supposed to be a prince of the Sāulōbbhava family, he cannot be identified with the Vishnukundin king of that name, though it happens that the latter had also contracted some political or matrimonial alliance with Tivaradēva.

family ruled for some time after A D 619, the date of the Ganjām plates, and was subsequently defeated by Pulikēsin II or Kubja Vishnu. As we have shown above that the date of the Pulōmbūru grant would fall in A D 621, we may conclude that the Chālukya conquest of the Vishnukundins was accomplished between A D 621 and A D 631.

With the facts set forth above, the genealogy¹ of the family with known regnal years and approximate dates for a few kings is given below for easy reference.



The name of Vikramāditya, the father of Prithivī Mahārāja of the present record may perhaps suggest some relationship with the Vishnukundins among whom that name is found twice. It is not impossible that Prithivī Mahārāja's father Vikramāditya was a subordinate of Vikramādityavarman who was the grandfather of Mādhavavarman, the donor of the Pulōmbūru grant. This surmise finds support from the fact that Pishtapura, the capital of Prithivī Mahārāja, was situated within the limits of the Vishnukundin dominions which comprised the country to the south of Kāṅga up to the present Guntur district which was the northern limit of the

¹ Dr. Hultzsch's arrangement of the genealogy (above, Vol. XVII, pp. 334 and 337) comes into conflict with the pedigree given in the present record. According to him, Gōvindavarman's father would be Mādhavavarman, whereas his name is given as Vilramāditya in the Pulōmbūru grant. A recent writer on the subject (*Ind. Hist. Quart.* Vol. IX, pp. 275 f.) thinks that Mādhava III of the Pulōmbūru grant is identical with Mādhava I as both are stated to have performed eleven *Aśvamedha* and one thousand *Agnishtōma* sacrifices. He holds that the family rose to political power in A D 500 under Vilramāditya, grandfather of Mādhava and continued to rule till the 8th century A D when it was completely overthrown by the Chālukyas. This view is not tenable. For, he has not taken into account the palaeographic evidence of the charters while constructing the history of the family. According to him, Ipūr plates (set I) and the Pulōmbūru grant would be earlier than the Ipūr plates (set II) whose script has been declared by Dr. Hultzsch to be more archaic than that of the other charters of the family (see also *Madras Epigraphical Report* 1913-14, pp. 6 and 102). Further, he has not considered the important synchronism with the Mahāśāla King Tivāraditya in the time of Mādhava (III) and the references contained in the *Janasrayī Chhardāśvath* mentioned above. And we find from the records of Pulikēsin II, Kubja Vishnuvardhana, Jayasimha I, Tivāraditya, Indrayarman and his successors that portions of the Vizagapatam, Godavari, Krishna and Guntur Districts, which comprised the Vishnukundin territory, were held by the Chālukyas since the first quarter of the 7th century A D and it is impossible that the Vishnukundins could have ruled as independent kings in that region after A D 631 when, according to the Koppāram and the Timmāpuram plates, the Eastern Chālukya rule had been fully established. [See note 1 on p. 93—Ed.]

Pallava territory, as can be gathered from the situations of villages or divisions mentioned in the Rāmatīrtham, Chukkulla, and Ipūr plates (set I) and the Pulōmbūru grant and also from the stone inscription of Vishnukundin Mādhavavarman at Vēlpūru in the Sattināpalle Taluk of the Guntur district. Simultaneously with the subjugation of the Vishnukundins by Pulikēsin II and occupation of their territory by his brother Kubja Vishnuvardhana, Prithivī Mahārāja, the ruler of Pishtapura, appears to have held out against the Chōlukyan attack for a while and finally to have sustained a crushing defeat in the fight. For, we definitely know from the Timmāpuram plates that Kubja-Vishnuvardhana was in possession of Pishtapura which is mentioned as his secondary capital (*iāśala*). It is, therefore, quite plausible that Pulikēsin II captured the fortress of Pishtapura from the hands of Prithivī Mahārāja who must have lived in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. This period perfectly agrees with the palaeographical evidence of the record.

It is noteworthy that the present inscription is the only early record that makes mention of Ranadurjaya as a historical person. We know that many of the ruling families in the Eastern Deccan, who flourished in the 12th and 13th centuries A.D., trace their descent from Durjaya or Ranadurjaya whose time and place in their genealogy are, however, not certain on account of the varying accounts given in their records. The Kūkatīyas,¹ the Kondapadumati² and Velanāndu³ Chiefs each claim for their ancestor Durjaya or Ranadurjaya. The Garavapādu grant⁴ of Ganapati mentions Prōla as a descendant of Ranadurjaya Durjaya who belonged to the Karikāl āniaya. The most important document of this later period, which gives a glimpse into the period of Ranadurjaya, is the Tsandavōlu inscription⁵ of Buddharāja which appears to embody a genuine historical tradition. It is stated in it that the Kondapadumati chief Buddharāja was the lion of the mountain, the Durjaya family—which shows that Durjaya was the originator of his family—and had for an ancestor one Buddhavarman who belonged to the fourth caste and was a servant of king Kubja Vishnu of the lunar race who conferred on him the country west of the hill which contained 73 villages. Kubja Vishnu is, evidently, the brother of Pulikēsin II, who ruled from A.D. 615 to 633 in the Vēngi country. Buddhavarman's date, accordingly, falls in this period. Durjaya, who was his ancestor, must have lived some time before the 7th century A.D. Since Karikāla is said to be his lineal ancestor whose date has been approximately fixed to fall in the 5th century A.D.,⁶ it is possible that Durjaya lived in the intermediate period and most probably in the 6th century A.D., and his grandson Prithivī-Mahārāja, who had a long reign of at least 46 years, must have begun to rule in the latter half of that century.

The record does not disclose the name of the dynasty to which Prithivī Mahārāja belonged. It only states that he belonged to the Kāśyapa gōtra. It is clear from the foregoing discussion that Durjaya was a descendant of Karikāla Chōla. The Chōla king Panyakumāra of the Cuddāpah District belonged to the Kāśyapa gōtra and Karikāl āniaya.⁷ The Chōla Satyāditya, son of Vikramāditya, was of the same gōtra and family.⁸ The Chōlas of Tanjore also are known to have

¹ Above Vol V, p. 142 *ibid*, Vol XVIII, pp. 316 ff

² *S I I*, Vol IV, No. 602, above, Vol VI, pp. 268 ff

³ Above, Vol IV, pp. 33 ff, the pedigree given in the Pithāpuram Pillar inscription is a jumble of confused traditions. It contains two Ranadurjayas among the ancestors of Prithivīstara.

⁴ Above, Vol XVIII, p. 346

⁵ Above, Vol VI, pp. 268 ff

⁶ *Ibid*, Vol XI, p. 340

⁷ Above, Vol XI, p. 345

⁸ *Ibid*

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 ಪಾಪಹರಣಕಾರಕಮಃ ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ
 ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ
 ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ

2, a

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ಶ್ರೀ ಪಿಪ್ಪಳಾಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ
 ಪಾಪಹರಣಕಾರಕಮಃ ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ
 ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ
 ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ

2, b

10 12 14

ಶ್ರೀ ಪಿಪ್ಪಳಾಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ
 ಪಾಪಹರಣಕಾರಕಮಃ ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ
 ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ
 ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ ಸುತುಲಾಜಯಮಃ

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 28 28

belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* ¹ It is therefore very likely that Ranadurjaya was a Chōla and his ancestors had settled in the Eastern Deccan, like their brethren in the Rēnāndu country, in some early period It may be noted that Ranadurjaya was a member of the fourth caste as can be gathered from the Tsandavōlu inscription referred to above

Of the places mentioned in the record, Pishtapura is well known as the ancient name of Pithāpuram in the East Godavari District Pāgunāra *viśhaya* in which the village Tāndivāda was situated is the same as Pāvunavāra-*viśhaya* of the Vandaram plates² of Ammarāja II, Pāgunavara-*viśhaya* occurring in a grant³ of Bhīma II, and Pāgunavara-*viśhaya* of a record⁴ of Vishnuvardhana V This *viśhaya* appears to have comprised the modern Tanuku Taluk of the Kistna District as can be seen from the stone inscriptions at Juttiga in that Taluk ⁵ Tāndivāda might be identical with Tādiparru in the Tanuku Taluk ⁶ Kōndamañchi, where the donee resided, I am not able to identify

TEXT

First Plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति⁸ [†] श्रीमत्पिष्टपुरात्सकालजगदवनसमुद्भूतकीर्ति-
- 2 चारुचन्द्रिकासमुद्यो⁹(द्यो)तितदिगत(न्त)रस्य म-
- 3 हाराजरणदुर्जयस्य सूनोस्समति-
- 4 शयितशक्रविभूतेर्विक्रमेन्द्रस्य प्रियतनय[†]

Second Plate, First Side

- 5 प्रवर्द्धमानप्रतापोपनतसमस्तसामन्तमण्डल(लो) निज-
- 6 भुजविजयोद्याधिगतयशोविशेषभूषणः श्रीरम[†]
- 7 काश्यपसगोत्रः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपा-
- 8 दानुज्जात[†] श्रीप्रिथिवी¹⁰महाराजः पागुणारविषये ताण्डि-
- 9 वाडग्राममधिवसतसे(सतस्र)र्वसमवेताक्किटि(टु)म्बिनस्र[मा]ज्ञाप-

¹ See the Tiruvālangādu plates and the Kanyākumārī inscription and the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1905, p 40

² Above, Vol IX, p 133

³ *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, p 213

⁴ *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1913 14, C P No 6

⁵ Nos 734 and 736 of 1920 of the *M E R* for 1921

⁶ *List of Villages in the Madras Presidency*, p 344

⁷ From an ink impression

⁸ This word is engraved in the margin to the left of the ring hole near the third line of the text.

⁹ [There is also a root *yut bhāsanē* —B C C]

¹⁰ Read °पृथिवी°

Second Plate, Second Side

- 10 यति यथा। अतिस्मृ(स्मृ)तिपारदृश्वनः यथावदनुष्ठिताग्नि(ग्नि)ष्टो-
 11 मादिक्रियापूतात्मनो विष्णुशर्मणः पुत्राय¹ असक्तदिज्ञा-
 12 प्रयोगप्रायमाणद्विणसृचितत्विक्स-
 13 दस्यसृष्टेः त्रिसहस्रविद्याध्ययनप्रवचनव्याख्यान-
 14 शीलिन प्रियवो(ष्टिवी)शर्मणः पुत्राय वेदवेदाङ्गन्याय(यो)प-

Third Plate, First Side

- 15 निपद्योग(गा)वबोधनिर्भन्तोऽतदुद्ये विविधाध्वरावभृदा-
 16 ं पवित्रीकृतविग्रहाय देवपितृभनुष्यसमर्चन-
 17 समानोतरात्रिन्दिवाय कौण्डमस्त्रिग्रामनियामिने
 18 त्रिसहस्रविद्याय विंशतिव्याख्यानाय कामकायनम
 19 गोत्राय छ(च्छ)न्दोगमन्त्राचारिणे भवशर्मणे ग्रामद्वीयु-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 20 रारा(रो)ग्ययगोमिहज्ये सर्वकारपरितारिण्याग्रारी-
 21 लत्य ग्रामोदत्त² न कौचिदपि बाधा करणीया [I*] प्र-
 22 [व³]र्मानविजयराज्यसवत्सरे पट्चत्वारो(रि)जे
 23 कार्तिकापोर्णमास्यान्वर्माप्रदानमेतत् [I*] आज्ञाति[ः] त्रीगम-
 24 लेष्टुराजः [I*] अत्र व्यामगीता[ः] श्लोका. [I*] बहुभिर्बुधैः सुधा दत्ता

Fourth Plate

- 25 बहुभिन्नानुपालिता [I*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमित(स्त)स्य तस्य
 26 तदा फलम् [II*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता(त्ता) वा यत्राद्रज बुधियि(ष्ठि)र ।
 27 मही महीमता जेष्ठ धर्माच्छ्रेयानुपालन [II*]
 28 आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो वलान्ति प्रपितामहा³ ॥(I)
 29 भूमिदाता कुले जात' (I) स नन्वाता भविष्यति ॥

¹ Read पौत्राय² The *usarga* is faintly visible in the impression³ Generally the reading of this *pāda* is *pratalganaḥ pātāmahaḥ*

TRANSLATION

(Lines 18) Hail ! From the illustrious Pishtapura, Śrī Prithivī-Mahārāja—who has meditated on the feet of his parents, who is extremely pious, who belongs to the Kāsyapa-gōṭha, who has subdued the whole circle of the Sāmantas by his ever increasing prowess and has as his ornament the distinguishing fame acquired by the rise of victory of his arms, who is the lord of wealth¹—dear son of Vikramēndra who had excelled Indra in prosperity, who was the son of Mahārāja Ranadurjaya who had lighted the whole region of the quarters by the beautiful moonlight, the fame arising from the protection of the whole world,

(Ll 8 10) commands all the *kutumbins* assembled together, who are the residents of Tāndivāda in Pāgunāra *vishaya*, that

(Ll 10 21) this village (i.e., Tāndivāda) has been made into an *agrahāra* and conferred, free of all imposts, for the increase of our life, health and fame, upon Bhavasarma, who is a student of Chhandōga (*school*), belongs to the Kāmakāyana-gōṭha, has studied three thousand sciences and (*written*) twenty commentaries, a resident of the village Kōndamañchi, is spending days and nights in worshipping the gods, the *pitris* and mankind, whose body has been purified by the water of sacred ablution in various sacrifices, whose intellect has been clarified by the knowledge of the Vēdas, Vēdāngas, Nyāya, Upanishads and Yōga—son of Prithivīsarman whose habit it was to study, teach and comment on the three thousand sciences, and whose prosperity was revealed among the priests (*ritvij*) and assistants (*sadasya*) by the riches given away in sacrifices frequently performed (*by him*)—grandson of Vishnuśarma whose mind had been purified by the due performance of *Agnishōma*, and other (*sacrifices*) and who had mastered the Śruti and Smṛiti

(Ll 21-24) No one should create any obstruction (*to this*) In the 46th year of the ever prosperous and victorious reign on the full moon day of Kārttika, this religious gift was made Śrī Rāmalenrurāja was the executor (*of the order*)

(Ll 24 29) Here are the *ślōkas* sung by Vyāsa (Then follow three of the customary verses)

No 16 —A NOTE ON THE BHOR STATE MUSEUM COPPER PLATE OF KHAMBHA II

By RAO BAHADUR K N DIKSHIT, M A

On page 186 of part IV, of Volume XXII of the *Epigraphia Indica* Dr. Altekar has published an article on the Bhore State Museum Plates of Khambha II of the Chālukya dynasty, dated in the Śaka year 1001. There is no facsimile of the original attached to the article, but as the editor of the Plates has remarked, the order in which the different parts of the grant occur, is topsy-turvy. Thus after specifying the date, the writer at once proceeds to the specification of the donor and the village granted without mentioning the donee. Then are mentioned certain dignitaries followed by some verses describing exploits of the dynasty of the donor. After the imprecatory verses, the grant closes with the bare names (without specification of *gōthas*, etc., of the donees) clearly as an after thought. It is thus evident that the grant is not a regular and officially issued

¹ Śrīrama may also be taken as the *biruda* of the king. Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari, whom I consulted, thinks that Rama Kāsyapa might be one of the sub divisions of the Kāsyapa *gōtra* in which case, the expression will have to be rendered 'who belonged to the illustrious Rama Kāsyapa-gōtra'.

charter, and cannot be considered as indicating the existence of a feudatory Chālukya king in the Śaka year 1001 for reasons given below —

In the first place it is very unlikely that an inscription dated in the 11th year of the powerful Chālukya Emperor Vikramāditya VI, who had already started his own era (named the Chālukya Vikrama Era) should be without any mention of this paramount sovereign. In fact the first line specifying the date appears to have been written in smaller characters than the other lines and may possibly have been inserted later. The most important reason why the inscription appears to me to have been written somewhere in the middle of the 12th Century is the mention of certain officers and queens in lines 12 to 15. The two queens mentioned in line 11, namely, Siriyā Dēvi and Dēvalā Dēvi appear to be identical with the queens Siriyā Dēvi and Dēvalā Dēvi of the Sinda King Chāvunda II referred to on page 111 of the Vol. XX of the *Epigraphia Indica*. It is interesting to see that one Munjaya Sāham also occurs in the Benachamatti inscription referred to above, while in the present inscription the same Munjaya appears to have been referred to as the minister (*amātya*) of the Mihārānī Siriyā Dēvi. There are at least two other Sāhams (Prakrit form of Sīdhanī, a counsellor). It is therefore incorrect to take with Dr. Altkar that Siriyā Dēvi was called Muñjēva Mihārānī because she was a daughter of Muñja. The intended reading of the end of line 11 and beginning of line 15 should be "*Rānī Mahalā Deba(vā)lāyā damlanāyāla Simha*". There seems to have been some confusion here in the name of the queen. The name Mahādēvi being that of the step mother of Chāvunda II himself, the writer probably confused it with the name Dēvalī, of one of his queens.

As regards the language, there appears to have been some mixture of words in Marāṭhī which again may indicate a later date. The word *varla* in line 9 and *lāruladonēm* in the same line are clearly Marāṭhī. The sense of the whole phrase from *varlatāḷha*¹ is that all dues including the dues from artisans and oilmen were to be given to the donors. The phrase *agumthutapushpam* (not *pushyam*) *rājadasa(sā)ram* in lines 10 and 11 is explainable only in the light of the subsequent verse in lines 28 to 30 and means that an interview with the king should be with unstrung flowers, the stem *gunṭh* being a Marāṭhī adaptation from *grath* in Sanskrit. The propriety of such a reference is shown in lines 28 to 30 where it is mentioned that 'any future king of my family should be interviewed by you with flowers not strung (into a garland) and requested on my behalf that he should maintain his religion (and continue this gift)'. There are passages in Sanskrit literature², which support the existence of this custom of approaching a king with an offering of unstrung flowers.

On the whole I am inclined to think that the grant belongs to the middle of the 12th century A.D. and was probably forged in the interest of the persons mentioned in the post-script of the grant. It is, however, not understood how the names of queens and ministers in places over 200 miles away are included, unless we suppose that the Sinda Queens had some private estates managed by their ministers in the locality of Bhor³.

¹ Cf. *Malavilagnimitra* Act IV, where Vidushaka pretends to have been bitten by a snake, while spreading out his hand for a bunch of Aśoka flowers, as he wanted to see the queen with the customary flower offering.

² [There is certainly room for suspicion about the genuineness of the Bhor Museum Plates of Khambha. But a great difficulty in accepting the identification proposed here is that the name of the husband of the queens Siriyā Dēvi and Dēvalā Dēvi is expressly mentioned as Khambha in these plates. Neither the name nor the genealogy of this ruler has any similarity with that of the Sinda chief Chāvunda II. It seems unlikely, even considering the grant to be a forged one, that the forgers would make use of the names of the two Sinda queens alone. If they were aware of the names of the queens one would expect them to know the name and family of their husband as well, who was the governor of a number of districts.—Ed.]

No 17—THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAONRI

By RAO BAHADUR K N DIKSHIT, SIMLA

These plates were discovered on 20th June 1931 at the village Gaonri three miles to the north east of Narwal (the Narhwal of the maps), the headquarters of an estate of the same name, eleven miles to the south east of Ujjain, on the Ujjain Dewas Road. They were discovered in the course of cutting the channel or sluice of a tank at the village, and found their way into the hands of the Raoji Sahab of Narwal Estate. Having come to learn of their existence from Pandit Surya Narayan Vyas of Bharati Bhavan, Ujjain, I approached the Raoji Sahab, who very kindly sent the plates to me for decipherment and publication.

The plates, which are five in number, consist of two sets of which three constitute one grant (marked B) and the other two another (marked C). The plates of the set B measure 15" to 15½" by 10½" to 10¾". Each of the plates is ½" in thickness. The rims have been raised to protect the writing and there are two holes ½" in diameter on one side through which rings were passed. The set C consists of two plates measuring 12½" to 12¾" in length and 9¾" to 10" in breadth, which have holes similar to those in the plates of the set B for passing the rings. The first set weighs 552 *tolas* and the second 218. The rings of the first set are still with the Raoji Sahab, but those of the second set were in a very fragmentary state of preservation when discovered and are stated to be made of iron, but it is likely that they were of copper. No seal appears to have been found with them. It appears that the labourers who found the plates considered them to be of iron and they thought of making blades of shovels out of them, but the Rao Sahab, having come to know of this, ordered them to be brought before him and had them cleaned with chemicals. On receiving them at the Indian Museum, I had them cleaned again, when I discovered the most interesting fact that the outer side of the first plate of the bigger set (marked A) was a palimpsest and contained regular lines of writing which in spite of the attempt made by the Paramāra engravers to obliterate it by rubbing were still quite legible. Much of this older inscription can be read from the original plate, and the inked impressions are sufficiently legible, in spite of the thinness of the letters. It shows an earlier record of the Rāshtrakūtas preceding the date of the Paramāra grant by 52 years. It has been seldom¹ found that one and the same copper plate bears the inscription of two different kings, particularly as the injunctions which one ruler caused to be recorded and expected his successors to respect them could not with propriety be broken by himself in respect of the donations of previous rulers. In the present case, however, the occurrence of a fresh grant on an old copper-plate record after obliterating the writing can be explained by the state of warfare between the Rāshtrakūta kingdom of the Deccan and the Paramāra rulers of Mālwā in the latter half of the tenth century A D. It seems probable that the Rāshtrakūta charter was either snatched away from the possession of the donees or, being an office copy, seized from the Rāshtrakūta treasury in course of the invasion of the Deccan².

¹ Dr Fleet records a palimpsest in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol VII, pp 251 ff, but the cancelled grant is practically identical with the renewed grant, which was necessitated by some flaw in the original. [Similar instances are found in the Khoh Copper plate Inscription of the Mahārāja Śarvanūtha of the year 193 (C I I, Vol III, p 126) and the copper plate of the Eastern Chālukya ruler Māngi Yuvarāja noticed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908, pt II, paragraphs 12-13. I can also give at least one example where the plates belonging to an earlier ruler were made use of by a later king of the same dynasty by obliterating the original record, cf C P No 6 of 1924-25 (*An Rep on S I E*, 1924-25, pp 78-79) of the time of the Ganga king Anantavarman Chōḍaganga which originally contained an earlier grant of his grandfather Vajrahasta. What necessitated the obliteration of the original grant or if it was at all issued is not known.—Ed.]

² This event must have occurred sometime about 973 A D, as Dhanapāla mentions in his *Tāilyalachchhī*, that the work was written at Mānyakhūṭa when it was looted by the people of Mālwā.

by the Paramāra King Siyaka and consigned to the Mālwa treasury along with other treasure and booty brought back from the campaign. Subsequently Siyaka's son Vākpati-Muñja utilised the plates for engraving a fresh inscription after obliterating the Rāshtrakūta record. It is thus that we can explain the find of a plate granting a village in the Deccan carried away about five hundred miles from the place of its origin.

The characters of the Paramāra grants (B and C) are Dvānāgarī, regular for the period and locality of the inscription. There is little to record about the Rāshtrakūta grant (A) as well, except that the characters are of the northern instead of the southern type to which most records of this dynasty are to be attributed. As regards orthography, no distinction has been observed between *va* and *ba* and *sa* is often confused with *śa*.

The Paramāra records (B and C) open each with two verses one in praise of Śiva and the other in that of Vishnu. Then follows in prose the genealogy of Vākpati-rāja. As in other records of Vākpati such as the Dharampurī plates only three predecessors of his, viz. Krishnarāja, Vairisimha and Siyaka are mentioned but not others known from other stone inscriptions. Vākpati is said to have Amōghavarsha as 'another name' of his, which is interesting in view of the fact that in the Harsola grant² of his father Siyaka the latter is probably to be credited with the epithet Akālavarsha. Then follows the specification of the villages granted, which in grant B is said to be Vanikā in the Āvaraka Bhōga and Hūna Mandala, while in grant C it is stated to be Kaḍāhichchhaka³ in the Bhulū of Maddhuka, in the east Pathala of the Ujjayani-Vishaya and the Avantī Mandala. The latter village can be easily identified, as its situation can be located with certainty, being to the east of Ujjain. The village Karcha or Kadacha three miles to the north of Narwal and a similar distance to the north west of Gaonri can be confidently identified with Kadahichchhaka. The Maddhuka Bhulū in which the village granted was situated may perhaps be identified with Mahū or Mhow, the well known cantonment near Indore which would be about 40 miles from Narwal. As the Hūna Mandala of the first plate must evidently refer to the country ruled over by the 'Hūnas' in Mālwa, it must be taken as the northern part of the Mālwa plateau. The queen Āvalladēvī of the Kalachūri King Karna is said to have been the daughter of a Hūna king. The Āvaraka Bhōga may possibly have been identical with the country round the town of Agar, north east of Ujjain, close to which there is a place called Awār. Vanikā is to be identified with the village of Benkā, 15 miles north west of Awār. The place of the king's encampment is specified in the second set as Pūrṇa Pathala, which appears to have been situated on a river named Pūnyābhra, which I am unable to identify. The officer who conveyed the grant in the first set was Rudrāditya, who is also mentioned in the Ujjain plates of 1036 V S.

The donors in the set B are stated to be 26 Brāhmanas who received portions of the village of Vanikā out of an aggregate of 78 parts. On an average, thus, each Brāhmana received three parts, although two Brāhmanas seem to have received only one part each and as many as 9 of them two parts each. The Brāhmanas belonging to the Rig Vēda seem to have received special preference, inasmuch as four of them received as many as 19 shares. The first-mentioned person is a Brāhmana named Sarvinanda hailing from the village of Kanōpā in the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 43 ff.

² Above Vol. XIX, p. 226.

[See p. 109, note below.—Ed.]

³ The Pūrṇa seems to have been defeated both by Siyaka, the father of Vākpati (above, Vol. I, p. 223) and by Vākpati himself (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 156).

⁴ This place should be looked for in the modern Patna Division, particularly in the Shahābād District of Bihar, its present equivalent being something like Kanpa or Kanwa.

country of Magadha who received as many as eight parts. It is worthy of note that the sole recipient of the second grant which is dated about five years later, is the identical Sarvānanda. It is therefore likely that the Brāhmana settled down in the village of which he was the sole proprietor and carried with him the charter which conferred on him the title of the second village as well as that of the other grant of which he was the senior partner. It is noteworthy that the provenance of the plates is within three miles from the second village, while its distance from the first is about 40 miles.

The most important information contained in these plates is regarding the migration of Brāhmanas from various parts of the country to Mālwā where they were recipients of donations at the hands of the Paramāra prince. In several instances the donees seem to have migrated all the way from Bengal, which (contrary to the current belief that there were no Brāhmanas left in Bengal in the 12th century A D) appears as a country where Brāhmanas studying different Vēdas were flourishing. Thus we find a Brāhmana named Dōnāka, hailing from Vilagavāsa falling within the southern Rājya country, who received as many as five shares. Another person is said to have migrated from Kulāñchā, which in the form of Kōlāñcha and Krōḍāñcha occurs as the original place of Brāhmanas who received grants in Assam, North Bihār and Orissa. I propose to identify this with Kulanch in the Bogra District of North Bengal. Another locality mentioned in these plates is Sāvathidēsa or Śāvathikā which is most likely the tract more or less corresponding to North Bogra and South Dinājpur in Bengal. An inscription of Indrapāl, a king of Assam, refers to this Sāvathi (which is apparently the same as Śrāvastī) and mentions the presence of a place called Vaigrāma in it. The identity of the latter has now been completely established by the find of a copper-plate of the Gupta period found at Baigrām at the north west corner of the Bogra District, in which the place is mentioned as Vāyigrāma. There can be no doubt that Sāvathi, Śrāvastī or the Sāvathidēsa included the northern part of Bogra District. In the present case the two villages in this tract are Dardurikā and Mitāla pātala which it is possible to identify with Dadra in Panch bibi Thana of the Bogra District and Mitail or Matialpārū both of which are in the Bogra District. Most of the Brāhmanas mentioned in the plates from Bengal just referred to are stated to have belonged to the Chhandōga śālkhā (of the Sāma Vēda), which is significant in view of the preponderance of the adherents of this Vēda among the Brāhmanas of Bengal. Madhyadēsa which is roughly equivalent to the United Provinces is the original home of at least three of the donees but the place name Yaka or Ayaka stated to be included within the Madhyadēsa cannot be identified. Uttarakuladēsa in which the village Paundarika was the home of a Brāhmana must be some tract to the north of the Ganges. Śravanabhadrā, stated to be the home of two Brāhmanas, also occurs in the plates of Bhōja found at Tilakwādā near Baroda and must be some place in northern India, near Kanauj, as the family of Surāditya in the Tilakwādā plates is stated to have come from Kanauj. It is also mentioned as Sōnabhadrā in the Madhyadēsa in the Sakhlō plates of the Kalachuri Ratnādēva III, being the original home of a family of Brāhmanas also of the Vatsa lineage. Khētaka is undoubtedly the modern Khērā in Gujarāt, while Nāndipura in the Lāta country is certainly the modern Nāndod on the Narmadā. Khēdāpālīkā and Khadupallīkā may indicate a place-name like Khedāvala or Khedaulia, being perhaps the original place of the modern Khedāval Brāhmanas. Other places like Kharijūrikā, Sōpura, Dapura, Ānōha, Avivā and Rājakiya grāma may be found in the neighbourhood or within the province of Mālwā. The

¹ Kāmārūpa sasanavālī, p 137

² Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, pp 324 f

³ Above, Vol XXII, pp 159 ff

name Khajuriya is very common around Ujjain. Madhupālikā may be same as Majhovi, a village name common to U. P. There is thus a vast amount of information regarding the original places of Brāhmanas in the present plates which will be of great importance to the social history of this period.

The date of the donation of the grant B is mentioned as the full moon day of Kārttika in the (Vikrama) year 1038, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, which is equivalent to Sunday, the 16th October, A. D. 981. The date on which the grant was actually written and conveyed appears to be nearly nine months later, being mentioned as the tenth day of the bright half of the second Āshādhā of V. S. 1038. Obviously the year is to be considered as Kārttikādi or Southern and the equivalent date accordingly is July 3, Tuesday, A. D. 982, as there was no intercalation in the month of Āshādhā in Samvat 1038 according to the Northern reckoning. The second grant (C) was made at the winter solstice (Udagayana) in the year 1043 V. S. which fell on 22nd December, A. D. 986, while the charter was issued on the thirteenth day of the dark (half) of the month of Māgha which is equivalent to Friday, the 31st December, A. D. 986 taking the month to be Pūrṇimānta. The dates of these plates slightly advance our knowledge of the reigning period of Vākpatirāja for whom we already have 1031 and 1036 V. S. as the dates of his Dharampurī¹ and Ujjain² plates, but the tragic end of Vākpatirāja in the Chālukya capital must be dated several years later than the date of the second grant.

The plates are all engraved only on one side, the last plate in grant B containing on the back only the words *Vanikā grāma śāsanam tāmrapatrāni cha tri(tri)ni* stating that the plates of the charter for the village Vanikā were three in number. On the first plate the obliterated Rāshtrakūta inscription (A) consists of 22 lines. The inscription fortunately contains all the most important information about the record, although there must have been at least two more plates in the beginning, one giving the genealogy and possibly one more at the end containing the concluding portion and the imprecatory verses. The donor Suvarnavarsha-dēva (Gōvinda IV) is stated to be the son of Nityavarsha (Indra III). The date of the grant is mentioned in detail as Sunday the full-moon day of Māgha in the Śaka year 851 Vikrīta-samvatsara, when the moon was in the constellation of Āślēshā and there was an eclipse of the moon. This date is identical in every particular with that of another Kanāda inscription of the same ruler, viz., the Kalas³ inscription and is equivalent to Sunday, the 17th January, A. D. 930, when there was an eclipse of the moon. The inscription records that on the great occasion of the lunar eclipse, the king after having made grants of land, learning, food, desire fulfilling tree, medicine, etc., and having weighed himself (against precious commodities) ordered the donation of the village of Payalipattana situated in the western boundary of Mānyakhēta or Malkhed the Rāshtrakūta capital. The object of the donation was to establish a *sattra* or charitable feeding house where a thousand Brāhmanas belonging to different denominations were to be fed, thus 360 were the Karnāṭaka Brāhmanas of Malkhed, 300 belonged to the Kaṇva-śākhā, 240 were Brāhmanas from Karahātaka (apparently those now known as Karhādā Brāhmanas in Mahārāshtra), 72 were Brāhmanas of the *Chatuś Charana* or all the four *Charanas* and 28 Brāhmanas are mentioned as *Sahasrasāmūnya* or common to the thousand. The reference to the donations of this king in the phrase *prati prayachchhatā* = 'daily giving away (to Brāhmanas, etc.) incessantly

¹ *Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 48 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 160.

³ *Above*, Vol. XIII, pp. 329 ff.

charters of villages respected (by all) by the hundred' is borne out by his Cambay Plates¹ issued about four months later, when he granted 600 villages and 3 lacs of gold coins to Brāhmanas and 800 villages and 4 lacs of gold coins to temples. The arrangement of the donor is stated to be that the proceeds of the village granted were to be utilised for the feeding of a thousand Brāhmanas every day (apparently at Mānyakhēta). There is mention of some ceremonies on the *Alshaya pūrnāmāsī*, which is probably the same day as the full moon of Māgha, the date of the present grant². The boundaries of the village granted beginning from the east were the villages Karigrāma, Maṇḍavaka, Nandasura, Nandalagrāma, Nāsapūra, Yamalagrāma, Vēllavaśa, Dhammanagrāma, Sēllavi and Kapitthakhēda. None of these localities I have yet been able to identify, but they are apparently to be looked for in the western part of the Deccan plateau.

Table of the Brāhmana donees of the Gaonri Plates of Vākpati Muñja V S 1038

Serial No	Name of Donee	Father's name	Original place	Vēda and Śākhā	Gōtra and Pravara	Parts of village granted
1	Sarvānanda	Dikshita Lōkānanda	Kanōpā in Magadha	Rigvēda, Bahvricha	Sāmkṛitya	3 8
2	Mūlasthāna	Brahmapandita	Ayaka in Madhyadēśa	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga	Vāsishṭha	3 3
3	Lōhina .	Īśvara	Kāvada	Yajurveda, Vājimādhyaṇīna	Gautama	3 3
4	Chandrāditya	Pitavāsa	Chauramba	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga	Śāndilya	3 4
5	Śābara	Ranāditya	Kulāñchā . .	Do	Do .	3 2
6	Agnihōtrin Lōhapa	Vāsudēva	Avivā in Asurēśa-maṇḍala	Do	Vatsa	5 4
7	Dōnāka	Gōsarana	Vilvagavāsa in Dakshina Rādha	Do . .	Pārāsara	5 ³ 5
8	Anantāditya	Surāditya	Khadupālikā	Yajurveda, Vājimādhyaṇīna	Maudgalya	3 2
9	Vāmanasvāmīn	Dikshita Hari	Paundarika in Uttarakula	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga	Gārgya .	5 3
10	Ātuka .	Risula	Umvarāchāra	Yajurveda, Vājimādhyaṇīna	Agastya .	3 1
11	Purushōttama	Lihā . .	? in Madhyadēśa	Do .	Maitrēya .	3 4
12	Gōvindasvāmīn	Dēvasvāmīn	Madhupālikā	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga	Kāśyapa	3 3
13	Sihaṭa .	Mitrānanda	Śravaṇabhadra	Rigvēda, Bahvricha	Vatsa .	5 4
14	Śankara .	Dēvāditya	Dardurkā in Śāvathukā	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga	Bhārgava	3 2

¹ Above, Vol VII, pp 26 ff

² [See p 108, note 1 below --Ed.]

³ This is apparently a mistake for 3, as this gōtra is never found to have five pravaras.

Table of the Brāhmarā donees of the Gaonri Plates of Vākpati Muñja V S 1038—contd

Serial No	Name of Donee	Father's name	Original place	Vēda and Śikhā	Gōtra and Pravara	Parts of village granted
15	Mādhumathana	Achala	Mithlapātaka in Savathukādēśa	Yajurvēda, Vāji mādhyandina	Parāśara	3 2
16	Svayamtapa	Śrīmrāsa	Khēdāpāhikā	Do	Maumi	3 3
17	Nānāyaka	Madhu	Khēṭaka	Rigvēda, Bahvricha	Bhāradvāja	3 4
18	Jāmaṭa	Viṣṇu	Ānōha	Yajurvēda, Vāji mādhyandina	Bhārgava	3 2
19	Dēdēka	Do	Do	Do	Do	3 2
20	Āvasthika Sarvadīva	Lōhata	Sōpura	Sāmavēda, Kauṭhuma	Śāndilya	3 2
21	Varāha	Śrīdhara	Kharjūrkā	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga	Māhula	3 4
22	Āsāditya	Māhula	Dapura	Rigvēda, Bahvricha	Vārāha	3 3
23	Bhāula	Hari	? in Lātādēśa	Yajurvēda, Vāji mādhyandina	Kāśyapa	3 1
24	Dēvāditya	Līlāditya	Rājakiya	Sāmavēda, Chhandōga	Vatsa	5 2
25	Muhājāla	Īśvata	Nāndipura in Lātādēśa	Yajurvēda, Vāji mādhyandina	Bhāradvāja	3 2
26	Amāṭta	Gurākara	Śravanabhadrā	Do	Vatsa	5 3
					Total	78

A —Fragmentary grant of the Rāshtrakūta Suvarnavarsha (Gōvinda IV)

Śaka 851

TEXT

- 1 परमेश्वरश्रीमन्नित्यवर्षादेवपादानुष्ठानतपरममहाराजकासहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमत्सुव-
- 2 ण्णवर्षदेवपृथ्वीवत्सस[श्री]महत्समनरेन्द्रदेव कुमली सर्वानिव [यथा]सम(स्व)ध्य-
- अनकाश्वरूपति-
- 3 विषयपतिग्रामकूटमहत्तरायुक्ताकोपयुक्ताकाधिकारिकान्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं
- यथा मा-
- 4 न्यखेटराजधानीस्त्रिरतरावस्थानेन मातापितोरात्मनश्च पुत्र्यशोभिहृदये पूर्वमु-
- [साम]-

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAONRI

A—FRAGMENTARY GRANT OF THE RASHIRAKUTA SUVARNAVARSHA (GOVINDA IV) SAKA 851



5. पि देवक्षीशाग्रहारान्प्रतिपालयता प्रतिदिनः च निरवधि नमस्त्यामशासनानि
शतसः(शः) प्रयच्छ[ता]
- 6 मया भगवन्पुत्राणांतीतसंवत्सरे[शतेष्वष्टस्वेकपंचाशदधिकेष्वंकातोपि सप्तसराणां
द्वयं प्र-
- 7 वर्तमानविक्षतसम्बत्सरान्तर्गतमाधपौर्णमास्यां एवा आक्षेपानक्षत्रसंस्था[नि] शशि-
(शि)नि सी-
- 8 म[ग्रह]णमहापर्वणि धृतिवीदानविद्यादानाहारदानकल्पवृक्षना(दा)नभैषज्यदाना-
नानि(दानानि) दत्वा(त्वा)
- 9 तुल्लोपुत्रपाद[नु]सरता मया प्रथमं करोदकातिसर्गेण सहस्रप्रमाणमहाजनाय
(सर्वार्थं(त्रार्थं))
- 10 [मान्य]खेट[कर्णा]टकप्रमुखत्रा(त्रा)ह्मणानां श(ष)ष्टाधिकशतत्रयं वाजि-
कायप्रमुखत्रा(त्रा)ह्मणानां
- 11 शतत्रयं करहाटकप्रमुखत्रा(त्रा)ह्मणानां चत्वारिंशदधिकं शतत्रयं चतुश्चरणा-
मान्यषष्टि-
- 12 वर्गत्रा(त्रा)ह्मणानां द्विसप्ततिः सहस्रसामान्यत्रा(त्रा)ह्मणानामष्टाविंशतिरेवं
सहस्र(स)त्रा(त्रा)ह्म-
- 13 णेभ्यः श्रीमान्यखेटपश्चिमाघाटव्यवस्थितपयलीपत्तनं सहस्रमालाकु[ल] सधान्यहिर-
ण्यादेयं
- 14 सदण्डदोश(ष)न्दशापराध समस्तो[त्प]त्तिशुक्लोत्पत्तिसहितं पूर्वप्रसिद्धचतुस्तीम-
पर्यन्तमाचन्द्रार्क[क्षत्रप्रतिपाल]-
- 15 णीया¹श्चास्य पूर्वदिवस[सा]दि(?) प्रा[ग्द]क्षिण्येन कारिग्रामः मण्डवकानन्दसुर-
नन्दलग्रामश्च
- 16 ना[स]पुरयमलग्रामवेत्तवशवम्भग्रामसेतविकापित्यखेटग्रामाः एव श(स)र्वाघाट-
विशुद्धपयलीप-
- 17 त्तन रा(स)हस्र(स)महाजनस्य लभत कार्पयतो शु(भुं)जतो भोजयतो वा न
कैःचि(कैश्चि)द्व्याधतिः(घात) भूयः व्या[१]न्याकर्त[व्या]²
- 18 ब्र(त्र)ह्मग्रामः [पुण्यविध्य]र्त्यकानि च भवन्ति ॥ स(रा)मवचनं ॥ सामान्योयं
धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले त्या(पा)लनी-
- 19 यो भवद्भिः[१] सर्वानितान्भविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो-भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥
व्यवस्थां तात् ॥ श्रीमत्सुवर्णवर्षदे-

¹ The reading of the last five letters is doubtful

² Probably the intended reading was *vyaghat bhūtv=ānyatha kartavyā*

- 20 वस्याच्चय[पूर्ण]मास्यां [देव]प्रीत्यर्थं[*] सिद्धिरस्त्वित्येतेन त्रैयोर्व्यव्र(त्र)प्रशा-
प्रसाद(दां)प्रकविस्तीर्णवासां स्वर्चतो
21 [परिवर्णितविशेष...] श(स)हस्रव्रा(त्रा)ह्यभोजनं प्रतिदिनं प्रवर्तनीयनिनि
(मिति) ॥ धर्माभिष्टय्ये तेन
22 यच्च वणं मया ..कीयस्य...स गिन च...

B.—Plates of Vākpati Muñja V S 1038

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 श्रीं [*] याः स्फूर्त्तफणष्टदिपानलभिलक्ष्म[प्र*]भाः प्रोक्तसम्भूर्धव(व)ह्यप्रशाङ्ग-
कोटिघटिता याः सैद्धि(सैहि)केयीपमा. [1]* याश्चच(च)द्विरिजा-
2 कपोलशुलितान[*] कस्तूरिकाविभ्रमास्ताः त्रीकण्ठकठोरकण्ठश्चयः १ त्रैयान्ति-
(यांसि) पुष्पान्तु वः ॥ यक्षस्त्रीवदनेन्दु(न्दु)ना न सुखित यन्ना-
3 द्रितम्भारिधेर्वीरा यन्न निजेन [ना]भिसरसीपद्मेन शान्तिज्ञतं [1]* यच्छेपा-
हिफणासहस्रमधुरस्यासैर्न चाश्यासितं तद्राधाविरहा-
4 तुरं सुररिपोर्वैक्षद्युः पातु वः ॥ परमभेदारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-
क्षणाजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभेदार-
5 कमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवैरिसिद्ध(सिंह)देवपादानुध्यातपरमभेदारकमहाराजा-
धिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानु-
6 ध्यातपरमभेदारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभद्रमोघवर्षदेवापराभिधानश्रीमहावपति-
राजदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभ-
7 श्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः शुभली ॥ यथा ह्यणमंडले आवरकभोगसम्ब(स्व)हपूर्व-
भोक्तृभिर्भुक्तभुक्तिक्रमेण यथासम्ब(स्व)[ह्य]मा-
8 न[*] समस्ततलकैः सहित(ति) वणिकाग्रामे समुपगतान्समस्तशजपुष्पां(पा)न्त्रा-
(त्रा)ह्योत्तरान्प्रतिवासि[पट्ट]किलजनप[दा]-
9 दीद्य वो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वः सम्भि(संवि)दितं यथा श्रुतीत(ता)दृत्तुंस(चिंश)दुत्तर-
साहसिकसम्ब(संव)त्तरेस्मिन् कार्त्तिक[व्यां सोम]ग्रहणपूर्वणि-
10 ज्ञात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य सन्ता(संसा)रस्यासारता
हृद्वा । वाताम्नविभ्रमभिदं वसु[धा]³धिपत्यभापातमान-

¹ [The reading appears to be=āshaya punyam=astv=abhīprītyartbam —Ed]

² Expressed by a symbol

³ First dh was written, then the scribe put the ā sign without deleting the : sign.

[illegible]

[illegible]

- 11 मधुरो विषयोपभोगः [1^{*}] प्राणास्तृणाग्रजन्वि(वि)न्दुसमा नराणां धर्मः सखा
परमहो परलोकयाने [11^{*}] भ्रमत्सन्सा(त्तंसा)रचक्रा-
- 12 ग्रधाराधाराभिमां श्रिय [1^{*}] प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषा पश्चात्तापः पर फलं ॥
इति जगतो विनश्चरं सकलमिदमाकलय्या(य्यो)परिलिखि-
- 13 तग्रामः स्वसीमादणकाष्ट(ष्ठ)यूतिगोचरपर्यन्त(न्तः) सवचमालाकुल(लः) स-
हिरण्यभागभोग(गं) सोपरिकरः सर्वादायसमेतः उ-
- 14 परिलिखितग्रामेस्मिन् कल्पिताश्च अष्टसप्ततेर्भध्यात् मगध(घ)देशान्तःपातिकणो-
पामष्टग्रामविनिर्गतसालत्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)-
- 15 प्रवरव(व)हृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसर्वानंदाय पण्डितदोक्षि[त^{*}]लोकानन्दसूनवे
अशाष्टौ^१ मध्यदेशान्तःपातित्यकमष्टग्राम-
- 16 विनिर्गतवासिष्ठसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरक्ष(च्छ)न्दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभूलस्थानाय आव-
स्थिकत्र(त्र)ह्मणपण्डितसूनवे अशत्रयं
- 17 ३ कावडमष्टग्रामविनिर्गत(गं)तगौतमसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)-
ह्मणलोहिणाय इ(ई)श्वरसूनवे अशत्र-
- 18 य ३ चौरभ(स्व)मष्टग्रामविनिर्गतसां(शा)डित्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरच्छंदोगशाखिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणचंद्रादित्यपि(पी)तवामसूनवे अंशचतुष्टय ४
- 19 कुलाचाग्रामविनिर्गतसां(शा)डित्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरक्षं(च्छं)दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण-
शाव(व)राय रना(णा)दित्यसूनवे अशत्रयं २ अश्वरिसमडलान्तःपा-
- 20 ति अविवाग्रामविनिर्गतवत्ससगोत्रपंचप्रवरक्षं(च्छं)दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणपंडिता-
ग्निहोतृ(त्रि)कलोहपाय वासुदेवसु(सू)नवे अंशचतुष्ट-
- 21 य ४ दक्षिणराढान्तःपातिवित्त्यवामविनिर्गतपारास(श)रसगोत्रपंचप्रवरक्षं(च्छं)दो-
गशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणदोनाकाय गो-
- 22 सरणसु(सू)नवे अशपंच^२ ५ खडुपक्षिकाग्रा[म^१][वि[नि^{*}]]र्गतमौहृत्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)-
प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणअनन्तादित्या-
- 23 य सुरादित्यसु(सू)नवे अ-

Second Plate

- 24 शत्रय २ उत्तरकुलदेशान्तःपातिपौष्टरिकमष्टग्रामविनिर्गतगाग्यसगोत्रपंचप्र-
वरक्ष(च्छं)दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणवाम-
- 25 नद्या(स्त्रा)भिने दीक्षितहरिसूनवे अशत्रयं ३ उभ्वराचरविनिर्गत अगस्त्यस-
गोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्म-

^१ Read अगाष्टक^२ Read अगपंचक

- 26 ए आतुकाय रिसिउलसूनवे अंशमेकं १ मध्यदेशान्तःपातिमैत्रेयसगोत्रल(त्रि)-
प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणपुरपोत्तमाय
- 27 लीहासूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४ मधुपालिकाग्रामविनिर्गतकास्य(श्य)पसगोत्रल(त्रि)-
प्रवरक्षं(च्छं)दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणगोविन्दशा(स्वा)भिने देवशा(स्वा)मि-
- 28' सूनवे अंशत्रयं ३ अवणभद्रविनिर्गतवत्ससगोत्रपञ्चप्रवरव(व)हृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)-
ह्मणसिंहटाय भिनानंदसूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४
- 29 शावधिकान्तःपातिदुर्दुरिकाग्रामविनिर्गतभार्गवसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरक्षं(च्छं)दोगशाखिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणस(शं)कराय देवादित्यसूनवे अंशद्वय
- 30 २ सावधि[का]देशान्तःपातिमितिलपाटकविनिर्ग(गी)तपराशरसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरवा-
जिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमधुमथनाय अ-
- 31 चलसूनवे अंशद्वयं २ खेडापालिकाविनिर्गतभौनिसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्य-
न्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणस्वयंतपाय श्रीनिवास-
- 32 सूनवे अंशत्रयं ३ खेटकाविनिर्गतभारद्वाजसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरव(व)हृचशाखिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणनेनेयकाय मधुसूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४ आ-
- 33 नोहभद्रग्रामविनिर्गतभार्गवसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणजाम-
टाय विष्णुसूनवे अंशद्वयं २ तथा तस्यैव भा-
- 34 त्रे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणदेदेकाय अंशद्वयं २ सोपुरविनिर्गतशांडिल्यसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरकौथु-
भशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणआवस्थिकस(शं)र्वदेवाय लीहटसून-
- 35 वे अंशद्वयं २ खर्जूरिकाग्रामविनिर्गतमाहुलसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरक्षं(च्छं)दोगशाखिने
ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणवराहाय श्रीधरसूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४
- 36 दपुरविनिर्गतवाराहसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरव(व)हृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणआशादित्याय
माहुलसूनवे अंशत्रयं ३ [ला]टदेशविनिर्गत-
- 37 कास्य(श्य)पसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमाइलाय हरिसूनवे
अंशमेकं १ राज[कीयग्राम]विनिर्गतवत्स-
- 38 गोनपंचप्रवरक्षं(च्छं)दोगशा[खि]ने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणदेवादित्याय लीलादित्यसूनवे
अंशद्वयं २ लाटदेशान्तःपातिनान्दिपुरविनिर्गतभार-
- 39 द्वाजसगोत्रल(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभुंजालाय इ(ई)श्वरसूनवे
अंशद्वय २ अवणभद्रविनिर्गतवत्स-
- 40 सगोत्रपञ्चप्रवरवाजिमाध्या(ध्य)न्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणामात(त्य?)गुणाकरसु(स्)न-
वे अंशत्रयं ३ एवमसुना क्रमेण उ-

[illegible]

- 41 परिलिखितग्रामोयं उपरिलिखितब्राह्मणभ्यः पदं(द्विं)शतिभ्यः मातापित्रोरात्म-
नश्च पुण्ययशोभिद्वयैः ५६४फल-
42 मङ्गीकृत्याचन्द्रार्काण्यवक्षितिसमकालं परया भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्वकं प्रति-
पादित इति भत्वा तंनि(तन्नि)वासिप-
43 द्वि(द्व)किलजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगः(ग)कारहिरण्यादिकं सर्वमात्राश्रयविवे-
यैर्भूत्वा सर्वदा एतेषां उ-

Third Plate

- 44 परिलिखितनिव(व)वक्रमेण समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बु(बु)द्ध्याऽश्म-
दंशजैरन्यैरपि भा-
45 विभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मदायोय(य)मनुमन्तव्यः ॥ पालनीयश्च । उक्तञ्च ।
व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
46 सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह
दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानीनि धर्मार्थय-
47 शस्कराणि [1*] निर्माय्वान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम शा(सा)धुः पुन-
रा[द]दीत ॥ अस्मत्कुलजाममुदारमुदाहरञ्जि-
48 न्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमीदनीय [1*] लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्तलिलबुहु(बुहु)दचंचलाया दानं
फलं परयशःपरिपालनं
49 च [1*] सर्वानितान्भावितः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं
धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां
50 काले काले पालनीयो भवञ्जिः ॥ इति कमलदलावुवि(स्ववि)न्दुलीलां
श्रियम्-
51 तुचिन्त्य मनुथजीवितञ्च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बु(बु)द्ध्या नहि पुरैः
पर-
52 कीर्तयो विलोभ्याः ॥ इति सम्ब(संव)त् १०३८ द्विषाढशुदि १० स्वय-
मात्रा-
53 दापकश्चात् श्रीरुद्रादित्यः ॥ स्वहस्तोय श्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवस्य ॥

C —Plates of Vākpatī (Muñja) V S 1043

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 श्री[1*] याः स्फूर्जत्फलवृद्धिपानलमिलद्धूम(स्त्र)प्रभाः प्रीतिस्मद्धीव(व)वशशंकको-
टिघटिता याः

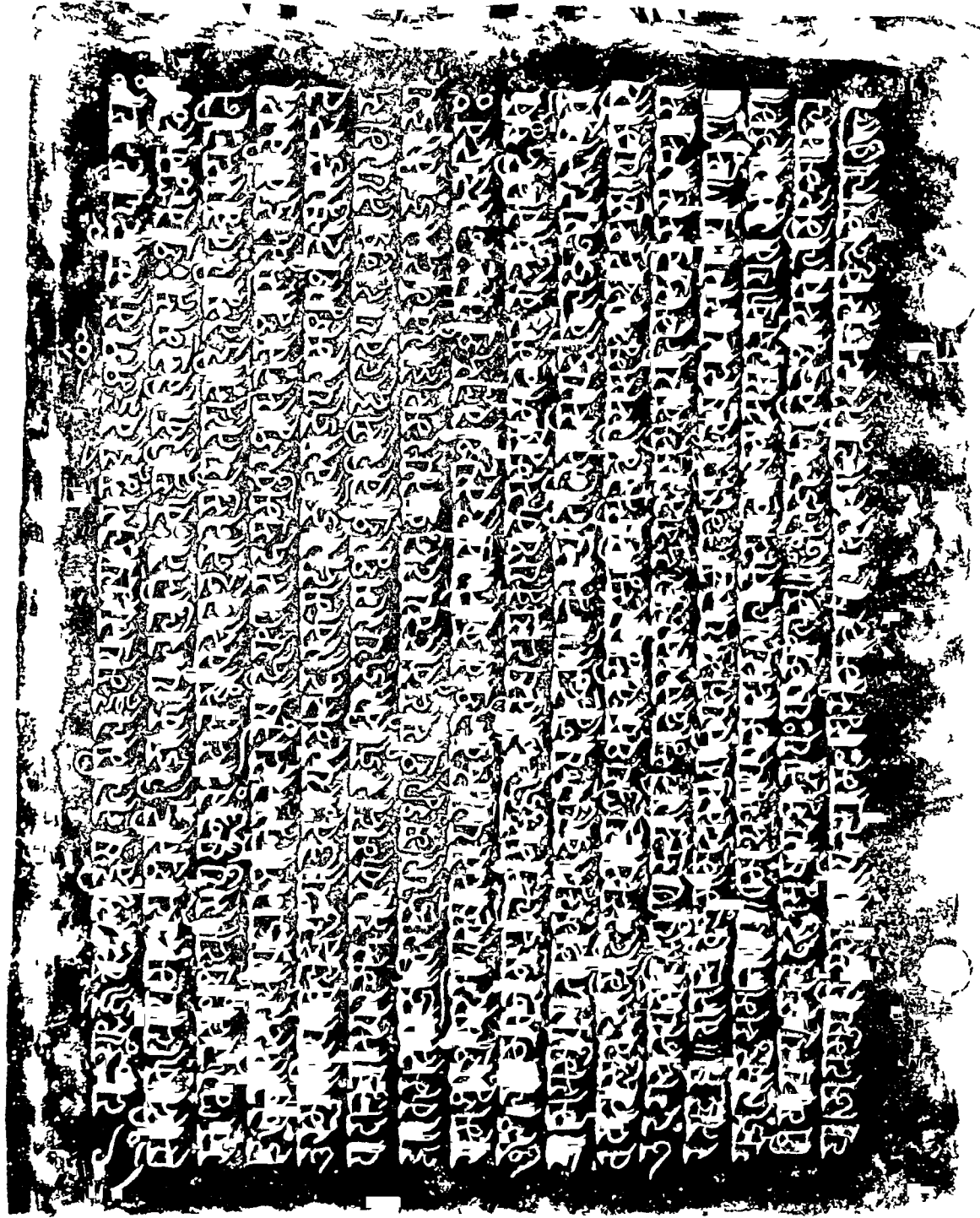
- 2 सैहिकेयोपमाः । याश्चचन्द्रिजाकपोललुलिताः कस्तूरिकाविभ्रमास्ताः श्रीकण्ठ-
काठी-
- 3 रकण्ठरुचयः श्रेयाभि पुष्पान्तु वः ॥ यत्तन्मीवदनेन्दुना न सुष्ठित(तं)
यन्नाद्रित वारिधेर्वीरा यन्न नि-
- 4 जेन नाभिसरसीपद्मेन गान्ति(न्ति) गतं । यच्छेपाद्विफणामहममधुरश्यामैर्न
चाश्वारौ(सि)तं तद्राधाविरहा-
- 5 तुरं सुररिपोर्वैल्लक्ष्यः पातु वः ॥ परममहारकमहारानाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकण्ठ-
राजदेव-
- 6 पादानुध्यातपरममहारकमहारानाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवैरिमिह(सिंह)देवपादानुध्यातप-
रमम-
- 7 हारकमहारानाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमौयकदेवपादानुध्यातपरममहारकमहारानाधिराजप-
- 8 रमेश्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवापराभिधानश्रीवाक्कातिराजदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः
- 9 कुशली ॥ अवन्तीमण्डले श्रीमदुज्जयनीविषयपूर्वपत्रकमम्ब(म्)ध्यमानमपुक्तभुक्त(क्तो)
काडहिच्छका-¹
- 10 ग्रामे समुपगतामसस्तराजपुरुषान्त्रा(न्त्रा)ध्वणोत्तराप्रतिनिवासिपदकालजनपदादीच
वो(वो)-
- 11 धयत्यस्तु वः मन्वि(संवि)दितं यथा । पूर्णपयकावास्तितेरस्मामिभ्विचत्वारिभ-
(रिंश)सम्ब(संव)त्सरसहस्रे² माघे भासि
- 12 उदगयनपर्वणि । पुष्पाभ्रभरिति भ्रात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवत(न्त)मन्वि(न्वि)का-
पतिमभ्यर्थ्य स(सं)सारस्यामा-
- 13 रता दृष्टा ॥ वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यभापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपसंगः ।
प्रोणास्तृणा-
- 14 अजलवि(वि)दु(न्दु)सभा नराणा धर्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने ॥ भ्रम
त्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधाराभिमां
- 15 त्रिय । प्राप्य वे न ददुस्तेषां पचात्तापः परम्फलम् ॥ इति जगतो
विनश्वरं सकलमिदमाकल-
- 16 व्य । अयमुपरि समारोपितग्रामः । स्वसीमावर्णगोचरगोयूतिपय(र्य)न्तः स-
हस्रमालाकुल-

¹ The reading appears to be *Kaḍahisthala* —Ed]

² Read चित्रवारिदधिके सवत्सरसहस्रे

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GAONRI
C—PLATES OF VAKPATI-MUNJA V S 1043

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Second Plate

- 17 अतुष्ककटवि[शु]द्धः समस्तभागभोगकरिहिरयादायसमेतः ॥ मगधातः/पातिकाणी-
पात्रासविनिर्ग-
- 18 ताय । स(सं)कृतिमगोत्राय व(व)हुचे आह्ला(श्वता)यनसा(शा)खाय । त्रिप्रव-
राय । दीक्षितलोकानन्दसु[ता]य । ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण-
- 19 सर्वानन्दाय । पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिहृदये अष्टफलमङ्गीकृत्याचन्द्रार्का-
ण्यवक्षितिसम-
- 20 कालं परया भक्त्या सा(शा)सनेनोदकपूर्वस(र्व)संप्रतिपादित इत्यवेत्यात्रत्यज-
नपदैर्यथा(थो)त्यद्यमानमा-
- 21 गमोगादिकामात्राश्रयविधेयैर्भू(भू)त्वा सदा सर्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं ॥ सामा-
न्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुद्ध्या(बुद्ध्या) ।
- 22 अस्मदस(श)जेरन्यैश्च भाविभोक्तृभिरस्त्वदत्तधर्मदायोयमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥
व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा
- 23 भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलं ॥ यानोह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रै-
- 24 र्दानानि धर्माध्यायशस्त्राणि । निर्मात्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि की नाम साधुः
पुनराददीत ॥ सर्वानेता-
- 25 न्भाविनः पार्थिवेद्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते राममद्रः । सामान्योयन्मर्मसिर्तुर्नृपाणां
काले काले
- 26 पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ अस्मत्पुलकामसुदारमुदाहरद्भिरेन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोद-
नीयम् ।
- 27 लक्ष्म्यास्ताडित्सलिलबुद्बुदचंचलाया दान फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च ॥
इति कामलदलाभेवुवि(स्वुवि)-
- 28 न्दुलोलं त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुजजीवितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्ध्या(बुद्ध्या)
नहि पुरैः परकीर्त-
- 29 यो विलोप्याः ॥ सम्ब(संव)त् १०४३ माघवदि १३ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥

No 18 —MALLAR PLATES OF MAHA-SIVAGUPTA

By PROF V V MIRASHI, M A, AND PANDIT L P PANDEYA

Mallār is a large village with a population of over 2,000 souls, 16 miles south-east of Bilāspur, the headquarters of the Bilāspur District in the Central Provinces. It was an important place in former times as can be judged by the ruins of an old fort near by, with a moat all round and a number of old tanks on all sides. It still contains numerous ruins of old temples as well as Buddhist

and Jain sculptures. Several stone inscriptions have been found there, one of which has been removed to Bilāspur¹ and another has been deposited in the Nāgpur Museum². The place is called Mallāla in these inscriptions. Two more statue inscriptions have been recently discovered at Mallār, one of which is incised in early Brāhmī characters. The present plates were discovered underground near a temple between the village and the fort in August 1936. They were first brought to notice by Mr P. L. Gupta, Joint Secretary of the Mahākōśala Historical Society, Bilāspur, through the courtesy of Mr Sudha Ram, Mālguzar of Mallār and a member of the Bilāspur Local Board, and have since been acquired by Mr K. N. Nagarakatti, I C S, Deputy Commissioner of Bilāspur for the Central Museum, Nāgpur, where they are now deposited.

They are three copper plates of which the first and the third are inscribed on one side and the second on both the sides. Their surface was corroded in some places, but, fortunately, no letter has been lost. The plates have since been cleaned by Mr M. A. Suboor of the Nāgpur Museum, who has kindly supplied us with their ink-impressions. The letters were deeply engraved and show through in many places on the back of the first and the third plate. Each plate measures 8 1/2" in length, 5" in breadth and about 1" in thickness. The middle plate is somewhat thicker than the others. The rims of the plates were not raised, still the inscription is in a good state of preservation. About 1" from the middle of the proper right side of each plate there is a round hole 6" in diameter for the ring which connects it with the other plates of the set. The ends of this ring which is about 4" in thickness and 1 3/4" in diameter are secured below a circular seal 3 5/8" in diameter. The ring was not cut when the plates reached the Nāgpur Museum. The surface of the seal, which is somewhat deeply counter sunk, is divided into three parts. The upper part bears in relief the figure of a couchant bull with a *triśūla* in front. Behind the animal is what looks like a *kaṇḍalū* with something placed on it. Below this comes the legend in two lines, which is separated from the upper device by two horizontal parallel lines. Below the legend is shown a large full blown lotus flanked by two leaves one on either side. In form, fabric and disposition of the device and the legend, the seal of the present plates resembles those of the Rājim³ and Balōdī⁴ plates of Tivaraḍṭva and of the plates of 'the kings of Śarabhapura'. The weight of three plates is 123 1/2 *tolas* and that of the seal and the ring 82 1/2 *tolas*.

The record consists of 28 lines, there being seven on each inscribed surface. The letters were neatly written and deeply engraved. Their average size is 1 1/2". The characters are of the box-headed variety and closely resemble those on the Rājim and Balōdī plates of Tivaraḍṭva. These are somewhat more elongated and angular than those of the plates of 'the kings of Śarabhapura' and much more so than those of the plates of the Vākātaka kings Pravarasena II⁵ and Prithviśena II⁶. The only peculiarities worth noticing here are that the length of the medial *i* is denoted by a dot in the circle which denotes its short form, see *gītā*-l 21 and *raishnavī* l 22, the medial *au* is tripartite, see *śauryya* ll 2-3, the right vertical stroke of *ch* and *lh* is lengthened below the rectangle on the left, see, e.g., *chāturdīś*-l 12, *chandr*-ll 13-14, *su(pra)mulhān* ll 7-8, the subscript *r* has in many places the same form as the vowel *ri*, see *śri* and *pitri* both in l 5, the

¹ Now deposited in the Town Hall of Bilāspur. See Hirai, *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (Second Ed.), No. 220.

² Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions* No. 1241. The Ratanpur inscription of Prithviśena II and Brahmadēva (*ibid.*, No. 1240) also seems to have originally come from Mallār for l 22 of it reads मल्लालिखितं लघुवर्णवत् घृणोऽर्द्धां चक्रं ।

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, plate XLV.

⁴ Above, Vol. VII, p. 102.

⁵ See, e.g., the Thākurdīyā plates of Mahā Pravararāja, above, Vol. XXII, pp. 16ff.

⁶ See, e.g., *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, plate XXXV.

⁷ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 267ff.

final form of *t* occurs in ll 19, 24 and 25, punctuation is denoted by a vertical line hooked at the top. The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end the whole record is in prose. Unlike the charters of Tivarādēva¹ it contains no expressions in common with the formal portion of the grants of the 'kings of Śarabhapura'. The inscription is somewhat carelessly written. The writer has for instance used in many places the short for the long form of medial *r* (see, e g, *lshutśa* and *mahamya* in l 1, *kuśah* in l 5, etc.) and, in some places of medial *u* also (see *sunu*, l 4, *suryya* l 23, etc.), the *anusvāra*, *visarga* and final consonants are omitted in many cases, see *sapādita* l 2, *mahābhyudaya* l 3 and *purushā* l 9, the unaspirated consonant is used for the aspirated one in—*palam* and *vice versā* in *abhish-ītham* both in l 20. The *anusvāra* is wrongly changed to *m* before *v* in *paradattām=vā* l 27 and to *n* before a sibilant in *vanśa* l 4, *Taradanśaka* l 11 and *nṛśansāt* l 19, cases of wrong *sandhi* occur in *anyānś=cha* l 8, *uchchhriya* l 21 and *dānāt=srēyō* l 28, etc. As regards orthographical peculiarities sanctioned by Sanskrit grammar we may notice that the consonant preceding and following *r* is doubled in some cases, e g, *sauryya* ll 2 3, *sarvva*-l 8, *pittrō* l 14, *ch=āitra* l 22, etc.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Mahā Śivaguptarāja, the son of the illustrious Harshadēva², who was born in the lunar dynasty and was a most devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva). They record the king's donation of the village Kailāsapura in the *bhōga* or subdivision of Taradamsāka to the community of venerable monks from the four quarters residing in the small monastery at Taradamsāka, which had been constructed by Alakā, the wife of Kōradīva³. The gift was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of Āshādha at the request of the king's maternal uncle the illustrious Bhāskaravarman.

This Mahā Śivaguptarāja, the son of Harshagupta, is evidently identical with the homonymous king, also known as Bālārjuna and mentioned in several stone inscriptions at Sirpur (ancient Śrīpura) in the Raipur District⁴. From one of these edited by R. B. Hiralal⁵ we learn that his mother Vāsātā was a daughter of king Sūryavarman of the Varman dynasty of Magadha. As shown elsewhere,⁶ this Sūryavarman is probably identical with the prince Sūryavarman, a son of the Maukharī king Īśānavarman, whose Harāhā stone inscription⁷ is dated in (Mālava) Samvat 611 (A. D. 555). Bhāskaravarman who is called in the present plates the maternal uncle of Mahā Śivagupta was, thus, a son of Sūryavarman. The name of Sūryavarman is omitted in the later Maukharī genealogy and it is therefore supposed that he must have predeceased his father⁸ or if he came to the throne he left no male issue. The present inscription shows, however, that his son Bhāskaravarman lived to a fairly advanced age. Was Sūryavarman, then, a younger son of Īśānavarman who consequently never came to the throne? Or if he succeeded his father as implied by his title *nṛpa* in the Sirpur stone inscription of Vāsātā, was his son Bhāskaravarman prevented from succeeding him in consequence of a war of succession? These questions cannot yet be answered in the absence of sufficient evidence.

¹ See, above, Vol XXII, p 17, n 5

² The king is named Harshagupta in the legend on the seal

³ The text reads कौटिल्यालकाकारित but as this gives no satisfactory meaning, we propose to read

कौटिल्यालकाकारित

⁴ See Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, Nos 1654 and 1655. Also Hiralal's *List of C. P. Inscriptions*, Nos 173 and 184

⁵ The Lakshmana Temple Inscription, above, Vol XI, pp 184ff

⁶ See Thakurdiya plates of Mahā Pravaraṛāja, above, Vol XXII, p 19.

⁷ Above, Vol XIV, p. 115.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p 111

From the Jaunpur¹ and Harābhā stone inscriptions we learn that the Maukharī kings Īśvara varman and his son Īśānavarman ruled the Āndhra country² and defeated the ruling king. As the country of Daśaśina Kōśala (modern Chhattīsgarh), where the early Sōmayamśī kings were ruling, is contiguous to the Āndhra country, it is not unlikely that the marriage of the Maukharī princess Vāsatī with king Harshagupta of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala had a political significance. It may be noted in this connection that Udayana the earliest known king of the Sōmayamśī dynasty was ruling in Central India, as a stone inscription found at Kālāñjara³ records his construction of a temple of Vishnu, evidently at Kālāñjara. It is not unlikely that he was a feudatory of the then Maukharī Emperor and either he or his sons invaded Dakṣiṇa Kōśala or Chhattīsgarh during the campaigns of the Maukharī king Īśavaravarman against the Āndhra king who was probably a prince of the Vishnukundin family. In any case we find Udayana's grandsons Nannadēva and Īśānadēva firmly established in Chhattīsgarh. A mutilated stone inscription in the temple of Lakhanāśvar at Kharōd in the Bilāspur District records Īśānadēva's gift of some villages evidently to the god enshrined in that temple⁴. Īśānadēva's nephew Tivradēva is known from two sets of plates found at Rājim in the Raipur District and Balōdā in the Phuljhar Zamindari in the old Sambalpur and present Raipur District, both the places being included in Chhattīsgarh. The villages mentioned in the Balōdā plates cannot be traced but those named in the Rājim plates can be identified in the vicinity of Rājim⁵. As stated before, Tivradēva's grand nephew Mahā Śivagupta Bālārjuna, the donor of the present plates, is known from several stone inscriptions at Sirpur. The find spots of these inscriptions and the identification of the villages mentioned in them clearly show that these Sōmayamśī kings were at first ruling in the Western parts of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. It is not therefore unlikely that the Maukharī kings Īśavaravarman and Īśānavarman were helped in their southern campaigns by these Sōmayamśī princes of Daśaśina Kōśala. This also accounts for the Vishnukundin king Mādhavavarman I's invasion and occupation of the capital of Trivara (i.e., Tivradēva) as stated in his Pulōmbūru and Īpūr plates⁶. The political alliance between the Maukharī and Sōmayamśī houses seems to have been cemented subsequently by the marriage of Vāsatī and Harshagupta.

There is one more stone inscription of this dynasty which is said to have been found at Bhāṇḍak outside the limits of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, i.e., the stone inscription of Bhavadēva Ranaśāsin, now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum⁷. But one cannot be certain about its find spot, for, as pointed out by R. B. Hirālāl, no accurate record has been kept of the provenance of inscriptions collected before the establishment of the Nāgpur Museum. Besides, this inscription is fragmentary. The extant portion unfortunately contains no place name, otherwise it may have helped us in tracing its find-spot. We have therefore to rely on conjecture in this respect. In 1873 while Cunningham was at Bhāṇḍak he was informed that "an inscription on a long red slab had been taken to Nāgpur during the time of the Rājī about 40, or 50 years previously by Wilkinson Sahib"⁸. Cunningham

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 228ff.

² If the Sūlikas over whom Īśānavarman won a victory are identified with the Chōlās, the Maukharī king must have penetrated much further to the south.

³ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 10 and plate IX, above Vol. IV, p. 257, note 4.

⁴ Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1651. In an inscription at Ārang, the name of Ranaśāsin occurs (see Hirālāl's *List*, No. 183), but it cannot be said if he is identical with Bhavadēva Ranaśāsin, or with the brother of Mahā Śivagupta Bālārjuna mentioned in the Sirpur stone inscription (above, Vol. XI, p. 191).

⁵ The Rājim plates record the grant of Pimpāripadraka in the Pīnābhūma bhūmī (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 295). These places have not yet been identified, but the former is certainly Pīprōd, 3 miles north-west of Rājim and the latter may be Pōndh 6 miles north of Rājim.

⁶ See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 19ff.

⁷ Edited by Kielhorn in *J. R. A. S.* (1905), pp. 617ff.

⁸ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 127.

conjectured that the stone slab containing the inscription of Bhavadēva Rānakēśarin must have been the one removed by Mr Wilkinson from Bhāṇḍak on the following grounds (1) It is a long slab just as described to him by the people of Bhāṇḍak and it is of the very same fine grained reddish stone as that of the Wījāsan hill at Bhāṇḍak, (2) Dr Stevenson, who has translated it, received a copy of it from Major Wilkinson who was a resident at the Nāgpur Court and (3) the inscription records that it was attached to the house of Sugata (Buddha) and therefore it probably belonged to Bhāṇḍak which has ancient Buddhist caves Cunningham's opinion was subsequently endorsed by R B Hiralal¹ and we find the stone inscription now relegated to Bhāṇḍak² None of the arguments, however, on which Cunningham's opinion was based appear to be convincing Inscribed slabs of fine-grained reddish sandstone have been found in Chhattisgarh also The Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I³ and the Kosgaon stone inscription of Vāharēndra,⁴ which are now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum, are incised on such slabs As for the statement that such a slab was taken away from Bhāṇḍak we may point out that it may relate to another inscription, viz, 'the Nāgpur Museum *prasasti* of the rulers of Mālwa,' as has already been conjectured in the second edition of the *Central Provinces Gazetteer*⁵ (published in 1870) This latter inscription was translated in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1843 and this date, curious as it might appear, roughly corresponds to the time when according to the account of both the writer in the *Gazetteer* and Cunningham an inscription was removed from Bhāṇḍak to Nāgpur There are, again, some ancient ruins of Buddhist temples and sculptures at Ārang and Sirpur in Chhattisgarh,⁶ and our present inscription, which records the donation of a village to a Buddhist monastery, shows that Buddhism continued to flourish in Chhattisgarh for at least three generations after Bhavadēva Rānakēśarin What is more, if we except this doubtful case of the so called Bhāṇḍak inscription, we find no other instance of an inscription of the Sōmavamśi dynasty discovered in ancient Vīdarbhā in which as shown elsewhere,⁷ the whole country from the western boundary of modern Berār to the eastern one of the Marāthī district of Bhandārā in C P was included This country was in the beginning of the sixth century under the direct rule of the Vākātakas Harishēna, the last known Vākātaka king, mentions the king of Kōśala among his feudatories⁸ If the period A D 530-550 assigned

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XXXVII, p 208, note 20, Vol LXII, p 163, Hiralal's *List*, p 13

² See Bhandarkar's *List*, No 1650

³ Above, Vol I pp 32 ff

⁴ Hiralal's *List*, No 210

⁵ 'The date of its (i.e., of the Nāgpur Museum *prasasti*) translation coincides curiously with the time at which an inscription was removed by the Nāgpur Rājā from the famous Snake temple at Bhāṇḍak in the Chāṇḍa District' *C P Gazetteer* (Second Edition) Introduction p liv Rai Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally relegated this *prasasti* to Bilhāri in the Jubbulpur District, because the name of the village Mōkhalapāṭaka granted by it sounds like Dhāṅgatapāṭaka, Khailapāṭaka, etc., mentioned in the Bilhāri stone inscription (see his *List* fn on p 1) But no such name can be found in the list of villages in the Jubbulpore District, while we have been able to trace one closely resembling it in the Chāṇḍa District (viz, Mōkhara, 50 miles east of Bhāṇḍak) Vyapura, the name of the *mandala*, in which it was included, may be represented by Wurgaon near Vairāgarh, 30 miles north east of Mōkhara These identifications would show that the *prasasti* originally came from the Chāṇḍa District For a Paramāra record of a slightly earlier date, found still further to the south, see the Jainad inscription describing the victories of Jagaddēva, a son of Udayāditya (*Annual Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Survey* 1927-1928, pp 23-24 and above, Vol XXII, pp 54-63)

⁶ See Hiralal's *List*, No 184

⁷ Above, Vol XXII, pp 169 and 211 It may be noted in this connection that the *Gaṇēśa Purāṇa* (*krīḍā Phandā, adhyāya* 26, śl 2) mentions the town Ādīśhā (modern Ādāsā near Saoner in the Nāgpur District) as situated in Vīdarbhā This clearly shows that the Wardhā was not the eastern boundary of ancient Vīdarbhā as it is of modern Berār

⁸ *A S W I*, Vol IV, pp 124 ff

to Tivradīva in the article on the Thākurdīyā plates¹ is correct, an inscription of his predecessor is not likely to have been found at Bhāndak in the heart of the Vākātaka territory. We have, therefore, to conclude that the stone inscription of Bhavadīva Rāṇakēśarin must have been found somewhere in Dakṣiṇa Kōśala or Chhattīgarh and not at Bhāndak in ancient Vīdarbhā. When Kierhorn edited the inscription in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, he was informed that the inscription was found at Ratanpur,² but this information also was probably incorrect, for the present Ratanpur was founded by Rāṇadīva I of the Kalachuri dynasty in the eleventh century A.D.³ What seems to have happened is that the stone inscription was first removed to Ratanpur from some place in Chhattīgarh and was later transferred to Nāgpur where it was recorded to have come from Ratanpur.⁴

It has been shown elsewhere on palaeographical and epigraphical evidence that Tivradīva flourished from circa A.D. 530 to 550. His grand nephew Mahī Sivagupta Bālārjuna will have to be placed in the first half of the seventh century A.D. Either he or his successor must have been the ruling king when Yuan Chwang visited the capital of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. Though the present plates do not mention any place of issue, we know that Śrīpura in the Raipur District continued to be the capital of Sōmavamsī kings at least from the time of Tivradīva⁵ to that of Mahī Sivagupta Bālārjuna.⁶ It would therefore be interesting to see how far Yuan Chwang's description of the capital of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala suits Śrīpura.

Several scholars have attempted in the past to locate the capital of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. Ferriusson and Grant identified it with Wairīgarh,⁷ while Cunningham took it to be Chīndā.⁸ But, as pointed out by R. B. Hirralal, 'what is missing at both these places is any trace of remains of the Buddhist monasteries and temples which Yuan Chwang so prominently mentioned'.⁹ R. B. Hirralal himself at first identified it with Bhāndak,¹⁰ for he thought that the country of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala extended in the west to the eastern boundary of modern Berār. He believed with Cunningham that the stone inscription of Bhavadīva Rāṇakēśarin originally belonged to a Buddhist cave at Bhāndak and following Kierhorn he held that a line of Buddhist kings belonging to the Pinduvamsī line ruled in that place down to the 9th century A.D. Later on, after weighing all evidence R. B. Hirralal concluded that 'both the places (Śrīpur and Bhāndak) seem at present to have an equal claim to the honour of a visit from the great pilgrim of China, but Bhāndak seems to possess more tangible evidence than Śrīpur'.¹¹ But, as pointed out above, Bhāndak was included in ancient Vīdarbhā and not in Kōśala and must have been under the direct rule of Pulakēśin II, who, in the Aihole inscription, is called the lord of 'three Mahārāshtras comprising 99,000 villages'.¹² One of these Mahārāshtras must have been ancient Vīdarbhā, since it is not separately mentioned in the Aihole inscription. From the same inscription we learn that Pulakēśin did not annex Kōśala but only exacted submission from the ruling king Yuan Chwang.

¹ Above, Vol. LXII, p. 19.

² *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, p. 618.

³ See the Ratanpur inscription of Jājñadīva I, above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

⁴ A similar thing seems to have happened in the case of the Ratanpur inscription of Prithivīdīva II and Brahmadīva, which originally seems to have belonged to Mallār. See above p. 114, n. 2.

⁵ Both the Rājūm and Balōdā plates of Tivradīva are issued from Śrīpura.

⁶ As stated above, there are several stone inscriptions of the reign of this king at Śrīpur.

⁷ *J. R. A. S.* (1875), p. 260.

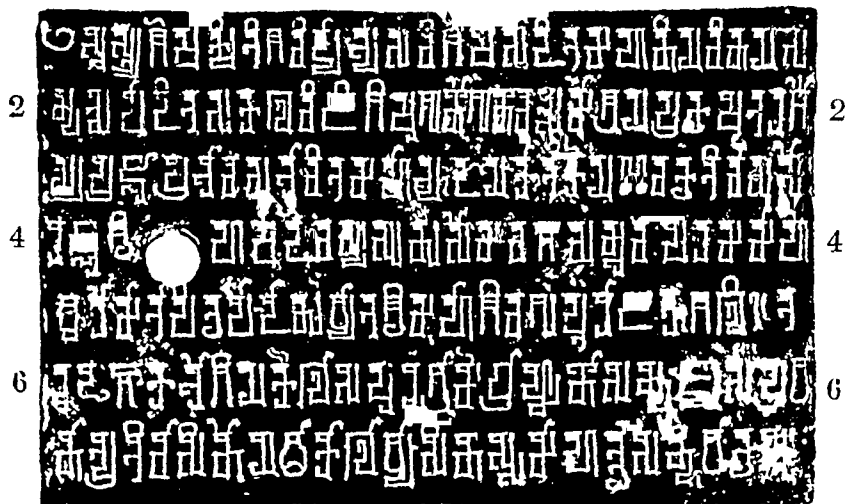
⁸ Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (1924), p. 596.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. LXII, p. 163.

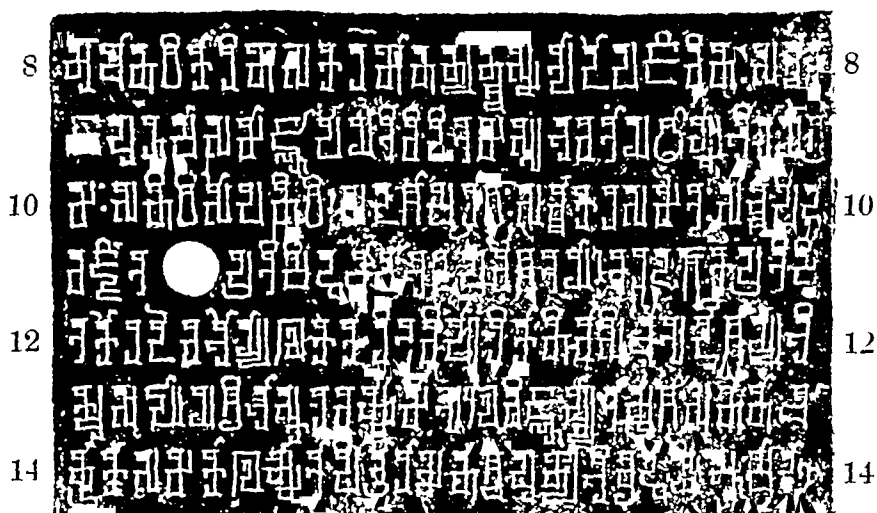
¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 208, note 10.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. LXII, p. 166.

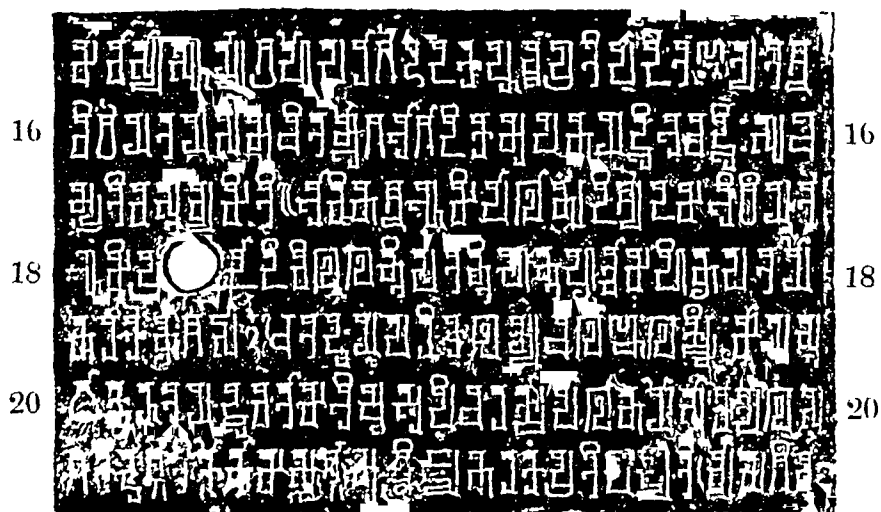
¹² Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

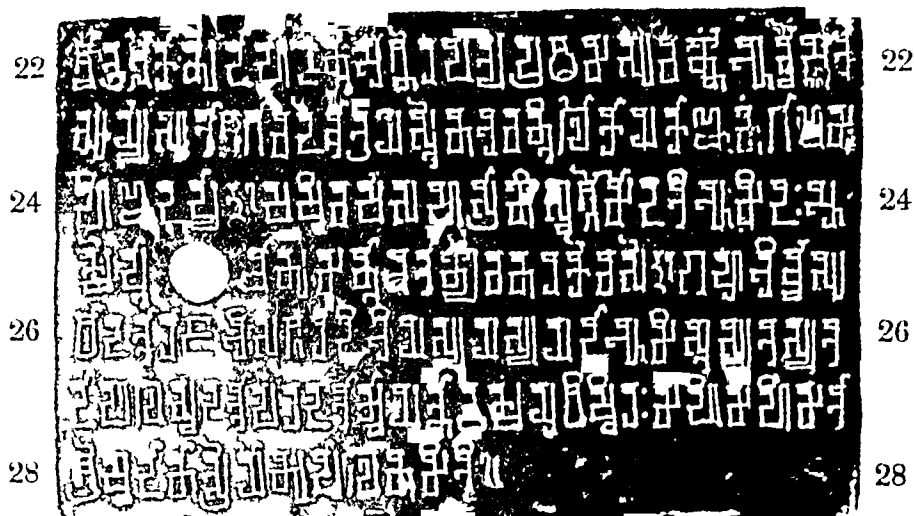


11, a

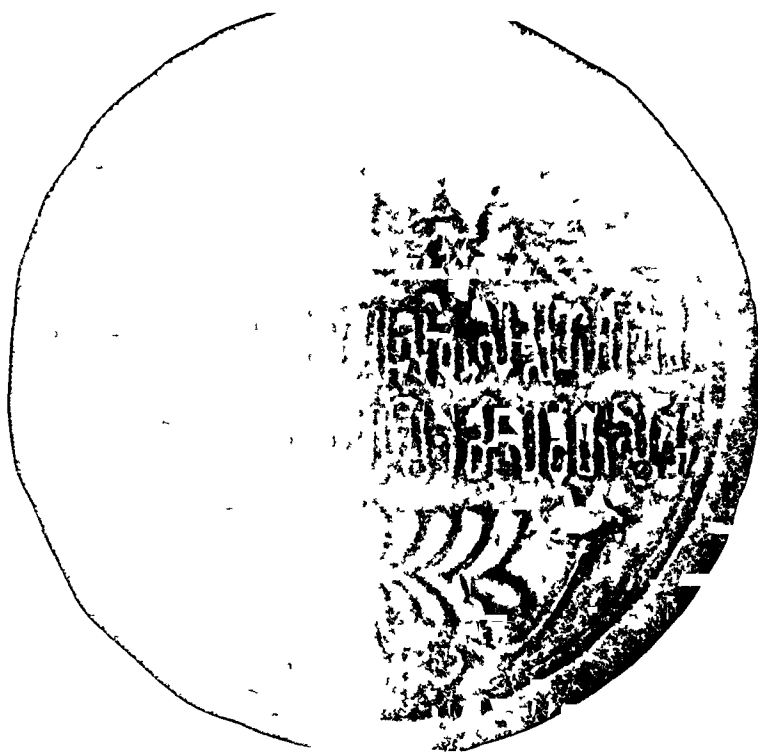


11, b





Seal—From a photograph



ACTUAL SIZE

also mentions the king of Kōsala as different from Pulakēśin II whom he calls the king of Mahārāshtra So the capital of Kōsala cannot be located at Bhāndak

From Yuan Chwang's account we learn that 'from Kalinga he went north west by hill and wood for above 1800 *li* to Kōsala' The king was a Kshatriya by birth, a Buddhist in religion and of noted benevolence To the south west of this country, above 300 *li* from the capital was a mountain called *Po lo mo lo li li*' From Kōsala he travelled South, through a forest, for above 900 *li* to the *An to lo* (Andhra) country, the capital of which was *Ping chi-lo*¹ This description suits Sirpur better than any other place in Chhattisgarh Sirpur lies north-west of Mukhalangam on the left bank of the Vamsadhārā, 18 miles from Parlākimedi in the Ganjām District, which is now generally taken to be the ancient capital of Kalinga The reigning king, who was either Mahā Śivagupta Bālārjuna or his successor, was no doubt a Kshatriya, as the Sōmavamśi kings traced their descent from Pāndu, the father of the Epic heroes Pāndavas Mahā Śivagupta was a devotee of Śiva,² but the present grant shows that he patronised Buddhism also and the same can probably be said of his successor The mountain *Po lo mo lo li li*, which has been rendered by *Bhramara giri*, may refer to Bhamgāra Pavvato (Skt *Bhringāra parvata*) which is mentioned in an ancient Brāhmī stone inscription at Ārang³ It may be noted in this connection that Ārang lies south-west of Sirpur as required by the Chinese pilgrim's description If *Ping chi lo*, the capital of the Āndhra country, is identified with Vēngī (which was then the capital of the Eastern Chālukyas), it will be seen to lie almost due south of Sirpur Sirpur, therefore, answers best to the bearings and other description of the capital of Kōsala in Yuan Chwang's account It is true that the distance of Sirpur from Mukhalangam, Ārang and Vēngī does not exactly agree with Yuan Chwang's account,⁴ but this is not the only case in which the Chinese pilgrim's distances are found to be incorrect We have, therefore, no hesitation in identifying the capital of Kōsala in the seventh century A D with Sirpur in the Raipur District

The present grant is not dated, but as stated above it can be assigned to the first half of the seventh century A D It records the donation of a village on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon day of Āshādha Taking the month to be *purnimānta* we find that there was a solar eclipse in Āshādha four times in the period A D 600 to 650, viz, A D 606, 616, 633 and 643 Of these A D 633 and 643 would perhaps be too late dates for Mahā Śivagupta Bālārjuna So A D 606 or 616 may be the date of the present grant It does not, of course, admit of verification

Unlike his ancestors Tivaraḍēva⁵ and Harshadēva⁶ who are known to be devotees of Vishnu, Mahā Śivagupta Bālārjuna was a worshipper of Śiva The seal of the present grant has consequently Nandī, the emblem of Śiva, and not Garuda, that of Vishnu, who figures on the seal of the Rājūm and Balōdā plates of Tivaraḍēva It may again be noted that like the afore mentioned grants of Tivaraḍēva, the present inscription does not mention the title *Trīkaling ādhīpati* which is met with in many records of the later kings of the Sōmavamśi dynasty who ruled over the eastern parts of Dakshina Kōsala

¹ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol II, pp 200, 209

² For a similar discrepancy in Yuan Chwang's account, see his description of Harsha, who from his copper plate inscriptions and Bāna's *Harshacharita* is known to have been a devotee of Śiva

³ Hiralal's *List*, No 183 *Bhringāra* which means a cricket is after all not very different from *bhramara* Or was it some mountain in the *Bhramara lōya mandala* in the Bastar State? (Above, Vol IX, pp 179 f) There is, again, a hill named Bhamragarh in the Ahiri Zamindari of the Chāndā District, which also lies South West of Sirpur, but the distance is more than 160 miles

⁴ Sirpur is about 275 miles as the crow flies from Mukhalangam and about 300 miles from Vēngī These distances will be somewhat increased if the inevitable windings of the road are taken into consideration

⁵ Tivaraḍēva calls himself *Parama Vaishnava* in his plates

⁶ See v 20 of the Sirpur Lakshmana Temple Inscription, above, Vol XI, p 192

As for the geographical names occurring in the present plates, *Taradambaka bhōga* in which the donated village was situated is probably identical with the *Talahāri mandala* mentioned in several later inscriptions.¹ From one of these² we learn that the *Talahāri mandala* included Mallīla (modern Mallār, where the plates were found). The Buddhist images at present deposited in Mallār are said to have been brought from Jantpur, a village about a mile to the north of Mallār. The site of ancient Taradambaka where the Buddhist monastery was situated is, therefore, probably marked by the modern village Jantpur.³ As regards *Kailāsapura* granted by the present charter, there is now no village of that name in the Bilāspur and Jantpur tahsils, but there are several of the name Keslā, which may be taken to correspond to ancient *Kailāsapura*. Of them the one which is nearest to Mallār is Keslā, about 8 miles to the south east, which contains ruins of an old temple.

We edit the inscription from the original plates

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 श्रीम् स्वस्वयेपचिति(ती)गविद्याभ्यासविशेषासादितमन्त्रि(नी)यविनयस-
- 2 म्यत्त(त्त)पादितराकालविजिगी(गी)पुगुणो गुणवत्स[मा]न्यप्रकष्टतरणो-
- 3 र्थप्रज्ञाप्रभावत(स)भावितमन्त्राभ्युदय[] कार्ति(र्त्ति)केय इव कृति(त्ति)वासनो
- 4 राज्ञ[.] जि(ञ्जी)हर्षदेवस्य सु(स)नु[.] सोमवङ्गसम्भव परमभाने-
- 5 श्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यात[] त्रि(ञ्जी)मरागिवगुमराज[] कुमलि(नी) ॥⁶ त-
- 6 रङ्गकाभोगि(गी)यकैलासपुरासि ब्राह्मणा[न्] सम्पूज्य सप्रधा-
- 7 नाप्रतिवासिनो यथाकालाध्यामिनस्समाहर्तृमन्त्रिघाटपु(प्र)-

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 सुखानविकारिण[.] सवारणानन्या⁹द्यान्मत्पादोपजि(जी)विन. सर्व[रा]-
- 9 जपुसपा[न्] समाज्ञापयति [.] विदितमन्तु भवता यथाभामिरय ग्रा-
- 10 मः सनिर्धि[.] सोपनिधिः सदग्रापराध सर्वकारममेत सर्वपीडा-
- 11 वर्जित[.] प्रतिपिद्धचाटभटप्रवेगयया ॥¹⁰ तरङ्गका¹¹प्रतिष्ठि-

¹ Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1231, 1232, and 1230

² Ratanpur Inscription of the time of Prithvīdeva II and Brahmadēva. See above p. 114, note 2

³ This name may represent ancient Chrittapura. There is a village named Tarūd 11 miles north east of Mallār and 3 miles south of Alaltūr in which ruins of temples and tanks are to be seen. Its name would not correspond to Taradambaka, but it is not known if it contains any Buddhist remains

⁴ Expressed by a symbol

⁵ Read वय

⁶ The *dandas* are superfluous

⁷ Read तरङ्गका

⁸ Read सप्रधानाप्रतिवासिनो

⁹ Read नन्या¹⁰ [The synthesis requires सपाद⁹ instead of अपपाद⁹ -Ed.]

¹⁰ This *danda* is superfluous

¹¹ Read तरङ्गका

- 12 तपोरदेवभोय्यालक¹कारितविहारिकानिवासिचातुर्दिशार्थमि-
 13 'सुसधाय श्रीभास्वरवर्म्ममातुलविज्ञया ताम्र²शासनेनाच-
 14 न्द्रार्कसमकालम्भातापिचोरात्मनश्च पुण्यामिद्वय³ 1³ आपाढा-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 भावास्यासूर्यगहोपरागे⁴ उदकपूर्वं⁵ प्रतिपादित इत्य⁶तच्च
 16 विधेयतया समुचितम्भोगभागादिकमुपनयन्निभ(र्भ)वन्नि⁷ सुख-
 17 अतिवस्तव्यमिति ॥ भाविनश्च भूमिपालानुदि(हि)श्वेदमभिधीयते [1*]
 18 भूमिप्रदा दिवि ललन्ति पतन्ति हन्ति हत्वा महि(र्ही) नृपतयो
 19 नरके नृशङ्कात्(शसाः) । एतद्व(ह्व)य परिकलय्य चलाञ्च लक्ष्मीः⁸ मायुस्त-
 20 घा क्षुरत्त यज्ञवतामभि(भौ)ष्ठ(ष्टम्)⁷ [॥१॥*] अपि च [1*] रक्षापालनयोस्तोवत्प-
 (तफ)लं सु-
 21 गतिदुर्गति(ती) [1⁻] को नाम स्वर्गमुच्छ्रिय⁸ नरकां प्रतिपद्यते⁹ [॥२*]
 व्यासगीता(ता)-

Thrd Plate

- 22 चात्त लोकानुदाहा(ह)रन्ति [1*] अग्नेरपत्य(त्यं) प्रथम(मं) सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी
 23 सु(सु)र्यसुताश्च गावः [1*] दत्ता¹⁰ ययस्तेन भवन्ति लोका य[1*] काञ्चनं
 गाञ्च म-
 24 हि(ही)ञ्च दद्यात्¹¹ [॥३॥*] पष्टि(ष्टि) वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आ-
 25 क्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्¹² [॥४॥*] बहुभिर्वसु-
 26 घा दत्ता राजमि[1*] सगरादिभिः [1⁻] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य त-
 27 दा फलं [॥५॥*] खदत्ता(त्ता) परदत्ता¹³ यलाद्रच युधिष्ठिर¹⁴ [1*] महि(र्ही)
 महिभता(तां)

¹ Read कीरदेवमाध्यापका

² Read ताम्र-

³ Thus danda is superfluous Read पुण्यामिद्वय आपाढा⁰

⁴ Read 'पराग उदकपूर्वं

⁵ Read इति । अतश्च

⁶ Read लक्ष्मीमायु-

⁷ Metre Vasantatilaka

⁸ Read सुमृज्ज

⁹ Metre Anushubh

¹⁰ Read दत्ताम्वय-

¹¹ Metre Indrayajrū

¹² Metre Anushubh, and of the two following verses

¹³ Read परदत्ता वा

¹⁴ Read युधिष्ठिर

28 येष्ट दानात्से(च्रे)योनुपालनमिति¹ ॥[६॥*]

The Seal. /

1 राज्ञः श्रीरर्पयुसस्य सुनी' मनु'गालिन[1*]

2 मासन मिवयुसस्य स्थितसामुवनस्थिते[॥*]

TRANSLATION

(Ll 19) Om Hail ! The illustrious Mahā Śivaguptarāja, born in the lunar dynasty, a most devout worshipper of Mahāvara (Śiva), who meditates on the feet of his father and mother, who is a son of the king, the illustrious Harshadōva even a Kārttikāya of Śiva, who has acquired all the accomplishments of a conqueror through the perfection of commendable discipline attained by a special study of all the royal lore, who has attained great prosperity by his patronage of accomplished persons, exceedingly great valour, intelligence and majesty, being in good health, issues the following command after honouring the Brāhmanas in the village Kaulāsapura of the Taraḍarīśālā bhūṭa (subdivision), to the inhabitants (of the village) together with their Headman, the Collector, the Receiver and other officers:—he may be in charge (of the village) from time to time, together with their subordinates, as well as to all other royal officials who may be dependant on him—²

(Ll 9-15) Be it known to you that on the (occasion of) an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of Āshādhā, this village together with treasure and deposits, together with (the fines imposed for) the ten offences,³ together with all taxes free from all obstructions (and) not to be entered by the regular or irregular forces, has been granted by Us for as long as the sun and the moon will endure at the request of (Our) maternal uncle Bhārīkara arman (and) for the increase of the religious merit of Our parents and of Ourself, a copper character (and) by (a libation of) water, to the Community of venerable (Buddhist) Monks from the four quarters residing in the small monastery situated in Tardānāśālā, which was caused to be constructed by Alakī, the wife of Kōridā—

(Ll 15-28) Wherefore, offering submit your due taxes, requests, etc. (to the donor), you should dwell happily in this village. And this we say to the future rulers of the land—

(Here follow six benedictory and imprecatory verses.)

The Seal

This is a charter, enduring as long as the world of Śivagupta, the son of the king, the illustrious Harshagupta, who shines by his good qualities.

No 19—THE PURI PLATE OF MADHAWARMAN SANYABHITA.

By PROF. R. G. BASAK, M.A., Ph.D., CALCUTTA

In February-March of 1913 I published an article in Bengali on a single copper plate inscribed on both sides of it, belonging to the reign of King Madhavarman (Sanyabhita, also Śrinivāsa)

¹ Read °pālanam [16*] etc. ||

² Metre Anuṣṭubh

³ Lit. on our feet

⁴ See above, Vol. IX, p. 17 and n. 1

⁵ See, above, Vol. XXII, p. 175, n. 8

of the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Kōṅgōḍa in Kalinga, in the now defunct Bengali monthly magazine, the *Sāhitya* of Calcutta in its Phālguna issue of 1319 B S (pp 889 ff) It was stated in that article that that plate was undoubtedly the second of a set of at least three such plates which contained the whole text of the epigraph and that the other two plates (*viz*, the first and the third) had been missing A hole in the plate indicated that that plate and the other missing ones were originally held together by means of a ring It is not easy to say if any seal with any legend was soldered on to it just as, we are informed, the Buguda plates of the same king possessed Both the late Mr R D Banerji and Mr Vinayaka Misra (*I II Q*, 1931, pp 665 ff) omitted to take notice of that plate or my article on the same, while they dealt with the chronology of the Śailōdbhava kings of Kōṅgōḍa This plate is preserved in the Museum of the Varāndra Research Society, Rājshāhi (Bengal) Luckily enough, last year (1935) my friend Dr N P Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, sent to me the impressions of two plates of the length of the above mentioned (Rājshāhi) plate with marks of ring holes of the same dimension on them, and remarked that those two plates must have belonged to an incomplete set and added that they had recently been acquired by the Indian Museum, Calcutta Dr Chakravarti also said in his letter to me that he had inferred that the incomplete Śailōdbhava plate of the Rājshāhi Museum which I previously edited in Bengali, and the newly acquired two plates belonged to the same set I am glad to find that with this discovery of Dr Chakravarti the whole grant of king Mādhavavarman is now completely recovered, making it possible for me to make a contribution on the whole grant to the pages of this journal The second plate was obtained on behalf of the Varāndra Research Society, Rājshāhi, from Mahāmahōpādhyāya Pandit Sadasiva Misra, by my friend Mr (now Rai Bahadur) Rama Prasad Chanda, when the latter, with some other members of the Society, toured in the autumn of 1912 in Orissa, visiting places of antiquarian interest The Mahāmahōpādhyāya got it, as we were told, from the late Mr Padma Charan Mahanti, formerly Superintendent of the Puri Collectorate, an inhabitant of the village Birobaī in the Puri District The provenance of that plate, as well as of the two newly discovered ones, is not known We prefer to call the whole set as the Puri Plates of Mādhavavarman, because we got the second plate at Puri from an inhabitant of the same district

Of the three plates the first and the third are engraved on one side only, but the second plate is engraved on both the sides The first plate contains 12 lines of writing on its reverse side only, the second 11 lines on each of the obverse and reverse sides, and the third 10 lines on its obverse side only Each plate measures $6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ In some places, specially on the reverse side of the second plate, some letters appear to be blurred and illegible Otherwise the inscription is in a fair state of preservation There is a mark of fracture in the second plate

The characters in which the inscription is written belong to what Kielhorn would call 'the Ganjām variety of the northern alphabet'¹ But I should like to differ greatly from his view² that they "cannot be earlier than about the 10th century A.D." Such characters were rather prevalent in Kalinga in the 7th 8th century A.D. They mostly resemble those used in the Buguda plates³ of the same king The age of the script has been discussed by the present writer elsewhere⁴ Of initial vowels we have in this epigraph signs for ā, i, and u, e.g., āśī⁵ l 10, ākshēptā l 41, itī l 12, 14 and 17, uva l 20, unmilitam l 18, Utathya⁶ l 31, etc The peculiar sign for medial ā in the Buguda plates, pointed out by Kielhorn,⁵ as "denoted by a small hook,

¹ Above, Vol VII, p 101

² *Ibid*, p 102

³ Above, Vol III, pp 41 ff and Vol VII, pp 100 ff

⁴ *Vide my The History of North Eastern India (C 320 760 A.D.)*, Calcutta, 1934, pp 169 170

⁵ Above, Vol VII, p 101

turned upwards and attached to the top of the consonant sign" also sometimes occurs here. Of individual consonants the sign for *gh* (e.g., in *nāga ghatā vighatta* l 13, *-vighattana* l 25) calls for attention. The signs for *n* and *l* are sometimes almost similar (e.g., *mānīla* l 1). The peculiar forms of the conjuncts *lsh* (e.g., in *lakshā* l 1, *palsha lshaya* l 23), *ny* (e.g., in *kōngūda* l 23), *ṣh* (e.g., in *yajñar*^o l 22), and *shn* (e.g., *lṣhna*^o l 1) are noteworthy. It may also be observed that the sign for *ñ* as the first part of a conjunct differs very little from that for *n* in the same position (e.g., *-āñchhā* l 8, *-sañchaya* l 1, *mandala* l 6). I could not guess properly the reading of 9 letters, 5 in l 30, 1 in l 31 after the word *gōtrāya*, and 3 letters before *nānā*^o in the same line.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit. The charter contains, after the introductory *ord* *Om śasti*, 11 verses followed by 12 lines of prose, which again are followed by four of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses after which occur two other verses in which the names of the persons who wrote, marked, incised and acted as the *dātā* in the grant are respectively mentioned. The language of the document contains a large number of errors as may be noticed from the corrections proposed in the preparation of the text. All the eleven verses which describe the genealogy of the donor in this grant are identical with the verses of the *Buruda* plates which contain only one additional verse (v 2) which glorifies the donor, described therein as *Rājendra Mādhavarman*.

As regards orthography the following peculiarities require attention—(1) No separate signs for *b* and *v* are used anywhere. (2) The consonants *l*, *g*, *n*, *t*, *dh*, *p*, *m* and *r* are doubled after the superscript *r*, e.g., *-chandrārila* l 33, *vargj* l 30 (but in *-patirga*^o l 12, *g* is left single), *[u]lirṇa* ll 12-13, *litta* ll 21, 24, *°reddhanta*^o l 1, *derppanaya* l 15, *dharmna* l 31 (but in *-patir=mahe*^o l 17 *m* is left single), *°muriti*^o l 22. It may also be noted that the expected doubling of *j* and *l* in this position has not been made, e.g., *Sanbhār* l 3, *°lra* l 17. (3) No sign of *visarga* has been used, except in a few cases e.g., *val* l 1, *lra* l 9, *-pishah* l 23, etc. (4) The guttural nasal (*ṇ*) is used instead of *anusāra* before *t*, and *l*, e.g., *°nambh*^o l 2, *prāṇsu* l 3, *sad-āns* l 9, *āns* l 11, *°āns* l 12. (5) Nowhere is the sign of *anugraha* used, e.g., *lulajō=Ranabhita* ll 9-10 (where the second word is a proper name, *Ranabhita*), *jitō=Yaśōbhita* l 11 (where also the second word is a proper name, *Yaśōbhita*). (6) The sign of *anusāra* is sometimes neglected, e.g., in *mandala* l 6, *āñchhā* l 8. (7) Before dental *s*, the *visarga* is changed to *s*, e.g., *tanayas-sulriti*(ti) l 16. (8) Before a subscript *r*, the letter *t* is doubled, e.g., *dharritr* l 11, *°charitr*^o l 15, *°gōtra*^o l 18, *°puttra*^o l 26, *°putrō*^o l 32. (9) Final *n* is sometimes changed into *m* and *m*, e.g., *°r garīyām* ll 12-13 *ānam* l 25, *°r yu[?]* *lām=arita*^o l 27, *sa laranām* l 28. (10) The sign for final *m* is used, e.g., *°gōtra*^o l 18, *°r=ajasram* l 21, *bharatām* l 29. But at the end of the verse, *anusāra* (and not final *m* sign) has been used after the word *phala* in l 37.

The inscription is dated in *Samvat* 20 (?) + 3 (=23?), which may be regarded as the regnal year. Some may feel tempted to read the first numeral symbol as representing 10, in that case the regnal year will be 13.

The object of the charter is to record a revenue free grant of the village *Sāla* (or *Māla*?) situated within the *śhaya* of *Thōrana*, made by king *Mādhavarman* (l 21) of the *Śailōd bhava* dynasty for the purpose of augmenting the religious merits of his parents and himself, to a *Brāhmana* named *Bhatta Vittadēva* of the *Kauśika gōtra* having *Utathya* and other *prataras*¹, a student of the *Chhandōga charana*, and belonging to the *Kauthuma śākhā*. The grant was written by *Upēndrasīmha*, son of *Kundabhōgin*, marked by *Jayasīmha* and incised by *Chhaddabhōgin* (ll 42-43). It is also stated (ll 13-41) that *Gangabhadra*, appointed to the

¹[See p 120, n 4 below.—Ld.]

duties of the *Pratihāra*, acted as the *dūlaka* of the grant. It may be noted here with advantage that the persons mentioned in ll 42-44 are identical with those mentioned in the Buguda plates of the same king and hence it may be inferred that the latter plates which are undated were not far removed from the date of our plates.

An abstract of the contents of the rest of the grant may be mentioned here. The first verse of the inscription forms an invocation of protection of the god Śambhu (Śiva), which seems to be an indication that the kings of the Śailōdbhava dynasty were devotees of Śiva. The next verse relates that there was a great person of the name of Pulindasēna who was 'famous amongst the people of Kalinga'. But he is stated (v 3) to have been averse to rulership on earth for himself, although he was a highly accomplished man. By his ardent worship of the god Svayambhū for the creation of a fit and able ruler for the country, Śailōdbhava was created as the lord of the earth, and from him originated a family of good rulers (v 4). In the next verse (v 5) we are told that a ruler of the name of Aranabhīta was born in his family (*kulaja*) and that he was a terror to his enemies. His son was king Sainyabhīta who achieved victory over his enemies with the help of a large troop of elephants (v 6). In his family again (*tasy-āpi vanśe*) was afterwards born a king of the significant name of Ayaśōbhīta, who had a record of pious deeds at his credit which could not be expected of a king of the Kali age (v 7). His son was king Sainyabhīta who was a great warrior (v 8). He was able, in his prosperous condition, to reduce the sovereign influence of his enemies over their own statal circle (*mandala*) of kings (v 9). This king appears to have also been known by the *biruda* Śrīnivāsa and is described in v 10 to have performed *Aśvamedha* and other sacrifices which had fallen into disuse on account of the negligence of impious kings of the Kali age, from which it appears that he helped in the restoration of these sacrifices in Kalinga. He was also called Mādhavavarman and is stated to have issued this charter while residing in Kōṅgōḍa (v 11). After this verse 11, the record contains the formal address by the king to the various administrative officials and other people concerned. From the contents of our grant as mentioned above, and those of the Buguda plates, we obtain the following genealogical tree —

Śailōdbhava

- 1 Aranabhīta (*tat kulaja, i e, born in his lineage*)
 - 2 Sainyabhīta
 - 5 Ayaśōbhīta (*tasy-āpi vanśe gatah, i e, born in No 2's family*)
 - 6 Sainyabhīta (=Mādhavavarman=Śrīnivāsa)

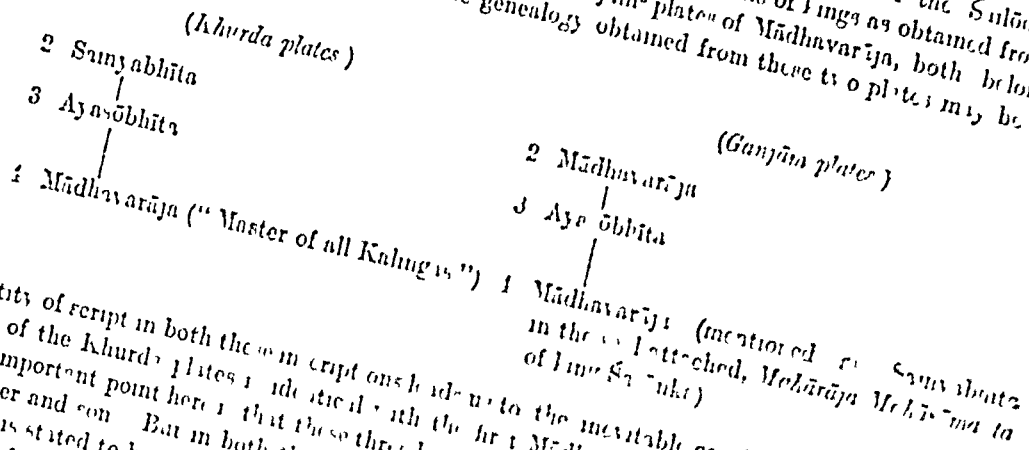
We are to notice carefully that Ayaśōbhīta (No 5 above) is not a son of Sainyabhīta (No 2), but a descendant born in his family. We know that the Pārikud¹ plates of Madhyamarāja, and the Puri² (Uttarapārśva Matha) plates and the Kōṇḍīḍḍā³ grant of Dharmarāja contain the same genealogy as above, but only carrying it down respectively to one and two more rulers in succession, viz, (No 7) Madhyamarāja (*alias Ayaśōbhīta*?) and (No 8) Dharmarāja (*alias Mānabhīta*).

¹ Above, Vol XI, pp 281-287

² J B O R S, Vol XVI, pp 176 ff

³ Above, Vol XIX, p 265 J

The last king's dates are known as A D 756 and A D 713-11 in his above mentioned grants.¹ But the trouble for scholars in the matter of consideration of the full genealogy of the Śulōdabhava dynasty arises when we look at the genealogy of three generations of kings as obtained from the undated Khurda² and the dated (A D 619-20) Ganjīm³ plates of Mādhavarāja, both belonging palaeographically to the same age. The genealogy obtained from these two plates may be thus stated —



Identity of script in both the inscriptions leads us to the inevitable conclusion that the Saṃyabhīta of the Khurda plates is identical with the first Mādhavarāja of the Ganjīm plates. The most important point here is that these three kings (Nos. 2, 3 and 4) are stated in the latter inscription of father and son. But in both the Buguda plates and the Puri plates under notice Ayaśōbhīta (No. 5) is stated to be a son but a descendant of Saṃyabhīta (No. 2). Hence the Ayaśōbhīta (No. 3) of the Khurda and Ganjīm plates is stated to be a son of Saṃyabhīta (No. 2). Hence the Ayaśōbhīta of Buguda and Puri plates cannot be equated with Mādhavarāja (No. 4) of the Khurda and Ganjīm plates. Moreover, there is no doubt that the plates of the first quarter of the 7th century A D. Attention of scholars should be drawn to the most important and proper name made by Hultzsch, while editing the Ganjīm plates, is considerably more modern than that of the subject in inscription (i.e., the Ganjīm plates), it follows that Ayaśōbhīta is a remote descendant of Saṃyabhīta. I, however, do not think that Saṃyabhīta Mādhavarāja II, the contemporary and subordinate of Śaṅkararāja I, is the grandson of the latter. We have no inscription in reference with Dr. A. P. C. Tripathi, with the observations on the topography of Kōṅṇāḍa, Ōḍra and Kalinga made by him in his article on the Nivāra copper plates grant of Dharmarājāditya, but we are afraid we cannot subscribe to the view expressed by him though with doubt that Saṃyabhīta Mādhavarāja of the Ganjīm and the Khurda plates may be identical with the king of the same name in our plates also. Buguda plates (and therefore, evidently with the king of the same name in our plates also) support our own view on this point has also been stated in detail elsewhere. We cannot also support

¹ Neither of these dates is certain. I think that all the dated records of the Śulōdabhava rulers so far known, except the Ganjīm plates of G. L. 300 I, have to be referred only to records of the same ruler. —Ed.]

² *J. A. S.*, vol. XXIII (1901), pp. 143 ff.

³ Above, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

¹² *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

²¹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

²² *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

²³ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

³² *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

³³ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁴² *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁵² *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁶² *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁷² *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁸² *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁹² *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

the remark of Dr Chakravarti¹ who, following the late Mr R D Banerji, says that inspite of palaeographic difficulty the Buguda and Ganjām plates might have to be assigned to one and the same ruler We are, however, glad to note that he feels inclined to place the Pārikud grant towards the end of the 7th or the early part of the 8th century A D On the above considerations, we have also taken the first Sainyabhita-Mādhavarāja of the Khurda and Ganjām grants as identical with the first Sainyabhita of the Buguda and our Puri plates, in whose family Ayaśōbhita (No 5) is described therein as being born Hence the genealogy of the first six kings of the Sailōdbhava dynasty according to our opinion should be settled as follows —

Sailōdbhava

- 1 Aranabhita
- 2 Sainyabhita I (=Mādhavarāja I)
- 3 Ayaśōbhita I
- 4 Sainyabhita II (=Mādhavarāja II, A D 619 20)
- 5 Ayaśōbhita II
- 6 Sainyabhita III (=Mādhavavarmā=Śrīnivāsa)

With these introductory words I edit the grant for the first time from the original plates and the inked impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist

TEXT

[Metres Vv 1, 3, *Śārdūlavilīṛīḍita*, vv. 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, *Vasantatīlala*, vv 4, 12-17, *Anushtubh*, v 7, *Indravajrā*, v 10, *Sragdharā*, v 11, *Āryā*]

First Plate

- 1 Ōm² Svasti [||*] [I]ndō[r=ddhau]ta mṛnāla-tantubhir=iva ślishtā[h*] kara[h*] kōmalaiva-(r=ba)ddh āhūr=aru-
- 2 nai[h*] sphurat-phana-manai(nē)r=dī(di)gdha prabhāsō=n(m)śubhi[h*] Pārvatyā[h*] sa-[kacha*] graha-vyatikara vyāvṛita(tta)-va(ba)
- 3 ndha ślathā Gang āmbha[h*]-pluti-bhinna bhasma kanikā[h*] Śambhōr-jatā[h*] pāntu vah | [||*] Prānsu-mahabha(Prāmsur=mahēbha) ka-
- 4 ra pīvara chāru vā(bā)hu[h*] kṛṣṇ āśma sañchaya vibhēda viśā(śā)la-vakshā[h*] rāj[ī]va kōmala dal āya-
- 5 [ta] lōchan-āntā(tah) śyāta(khyātah) Kahnga janatāsu Pulī(lī)ndasēna[h*] || 2 ||*
Tēn=ēttham gunin=āpī satva(ttva) mahatā

¹ *Op cit*, p 36

² Expressed by a symbol

- 6 n=ṭshtham(śhītam) bhuvō mandala[m*] śaktō ya[h*] paripālānāya jagata[h*] kō
nāma sa syād=iti [*] pratyā-
7 dīṣṭa vibh-ūtsav-āna bhagavān=āru[dhī]ta[h*] śūśvata tachit(s=tach chitt) ānugu nam
vidhitsu-
8 r=adīśad=āñchihā[m*] Śayambhō(bhū)r=apī || [3 || *] Sa śilā sa(śa) al ōdbhṛdī
tūn=āpy-ālōkya dhī(dhī)ma
9 tī [*] parikalpitā sad vanś(śamśah) prabhū[h*] Śailōdbhā[vaḥ*] kṛitah'([4 ||*]
Śailōdbhāvasya kulajō=²Rana
10 bhīta āśid=y-ān-īsakūt=kṛitā bhīyām dvīśad anganānām [*] jyōtī(t)gnā pravō(bō)
dha sama-
11 jṭ śva dhīyā[ṭ](v=ā)va sū[r]ddham=īkampiṭō nayana prakṣma jal'āhu chandrah
[5 ||*] Tasy=ābha
12 vad=āvu(bu)dhapāla śamasya sunu(sūnuh) śrī Saī(Sai)nyabhīta itī bhūmipatir=
ga[rī]-

Second Plate, Obverse

- 13 vām(vān) [*] vām prā[py]* n aīka śata nīga ghatī vighatta lav dha(bdha) pravāda
vija[vām mu]mudt
14 dharittrī [|| 6 ||*] Tasy=īpī van(vam)ṣ[ṭ]=[tha*] yath ārtha nāmā jātō=³Yaśōbhīta
itī kshī-
15 tī(tī)śah [*] yāna praru(rū)dhō=pi ⁴ubhāś-charittrair=mmprāhta[h*] lalāṇa[h*]
Kali(h) dīrppanasya [|| 7 ||*]
16 [Jātō=tha*] tasya tanaya[s]=sukṛitī(tī) samasta ś[i]mantinī nayana śhaṭpāda puṇḍarīka-
[h*] [|| 1 ||] śrī
17 Saīnyabhīta itī bhūmipatir=maḥ ūbha kumbha sthālī dalāna durleḥit īś
18 dhāra[h || 8 ||*] Jātāna yāna kamalākaravet-śva gōttra[m] unmīlitam dīnal pīt=
āva
19 mahōdayāna [||*] saṅkṣipta mandala ruchaś=cha grāh[h*] pranāśam=īśu dvīśhō
graha ga
20 ā va yasya dīptyā [|| 9 ||*] Kālāśair=bhūtradhāttrīpātībhīr=upachit-ānāka pīp ā
21 vatīrai[r]=nītī yūḥhām kath=īpī pralyam=abhumatā kīrtti mī(pī)lāir=āgaram [*]
22 yajūśis=tair=Asī amādhā prabhīpātībhīr=amarā lambhītī ⁵triptim=urvaīm=uddīpt ārātī-
23 pakṣhā kshaya kṛitī patunā Śrīnāvāsōna yāna || [10 ||*] Kōṅgōda kṛitā mātāh

Second Plate, Reverse

- 24 śārada mīśkara² marī(rī)chū sītī(ta) kīrtti[h [*] sa śrī Mādhava[va*] nūmā npu-mī-
25 na vighattina[h*] kuśālī || [11 ||*] Āsmim(Asmim) bhū mma(ma)ndalē śrī-
sāmānta mahāsāma

¹ The name is *Aranabhīta*

² An example of Prakrit influence

³ There is a superfluous *tasya* here (l 14), and a superfluous *ubha* in l 15

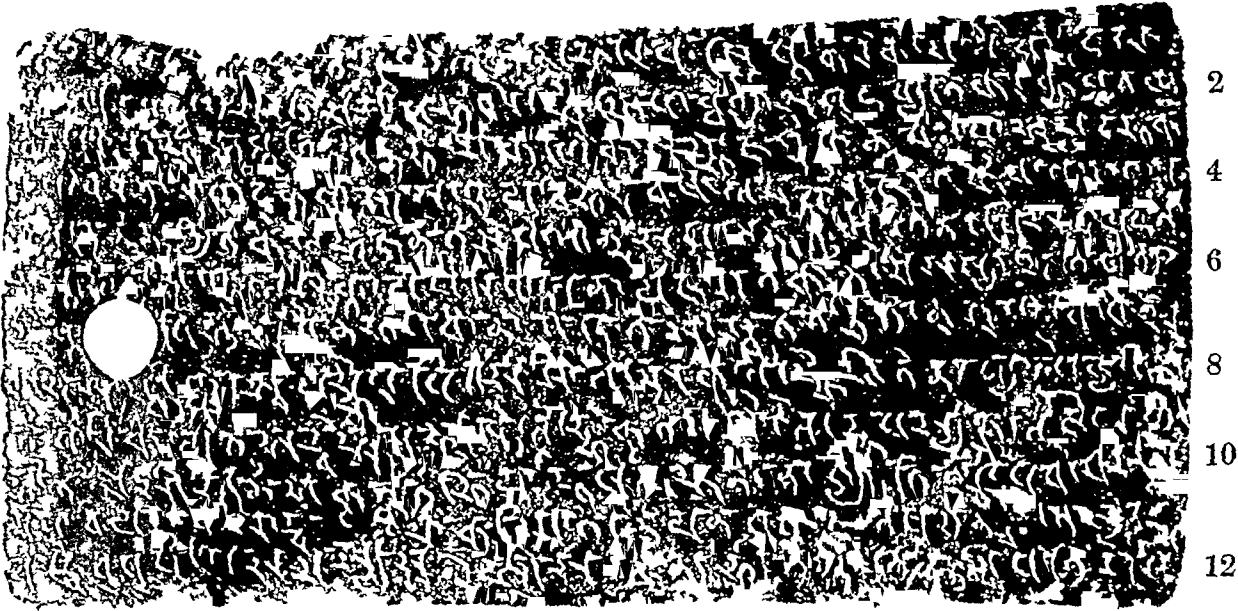
⁴ The name is *Āyaśōbhīta*

⁵ Read *gōttra* = *unmīlitam*

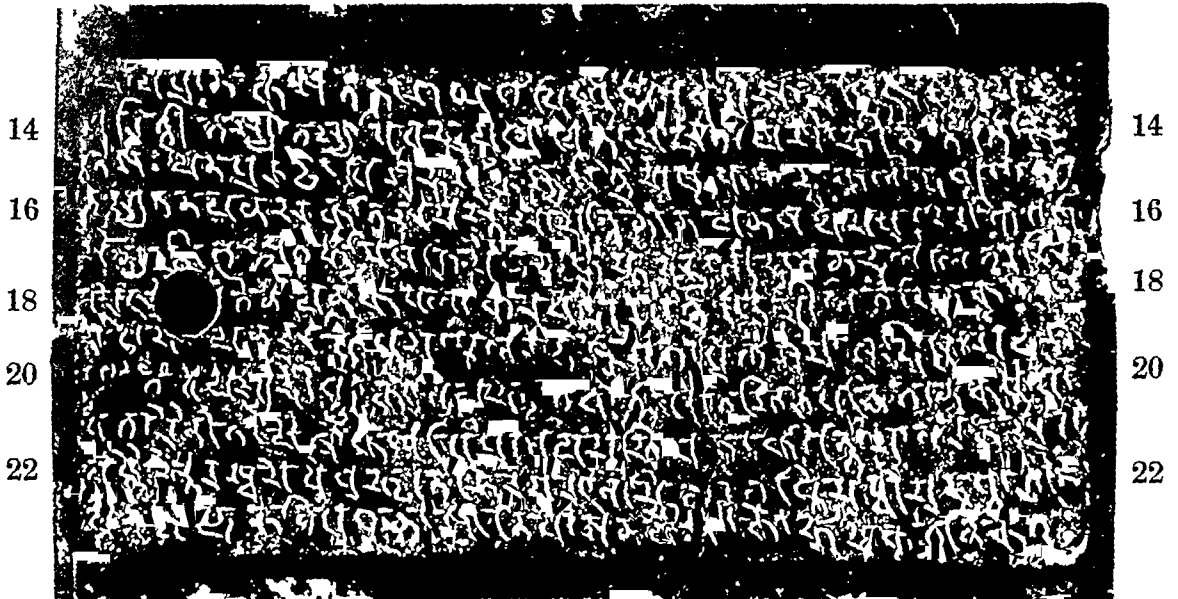
⁶ Read *lambhītas=trī*

⁷ Read *śraṇa nīśā'ara* as in the Buguḍa plates.

PURI PLATES OF MADHAVAVARMAN SAINYABHITA



n,a



u, b

24
26
28
30
32
34

24
26
28
30
32
34

171

36
38
40
42
44

36
38
40
42
44

- 26 nta mahārāja rājana(nya)ka-rājaputtr [ā]ta(nta)ranga dandanāyaka-dandapāsi-
 27 n=ōparikara ¹vishayapati-tadāmyu[kta*]kāmva(kān=va)rttamāna-bhavishyatō vya-
 28 vahārīna[h*] sa-karanām(nān)=vrā(brā)hmana-purōg-ādī[n*] jānapadāms=chātta(ta)-
 bhata vallabha-
 29 jātiyām(yān) yathārham² pūjayati mānayati [*] Vīditam=astu bhavatām(tā)m
 30 Thōrana vishaya samvandha(mbaddha) Sā(Mā ?)la-grāma[h*]³ — — — — — Kausika-⁴
 31 gōtrāya — ⁵Utathya pravarāya — — — ⁶nānā pravarāya Chchhandōga-charanā-
 32 ya Kauthuma śākhāya Bhatta Vittadēvasya(vāya) mātā pitrōr=ātmanas=cha puny-ā-
 33 bhuvriddhayē sahla dhārā-pura[h*]sarēn=ākaratvēna ⁷māchandr ārkka-kshitī(tu)-
 sama-
 34 kalam pratipādītō=smābhi[h*] Yataś=cha tāmvrā(mra) pattakam daśadhā⁸ dharmma-
 gaura

Third Plate

- 35 vā[t*] kalpa-kalp-āntarēn=āpi na ⁹kais=cha paripanthunā bhavitavyam=iti |
 36 uktañ=cha Mānavē dharmmaśāstrē [*] Va(Ba)hubhīr=vvasudhā dattā rājabhī-
 [s*]=Sagar ādi-
 37 bhīh [l*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmita(s=ta)sya tasya tadā phalam(m)
 ||[12 ||*] Mā bhūva(d=a)phala śa-
 38 nkā vah para-datt=ēti pā[r]thivah(vāh) [l*] sva dānāt=phalam=ānanyam ¹⁰para-
 datt-ānupāla-
 39 nam(nē) [| 13 ||*] Sva dattām para dattam=vā(ttām vā) yō harēti(ta) vasun-
 dharā(rām) [l*] sa vishthāyām kṛmīr=bhūtvā
 40 pitribhi[h*] saha pachyatē || [14 ||*] Shashtim varsha sahasrām svarggē
 mōdāta bhū-
 41 midah [l*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakam=va(kē va)sēt || [15 ||*]
 Lā(Lē)khit=ō
 42 pēndrasimhēna(simhō)=tra tanayā(yah) Kundabhōgnā(nah) [l*] lāñchhitam Jaya
 sim(simh)hēna [u]tki-
 43 rna[m*] Chchhadābhōgnō(nā) [| 16 ||*] Samyag-ārādhita svāmī prasāda ślishta-
 mānasah [l*] dūta-
 44 [kō] Gangabhadrō=[tra*] prāthāya(īyyē) vyavasthitah || [17 ||*] Samvat
 20 (?) 3 ||

¹ Read ⁹ōparika vishaya² The *rēpha* meant for *ham* has been wrongly put on *pū* by the engraver³ The five letters after this word seem to be *vinirgataya* [The reading of the first three of these five letters is quite uncertain. If the reading suggested is accepted the name of the village granted will have to be considered as missing which is unlikely —Ed.]⁴ [The reading of the second letter is uncertain. It may be pointed out that the Kausika *gōtra* cannot have *Utathya pravarā* —Ed.]⁵ The letter before this word reads like *lu* [The corrected reading is *Au(Au)lathya* —Ed.]⁶ The three letters before this word read like *la'uta* [The reading appears to be *Al ānupravarāya* —Ed.]⁷ Read ⁹nāchandr ārkka-⁸ [Reading seems to be *tāmvrā patāka-darśanā[d*]* —Ed.]⁹ Read *kēnachit* for *kais=cha*¹⁰ The *pa* of this word looks like *dha*, the *mātrā* having closed up the top of the letter.

TRANSLATION

Om Blessings

(Verse 1) May the matted locks of hair of Sambhu, in which the particles of ash are separated by the overflowing waters of the Gangā (on his head), which are touched by the soft rays of the moon (also on his head) as if by white lotus fibres, of which the lustre is daubed by the red rays of the entwining snakes bearing sparkling gems on their hoods, and which are unchanged because of their knot being set aside on account of Pārvatī's union accompanied with a grasp of His hair, protect you!

(Verse 2) (There was a person) famous amongst the people of Kalinga, named Pulindasēna, tall, with charming arms as stout as the trunk of a large elephant, having a chest as broad as the fragment(?) of a black mountain, and whose eyes were as large as the soft petals of lotus.

(Verse 3) By him, though so accomplished and great in spirit, (the rulership over) the circle of the earth was not longed for (By this person) denying the pleasure of rulership, thinking as to who (else) would be the man that would be able to rule over the earth, was worshipped the lord Sivambhū (Brahmā) the eternal, and (the latter) being desirous of erecting (one), according to his heart's desires, granted his prayer.

(Verse 4) As (he) was observed as splitting asunder pieces of rock, Śailōdbhava was made by this wise (god) as the lord with an illustrious dynasty (of rulers originating from him) worshipped.

(Verse 5) A descendant in the family of Śailōdbhava was Aranabhīta, by whom, at the time of the rise of the moon light, the moon was caused to tremble, along with their own intellect, in the waters from the eye lashes of the wives of his enemies who were frightened repeatedly.

(Verse 6) Of him who was equal to the lord of gods, (i.e., Indra) the very great line Sainyabhīta was the son, by obtaining him who attained victory in which prevailed calmness of disposition (even) in havoc caused (amongst his enemies) by rows of many hundreds of elephant-² (as her lord), the Earth felt delighted.

(Verse 7) Afterwards, in his family was born King Ayaśōbhīta, whose name carried a true import, by whom was purged, by means of his illustrious deeds, the accumulated dirt on the mirror of the Kalinga.

(Verse 8) Then was born his son, of meritorious deed, the king, named Sainyabhīta, who is (as it were) a lotus to the bee like eyes of all ladies, and the edge of whose sword is playfully active in splitting asunder the frontal globes of the huge elephants² (of his enemies).

(Verse 9) By this (king), while in great prosperity,³ is made illustrious his own family, just like a lotus pool (in which the lotuses are) opened by the sun while rising, and on account of his majesty his enemies, with the power of their own circle of kings reduced, meet with destruction, just as all (the other) planets (disappear), with the brilliance of their own discs diminished, on account of the lustre (of the sun).

(Verse 10) By this Śrīnivāsa⁴, who is skilful in the act of destruction of the partisans of his highly insolent enemies, the gods are made to enjoy extreme satisfaction on account of (his perfor-

¹ This king caused death of his enemies, whose wives were therefore compelled to shed tears of sorrow on account of their widowhood which destroyed for ever their union with their husbands at moon rise.

² Elephants played an important part in the army of the Kalinga kings in ancient times.

³ It may be noted that the words, *ulāya*, *maṇḍala* and *dīpti* as used in this verse convey by *śrī* the double meanings, (i) prosperity and (ii) rise, (i) the statal circle of kings and (ii) disc, and (i) majesty and (ii) lustre, respectively.

⁴ Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman had a *virūda* Śrīnivāsa, which also means Viṣṇu, as well as an abode of royalty.

mance of) those *Āsvamēdha*¹ and other sacrifices the very mention of which is (now) relegated to the domain of non-existence by kings of the earth belonging to the Kali age, who have accumulated (newly) introduced sins of many kinds, (but) which was liked ever so much by (kings) who were upholders of fame

(Verse 11) This *Mādhavarman*, whose fame is as white as the rays of the autumnal moon and who is competent to crush the pride of his enemies, being in good health, and (while) putting up in his residence in *Kōṅgōḍa*,²—

(Lines 25-35) duly honours and esteems the illustrious *Sāmantas*,³ *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahā-īājas*, *Rājanyakas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antarangas*, *Dandanāyakas*, *Dandapāsīlas*, *Uparīkas*, *Vishayapatiś* and *Tadāmyuktakas*, the present and the future *vyavahārins* (administrative officers), the *jānapadas* with the *Kaṇanas* and the chief *Brāhmanas* and (also) those of the *Chāta*, *Bhata* and *Vallabha* classes (with the following information) —

Be it known to you that the village of *Śāla*(*Māla*?) situated in the *viśhaya* of *Thōrana*, has been given, free of all dues, by me, to last as long as the sun and the moon endure and the earth lasts, with a libation of water for the enhancement of the religious merit of my parents and of my own self, to *Bhatta Vittaladēva* of the *Kauśika gōtra*, having for his *pravaras* *Utathya* and other) belonging to the *Chhandōga charana* and the *Kauthuma śākhā*

As this was a copper plate grant, no one should stand as an impediment (in its operation) even in future *Kalpas*, out of respect to *dharma* in ten ways⁵ There are verses also mentioned in the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* (to the same effect) —

(Verses 12-15) (There are four of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses)

(Verse 16) In this (grant) *Upēndrasīmha*, son of *Kuṇḍabhōgin*, was the writer, and the charter was marked by *Jayasīmha* and incised by *Chhaddībhōgin*

(Verse 17) *Gangabhadra*, whose mind was attached, through favour, to his master whom he served thoroughly, and who was appointed to the duties of the *Pratīhāra*, acted as the *dūtaka* herein.

Samvat 20(?) + 3

NO 20—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM SHERGADH

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Shergadh, where the two inscriptions edited here are found, is a deserted town in the *Atru Nizamat* or *Taluka* of the *Kotah* state in *Rājputānā*. It is about 12 miles to the south-west of the railway station *Atru* on the *Kotah Bina* line of the *G I P Railway*. Within the stony massive walls of the town there are more than three thousand houses in different stages of dilapidation. The present population, however, is hardly more than 300 and so the township presents a dreary appearance even by day. According to local tradition, the present name

¹ This refers to the restoration of the *varnasramadharmas* in the seventh century A D not only in *Kalunga*, but in many other parts of North Eastern India

² Also spelt as *Kaṅgōḍa* in some of the other grants of the *Śailōdbhava* dynasty

³ For the meaning and functions of these terms, vide the author's article in *Bengali* on "the administration of the Pāl kings" of Bengal *Prabāsī*, *Āśvina* issue, B S 1343

⁴ *Thōrana*, is also mentioned as the *viśhaya* in which the village of *Ārahanna* mentioned in the *Khurda* grant (*J A S B*, Vol LXXIII, 1904, pp 282 ff) is situated

⁵ [See p 129, n 8—Ed]

of the town was given to it after its capture by Sher Shāh of the Sūr dynasty in the course of his Mālwa campaign. Its ancient name, mentioned in several inscriptions found at the place, was Kōśavarddhana, 'the increaser or the asset of the treasury'. The Inscription B edited below, shows that the city was an important thriving centre of trade, industry and agriculture, contributing a good deal to the royal treasury. It was also an important military station. The present dilapidated township itself was a strong fort in the Hindu period, as its still existing powerful ramparts show. It is also expressly referred to as a fort (*durga*) in the Inscription A. A new fort was constructed outside the old one in the Muslim period. When Dr Mathuramal, the State Historian, Kotah, and myself visited Shergadh in February 1936 in the course of our tour of archaeological explorations undertaken at the instance of the Kotah Government, we came across several Jain, Hindu and Buddhist inscriptions, both in the new and in the old fort, ranging from the 8th to the 13th century A.D. It is clear that during this period the citizens of this flourishing city followed these three faiths.

The inscriptions are engraved on two different stone tablets, built into the present temple of Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa. Of these, the Inscription B, has been edited with a short note by Dr D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, pp. 175-6. Inscription A has not yet been noticed or published. As one ascends the platform of the temple, the Inscription A is to be seen in the wall on the left near the third stair step. The Inscription B is on a tablet built into a front line pillar of the *mandapa* to the left of the entrance. Dr D. R. Bhandarkar, while editing this last mentioned record, has observed that it is inscribed on a stone lying outside the temple of Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa.¹ The information supplied to him in this connection was incorrect. The two stone tablets in the temple have been occupying their present position ever since the time of the visit of the *munsif* of Col. Tod to this temple during the second quarter of the last century. According to the information given by the present priest, no repairs have been done to the temple during the last three generations.

A — Inscription of the Paramāra Udayāditya

The stone on which this record has been inscribed is well dressed and is 27" x 22" in dimension. The record, however, is not complete and its concluding lines have been broken off. The present temple of Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa cannot be more than 300 or 400 years old. Hence it would appear that when the temple of the Paramāra period was subsequently repaired, or overhauled, or pulled down, the inscribed tablets were re-set in the new structure in the course of which the lower portion of the tablet of this inscription might have been damaged. To judge from other Paramāra grants, the lost portion of the record consisted probably of not more than two lines and contained the concluding line of the last verse, the stanza beginning with *Iti lamala dal āmbu bindu lōlām*, followed possibly by the name of the *dātaka*, the signature of the donor, and the date of the record given in figures at the end.

The stone has further peeled off to its right, destroying in various degrees the concluding portions of the first twelve lines of the record. Local tradition ascribes this damage to a lightning stroke. With the exception of a portion of the date, the rest of the missing part can be restored with the help of other Paramāra records. The record as preserved to day consists of 24 lines, each line containing about 38 letters.

The characters are the normal Nāgarī of the 11th century to which the record belongs. The duct of writing is good and the medial *c mātrās* are graceful. The engraver's mistakes are very few.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 175.

The Language of the record is Sanskrit throughout. The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed with a few exceptions like *śrī Udayāditya*, l 6, *vuddhvā asmad*, l 19, etc. Grammatical mistakes are also very few. We have *māri pitrōh* for *mātā pitrōh* in l 16 and *anyarh* for *anyarh* in ll 19 and 22. The latter, however, may possibly be the engraver's mistake. The record is partly in prose and partly in poetry, poetical portions consisting of the introductory and the imprecatory verses.

The object of the record is the grant of a village made by the *Parama-Bhattāraḷa-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramīśvara śrī-Udayāditya* of the Paramāra house. The arrangement of its contents is similar to what we see in many other Paramāra grants. It opens with the two usual verses in the adoration of Śiva followed by the name and genealogy of the donor, and then follows the name of the village granted, an address to its inhabitants, the date, the place, the occasion and the motive of the grant, the name of the donee and the usual exhortations to succeeding monarchs.

Our record describes the donor, king *Udayāditya*, as meditating on the feet of *Bhōjadēva*. The relationship between the two, however, is not stated. A late record from *Udayapur*, belonging to the 16th century A D, states that *Udayāditya* was the son of *Gyātā*, grandson of *Gōndala*, and great grandson of *Śūravīra*, who belonged to the Paramāra clan¹. This document would make *Udayāditya* a scion of a minor Paramāra branch, and very remotely related, if related at all, to *Bhōjarāja*. Two official Paramāra documents, however, issued within a generation of the death of *Udayāditya*, contain quite a different statement. Thus the *Nāgpur prasasti*,² issued in the reign of *Lakṣmadēva*, a son of *Udayāditya*, refers to the latter as a *bandhu* of *Bhōja*. Till recently this was the only early record describing the relationship of *Bhōja* with *Udayāditya* and it was possible to suggest, especially in view of the genealogy given in the *Udayapur* inscription, that the term *bandhu* may have been used in denoting a relation in general rather than a real brother³. Recently, however, another Paramāra record, the Jainad stone inscription of *Jagaddēva*, has been published. This ruler is very probably identical with *Lakṣmadēva* in whose reign the *Nāgpur prasasti* was composed. In this record a specific assertion is made that *Udayāditya* was the father and *Bhōja* the uncle of *Jagaddēva*,⁴ which shows that the word *bandhu* of the *Nāgpur prasasti* must be taken as having its normal sense, viz, a brother.

When two official Paramāra documents, issued within less than 25 years of the death of *Udayāditya*, state that he was a brother of *Bhōja*, we have to accept their testimony in preference to that of an early 16th century record, which does not seem to have been properly edited as well.

In the genealogy of *Udayāditya*, as given in our record, his predecessors *Vikpati*, *Sindhurāja* and *Bhōja* are mentioned. The predecessors of *Vikpati* are passed over, probably as being too remote in time. The omission of *Jayasimha*, the immediate predecessor of *Udayāditya*, however, cannot be explained on that ground. It is worth pointing out that no record either of *Udayāditya* or of any of his successors, mentions *Jayasimha*, even when the genealogy is taken back to *Bhōja*.⁵ This can hardly be regarded as accidental. It seems that *Bhōja* left behind no son and in the chaos that followed his death, several of his relations came forward to claim

¹ *J A S B*, Vol IX, p 549

² *Ante*, Vol II, p 185, cf v 32, तस्य (भोजस्य) वन्द्युदयारित्योभवद्भूपति ।

³ *Ganguly, History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp 133-4

⁴ *An Rep Archaeol Dept, Nizam's Dominions*, 1927-28, pp 23 f, *ante*, Vol XXII, p 54, cf v 6, वन्द्युदयारित्यस्य पितामहीदेव प्रियस्य स च भोजराज ।

⁵ *Nāgpur prasasti*, *ante*, Vol II, p 185, *Udayapur prasasti*, *ibid*, Vol I, p 222, *Māndhātā plates of Dēva-pāla*, *ibid*, Vol IX, p 108

the Paramāra throne¹, when the victorious armies of Bhīma and Karna returned to their home. Udayāditya and Jayasimha were two among these claimants. Jayasimha succeeded in the beginning with the help of Sōmāvara I, the Chāluṣya ruler of Kalyāṇī.² How he was related to Bhōja is not yet known. Probably he was not his son,³ but a distant relative.

The success of Jayasimha must have for a time frustrated the ambition of Udayāditya. He, however, got his opportunity when Jayasimha was overthrown by Sōmāvara II. With the help of the Chāhamāna ruler Durlabha III, Udayāditya succeeded in reconquering Malwa.⁴ If the above conjecture is correct, it is natural that the official record of his time should not describe him as *Jayasimhadeva pādārūḍha*,⁵ i.e., 'Throne-lot his son Jayasimha's uprooted' as a feudatory of the Chāluṣya, the bitter and long-continued enemy of the Paramāra. If such titles have been recorded as a disgrace to the Paramāra house, and as a reproach to Udayāditya, they do not deserve to be included in its official records. Udayāditya is therefore alluded to only in his own and in his successors' records as a legitimate ruler of the foot of Indus, and not of his immediate predecessor, Jayasimha.

The date of the grant which is now partially lost, is the Damana Festival on the fourteenth day of the bright half of Chaitra of the (Vikrama Samvat) year eleven hundred exceeded by

It is unfortunate that there is a discrepancy of the date giving the years in excess of 1100 to be added in the final step of the calculation of the 19, as dated records are badly needed to determine the precise limits of the reign of Udayāditya.

Damana is a spring festival when a branch of *damru* tree is worshipped to pay homage to Vishnu with a prayer to him and to Madan for the happiness and felicity of the whole community. Our inscription agrees with Hōmadri and Madan in describing the festival as taking place on the 14th day of this festival. Other authorities, however, do not agree with it to place it on an earlier date.⁶

The grant made in this inscription, like most of the grants recorded in the Inscription B below, is made in favour of the temple of Sōmanātha, which is described as being situated in the fort of Kōṣavarddhana, i.e., modern Sherghati. In view of the historical facts of Sōmanātha temple in the Inscription B, it is clear that the temple of Sōmanātha of the Paramāra period was situated somewhere near the modern temple of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa where the inscription was found at present. When I visited this temple in February, 1936, it was shown to me a Śaiva temple, a *mandapa* which is known as Sōmanātha even to this day. It may be that this present temple of Sōmanātha, which was the principal object of worship of the inhabitants of Kōṣavarddhana, as shown by the numerous grants given to it in the Inscription B below, was destroyed by the Muslims, probably when the fort was captured by them during the reign of Sher Shāh. The temple of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa may have escaped destruction as being of minor importance. Later on when the fury of the Muslim storm had passed over, the *hujra* of Sōmanātha may have been transferred to the neighbouring temple of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa, along with its inscribed tablets recording various donations. It is also possible, though not probable, that Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa may be interlopers in their present temple, a Vaishnavite revolution being responsible for the

¹ The expression *rajjē cha Lulā kulē* of the Nāgpur *pramāṇa* makes this supposition very probable.

² *Vikramanādicakharita*, III, 67.

³ Udayāditya would have hesitated to describe himself as meditating on the feet of his rival's father.

⁴ *Prithvirajavaya*, V, 77.

⁵ *Smṛiti kaustubha*, pp. 19-23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

enthronement of Lakshmi and Nārāyaṇa in the sanctum of the present temple when Sōmanātha was relegated to a corner of its *māṇḍapa*

A portion of the inscription recording the details of the situation of the village granted is missing, but the village seems to have been *Vilāpadraka*, since its inhabitants are exhorted to pay the usual royal dues to the temple. It is described as situated in the twelve village subdivision of *radraha*, situated in the *mandala* or district of *Chachchurōṇī*. The last mentioned place is obviously identical with the village *Chāchurnī*, (spelt in Survey maps as *Chāchoni*), situated about 24 miles S S E of Shergadh, on the confluence of the Parvān and the Nīrj¹. *Vilāpadraka* may be *Bilandī*, a village about 11 miles S S E of Shergadh. Or, it may be identified with the village *Bilwārō*, situated about 25 miles east of Shergadh. I am indebted to Dr Mathuralal, the State Historian, Kotah, for this information.

TEXT²

- 1 ॐ³ स्वस्ति [I⁴] ज[योभ्युदयच । जयति⁵]⁶ व्योमकोशोसौ [यः सर्गाय
विमर्ति⁷ ताम् । ऐ⁸]न्दवीं सि(शि)रसा लेखा जग-
- 2 [ही]जाकुमारतिम् । [। १ ॥⁹] तत्पु(न्तु) वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणम-
निशं जटाः । कल्पान्तसमयोदाल[तडि¹⁰]-
- 3 दलयपिङ्गलाः ॥ [२ ॥¹¹] परममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवावपति-
राजदेवपा[दानु¹²]-
- 4 ध्यातपरममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिन्धुराजदेवपा[दानुध्यातपर¹³]-
- 5 ममहारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवपादानुध्यातपर[ममहारकम¹⁴]-
- 6 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री¹⁵उदयादित्यदेव[¹⁶] कुशली ॥ चतुरोणीमंड[लान्त-
पाति ॥¹⁷]-
- 7 रद्रहदादयको श्रीकोशवर्धनदुर्गीयश्रीसोमनाथदेव[भु]क्तोरनु-¹⁸
- 8 विलाप्रद्रकग्रामे समुपगतान् समस्ताराजपुरुषान् ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान् प्रति[निवा-
सिपदकिलज¹⁹]-
- 9 नपदादींच वो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं²⁰ ॥²¹ यथा कर्मासिकाग्रामावस्थितैर-
स्मा[भि] .. धि²²]-²³
- 10 कश्चैकादशकासवत्सरे चैत्रशुदि(शुद्ध)चतुर्दश्यां दमनकापर्वणि ज्ञात्वा चराचरगु-
[रं भगवन्तं म²⁴]-

¹ The name of this river is spelt as Mowaj in Survey maps

² From the original stone and ink impression

³ Expressed by a symbol, which is only partly visible

⁴ Usually रुद्रि is followed in Paramāra records by the verse जयति व्योमकोशोसौ, etc. Here medial ō sign is partly clear on the letter following ja and the place damaged can accommodate the letters supplied in the text

⁵ Read *śry Udayadityādēva*

⁶ What followed in the text in the portion destroyed cannot be inferred

⁷ The sign of punctuation is superfluous

⁸ Only five letters have been lost in the missing portion of this line of which the last syllable must have been *dh*. Hence it is apparent that the unit and the decimal figures together consisted of four letters only

- 11 वानीपति समभ्यर्च्य ससारस्यासारता दृष्ट्वा । तथाहि [1*] वाताम्रविभ्रम-
मिद वसुधाधिप[त्यमापात*]-
- 12 मानमधुरो विपयोपभोग¹ । प्राणाभृत्प्रायजलवि(वि)न्दुसमा नराणा धर्म-
सखा परम[ज्ञो पर*]-
- 13 लोकयाने । [। ३ ॥*] अमत्ससारचक्राग्रधाराधाराभिमा त्रियं(यम्) ।
प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पचात्ताप. पर फल(लम्) [॥ ४ ॥*]
- 14 इति जगतो विनय्वर स्वरूपमाकलय्यादृष्टफलमगीकृत्य चन्द्रार्कपर्वजितमम-
काल या-
- 15 वत्परया भक्त्या श्रीकोमवर्धनदुर्गीय-श्रीमोमनायदेवायैवोपरिनिश्चितग्राम स(स्र)-
सीमादृगायू-
- 16 तिगोचरपर्यन्तः सहचमालाकुलः सचिरश्रमागमोगोपरिकरमर्वादायममेतय साद-
(ता)पिचोरात्म-
- 17 नच पुण्ययगोमिहज्ये¹ । ग्रामनेनोदकपूर्वकतया प्रदत्त इति । तन्मत्वा
तन्निवासिजनपदेयवा[प्र*]-
- 18 दीयमानभागमोगकारहिरण्यादिका देवप्रा(प्रा)ध्वगुक्तिवर्जमात्रान्य अपि वेयैर्मृत्वा
सर्वममुषै
- 19 समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्य चेतत्पुण्यफलं बुद्धा² अस्मद्वर्गजैरप्यै(न्यै)रपि भा-
विभोक्तृभिरस्मद्वत्तधर्मा(र्मा)-
बुद्धे ३५६९
- 20 दायोयमनुसतव्यः पालनीयच ॥ उक्तं च [1*] य(व)हुभिर्व्यसुधा भुक्ता
राजसि. सगरादिभिः । यस्य य-
- 21 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) । [। ५ ॥*] यानीह
दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्ययगस्कराणि । नि-
- 22 र्मान्यवान्तिप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु. पुनराददोत । [। ६ ॥*]
अस्मत्कुलप्राप्तमुदारमुदाहरक्षिरप्यै(न्यै)-
- 23 च दानमिदमस्यतुमोदनीय(यम्) । लक्ष्म्यास्तुडिदलयबुद्धु(बुद्धु)दचचलाया दानं
फल परयगःपरिपाल-
- 24 नं च । [। ७ ॥*] सर्वानितान् भाविन पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो
याचते रासभद्रः । सामान्योय धर्मसेतुर्न³

¹ This *danḍa* is superfluous

² Read *buddhv aśmad*

³ About the probable extent of the lost portion of the inscription, see the introduction, p. 132.

B —The Sōmanātha Temple Inscription

This record is inscribed on a tablet, 16"×13" in dimension, which is smoothly dressed. The original record was only in 15 lines, each line containing about 30 to 36 letters. At its end, however, there are scribbled two lines, of which the second is extensively damaged. This postscript was written in Samvat 1566 in the reign of Maharāja Śrī Jasaśambhu, who seems to have been some local ruler.

The characters of the record are the Nāgarī ones of the 11th century, to which it belongs. There is nothing particularly worth noting about them, attention, however, may be drawn to the way in which the medial *ū* of *bhū* in *bhūm* has been written in l 8.

As regards the orthography, *s* is usually written for *ś*, cf. *Varsākha* for *Varśākha* in ll 1 and 3, *śrēṣṭhi* for *śrēṣṭhi* in l 1, *sālā* for *śālā* in l 6, *samkhika* for *śamkhika* in l 12. *Sha*, however, is not confounded with *sa*, cf. *Gōvrisha* in l 1, *karsha* in l 2 and *vrishabha* in l 4. The second letter of the conjunct, of which *r* is the first member, is sometimes doubled and sometimes not, cf. *pūrvatah* in l 13 and *mārggādāya* in ll 3 and 4, but *chandrārka* in ll 2, 4, 6 and 7, *Kapardaka* in l 6 and *māryādā* in l 14.

The Language of the record is Sanskrit, but showing many mistakes and some admixture of Prakrit. Wrong case endings, or rather, no case endings, are to be seen in the case of *dattā vrishabha* for *dattā vrishabhāh* in l 4, *ghāna* for *ghānau* in l 5, *svakīyā* for *svakīyau* in l 11. The *sandhi* rules are often neglected, cf. *°dityarh bhattāraka* for *°dityair=bhattāraka* in l 2.

This inscription is a public register of several donations given mainly to the same temple of Sōmanātha, which is the donee of the Inscription A above. In this respect it resembles the first part of the Siyadōnī inscription, inscribed about half a century earlier. Shergadh is only about 125 miles to the west of Siron Khurd, where the Siyadōnī inscription was discovered.

The donors in this record are all private individuals, mostly merchants or landlords. In the Siyadōnī inscription the record of each donation is separated from that of the succeeding one by the interposing of a peculiar punctuation symbol, this has been done only once in the present record, at the end of the second donation in l 4. The dates of the donations have been given only in the first three cases. The latest of these, that of the donation No 3, is Māgha Suddha 13 of Samvat 1084. The dates of the subsequent donations mentioned in the last section of the record have not been given. These, however, seem to have been made on the same day. And since the oilman Thāiyāka, mentioned in the donation of Samvat 1084, figures here also as one of the donors, the record as a whole can hardly be much later than Samvat 1100.

All the donations but one are in favour of Sōmanātha temple. The exception is the first donation which was given on the third day of the bright half of Varsākha of Samvat 1074. As the week day is not given, this date cannot be verified, but it probably corresponds to the 2nd of April A D 1017. The donation was jointly given by three merchants named Narsimha, Gōvrisha and Thirāditya to Bhattāraka Nagnaka and consisted of the daily gift of a *karsha*, i e, about three fourths of a *tola* of ghee, for the purpose of the smearing of his feet. The record states that this quantity of ghee was to be given from out of the *Mandapikā tax*. *Mandapikā* is a word unknown to Sanskrit *lōshas*, but it seems to be the original term from which the Marāṭhī word *mandāi* and the Hindustānī one *mandi*, both meaning market, have been derived. The three merchants mentioned above seem to have constituted the Town Committee in charge of the collection of the market taxes, which were usually collected in kind. The donation given by them was a trifling one, and they may have possessed discretionary powers to make it. Bhattā-

raha Nagnaka, the donee, seems to have been a Saivite rather than a Jain monk, residing in the temple of Sōmanātha. He seems to have dispensed with clothing altogether, though he daily required some ghee for smearing his feet¹

The second gift was made on Vaisakha sudi 3 of Samvat 1075, probably corresponding to the 21st of April A D 1018. The donor Varanga is described as *mārggādāyē kaupṭika*. The last word in this expression appears to be Sanskrit in origin, but it is not found in any Sanskrit dictionary. *Kaupṭika* seems to have been the name of an office connected with the collection of tolls on roads. The donation was made for the purpose of providing incense and sandal in the temple of Sōmanātha, and it consisted of five *vrishabhas*. On the analogy of *varāhas* mentioned in 17, we may conclude that *vrishabha* denotes not an ordinary bull but a coin, probably bearing the emblem of the said animal on one of its sides. The Paramāras are not known to have issued a currency of this description in Mālava during the 11th century. Only one ruler of the dynasty, king Udayāditya of the Inscription A above, probably issued coins, but they bear the image of a seated goddess on one side and the name of the king on the other². In Central India and Rājputānā *gadhiā parsās* were current at this time, but they could not have been described as *vrishabhas*. At the time of our records the Hindu kings of Ohind and the Tōmaras of Delhi were issuing silver and billon coins, having the horseman on the obverse and the bull on the reverse. Whether these coins were current in Mālava and were popularly known as *vrishabhas* we do not know. A currency that could be more appropriately described by this term was issued in Mālava, Gujrat and Kāthiāwār by Skandagupta in the 5th century. One of his silver issues bore the king's head on one side and the bull on the other³. This type was probably imitated by the rulers of Valabhi in subsequent centuries⁴. It is not improbable that some local rulers or private moneyers of Mālava may have continued to issue coins of this type down to the 11th century. Not impossibly the Paramāra administration may also have done the same, though we have not so far discovered their coins of this fabric⁵. Probably coins of such a type are described as *vrishabhas* in our record. Silver coins current in Central and Northern India at this time were usually 60 grains or about one-third of a *tola* in weight. Five *vrishabhas* would therefore approximately correspond to Rs 2. Their purchasing power, however, at the time of the grant would have been approximately equal to that of Rs 10 in the present day⁶. The record does not state whether this amount for incense and sandal was to be paid monthly or annually.

About nine years later than the last donation, viz., on the thirteenth day of the bright half of Māgha of Samvat 1084, i.e., probably on the 12th of January A D 1028 three donations were given to the temple by Thaklura Dēvasvāmin. In order to provide oil for the temple lamps, he assigned to the temple the entire produce of two of the oil mills owned by Thāyāka, who is described as *Tailika rāja*, and who therefore was probably the chief of the guild of oilmen. He further undertook to give a daily gift of a *vōḍī*, i.e., *vōḍrī* of cowries for providing incense at the *parnaśālā*. *Vōḍrī* was equal to the fourth part of a copper *pāna*, and since the latter was equal

¹ [Since the gift is made to last as long as the sun and the moon (exist), it would be better to take Bhaṭṭāraha Nagnaka as referring to an image and not to a person.—Ed.]

² J. A. S. B., Vol. XVI, p. 84

³ Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta dynasties*, p. 121

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21

⁵ Virasena and Sasanka have issued coins bearing a bull on the reverse, (*Ibid.*, pp. 147 8, 151 2), but these coins could hardly be meant here. These gold coins could hardly have been known in Mālava in the 11th century.

⁶ For the purchasing power of money at this time, see Altekar *The Rashtrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 378 ff.

to 80 cowries, *lapardala iḍḍi* must have been equal to 20 cowries. Copper *panas* were slightly bigger in weight than what a modern pice and a half would be. The donation for the daily incense was therefore slightly less than half a pice and its purchasing power would have been equal to that of half an anna of the present day. What exactly the *parṇasālā* was where this incense was to be burnt is difficult to guess. The term usually denotes huts for the hermits. It would appear that there were huts or sheds in the vicinity of the temple of Sōmanātha, where persons like Bhattāraka Nagnaka used to stay. If some of them required ghee for smearing their feet, others may quite possibly have felt the need of incense. The incense provided by Dēvasvāmin may probably have been meant for some worthies of the latter category¹.

The third donation of Dēvasvāmin was the monthly payment of two *varāhas* to be made on the occasion of the *saṃkṛānti*. The object of this donation is not stated, it was probably a contribution to the general funds of the temple. *Varāhas* are obviously the silver coins issued by the Pratihāra king Bhōja, and probably by some of his successors as well, which on one side had the image of a boar². These coins were also about 60 grains in weight, two of them would be equal to a twelve anna silver piece, if one such were issued to day. The present day value of the donation would be about three rupees and a half.

The lines 8-13 record the donations of several *vāsaniḷās* made to the temple by different individuals. *Vāsaniḷā* was a dwelling house of considerable dimensions, in the *Siyadōṇi* in inscription two of the *vāsaniḷās* are described as consisting of four and three houses respectively³. All told, eight houses were given by nine donors. Among these, six were merchants, one a *ma-hallaka* (probably a well to do landlord), one an oilman (who is identical with the chief of the guild of oilmen mentioned in l. 5), and one a *Ṣaṃkṛika*. What precisely the last word denotes is difficult to say. The term may denote either a worker in shells or a person of mixed parentage, born of a Śūdra mother and a *viśvakarmā* father⁴. Probably we have to take the word in its first sense, since most of the donors are merchants.

For the temple establishment so many big houses were not necessary. It would appear that the temple management was expected to lease them either for residential or business purposes, and utilise the rent for the temple expenses.

Lines 13-15 describe the boundaries of Sōmanāthapalli. *Palli* usually denotes a hamlet, but here it seems to denote an outlying suburb or a ward. Since the boundaries of Sōmanāthapalli are described immediately after the recording of the gift of eight big houses, it is probable that these latter may have constituted either a portion or the whole of Sōmanāthapalli, which was obviously the name of that ward of Kōśavarddhana, in which Sōmanātha temple was situated. To the east of this ward was the temple of Sōmanātha itself, to the south the river, to the west the house of Thākura Kundanaka and to the north a public thoroughfare. During my visit to Shergadh I found that it was possible to mark off a ward of the city in the vicinity of the modern temple of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa, satisfying these boundaries. Some distance to the west of this temple, there are still some houses which are even to day owned by Thākurs. The Parwān river continues to flow to the south of this ward. The precise road which separated it on the north cannot be singled out. The temple on the east may very probably be the older temple of Sōmanātha rather than the modern one of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa. Traces of the old temple, however, are not to be seen to day.

¹ [See above, p. 138, n. 1—Ed.]

² Rapson, *Indian Coins*, para. 110.

³ *Ante*, Vol. I, p. 174, ll. 7 and 32.

⁴ *Brahmavivarta purāṇa* as referred to in the *Śaṅkhalpadrūpa* under the term *Ṣaṃkṛikāra*.

TEXT ¹

- 1 श्री² ॥ संवत् १०७४ वैसा(शा)खसुदि ३ अक्ष³यष्टतीयाया मंडपिकादाया-
[त्*] से(त्रे)ष्ठिनरसिंहगोहपथी⁴रा-
- 2 दिल्यै भट्टारकाश्रीनग्नकास्य पादाभ्यगाय दिनं प्रति घृतकर्षमे[क्*]⁵१ प्रदत्त⁶
आचन्द्रा[क्] यावत् ।
- 3 संवत् १०७५ वैसा(शा)खसुदि ३ श्रीसोमनाथदेवाय चंदनधूपनिमित्तं मार्गादाये
कौस्तिक-
- 4 वरंगेन(ण) मार्गादायात्(द्) दत्त वृषभ⁷ ५ आचन्द्राक् यावत् ॥ छ ॥
संवत् १०८४ माघसुदि १३
- 5 श्रीसोमनाथदेवस्य दीपतैलनिमित्तं ठकुरदेवस्त्रामिना तैलिकराजथाइयाकावा-
ण(णौ)
- 6 द्वौ प्रदत्तौ आचन्द्राक् यावत् ॥ तथा पन्नसालायां⁷ धूपनिमित्तं कपर्दकावो-
डी(ड्री) १ दिनं प्र-
- 7 ति दातव्या आचन्द्राक् यावत् ॥ तथा मासवारको सुंक्रांतौ वराह(हौ) द्वौ
प्रदत्तौ आचन्द्राक्
- 8 यावत् । [I*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति ॥
श्रीसोमनाथदेवस्य वणि⁸
- 9 इंदामहिदका[भ्यां] सत्का वासनिका⁹ प्रदत्ता ॥ तैलिकाथाइयाकेन सत्का वा-
सनिका प्र-
- 10 दत्ता । [I*] तथा वणिक्[क्*] सोढाकेन सत्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥
तथा वणिक(क्) साइयाकेन स-
- 11 त्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ तथा वणिक(क्)श्रीहरजसोमाभ्यां स्वकीया(यौ)
वासनिकौ द्वौ २ प्र-

¹ From the original stone and an ink impression² Expressed by a symbol³ The letter *ksha* is partly damaged⁴ Dr D R Bhandarkar's reading घोर¹⁰ is untenable, cf घूप and सोमनाथ in l 3⁵ Thus *danda* is superfluous Read दत्तमा-⁶ Read दत्त वृषभ⁷ Read पन्नसालाया Dr D R Bhandarkar reads this as पन्नसाला (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol XL, p 176), but the second letter is clearly न्न⁸ Read वणिग्भ्यामिदा⁹⁹ The syllable *Id* is damaged.

- 12 दत्तौ ॥ तथा वणिका(गु)महसकोन सत्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ तथा
सं(शं)खिकलक्ष्मीधरेण
- 13 सत्का वासनिका प्रदत्ता ॥ श्रीसोमनाथदेवपत्निका पूर्वतः देवमर्यादा ।
पश्चिमतः
- 14 [ठ^{*}]कुण्डलक[स्य^{*}] वासनिका मर्यादा । उत्तरतः भार्गवा(म)र्यादा ।
दक्षिणतः नदी मर्यादा
- 15 दा । चतुर्धाटसाधिता श्रीसोमनाथदेवपत्निका ॥ छ ॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥¹ ॥

No 21 —UPALADA PLATES OF RANAKA RAMADEVA

By B CH CHHABRA, M A , M O L , P H D (LUGD), OOTACAMUND

This set of copper plates is one of the nine sets acquired for the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in 1935, some of which have already been published² They are said to have been unearthed by a cultivator, while digging a field, in the village of Upalada in the Parlakmedī Taluk, Ganjam District I received ink-impressions of the plates from Mr N G Majumdar, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, for editing the record

These are **three copper plates**, each measuring $7\frac{1}{4}" \times 2\frac{3}{8}"$ They weigh 106 *tolas* Their rims are raised and the writing on them is consequently well preserved The first and the third plates are inscribed only on the inner side, while the second bears writing on both the sides The inscription consists of nineteen lines in all, three sides containing six lines each and the fourth only one The plates were originally held together by a ring, about $2\frac{3}{4}"$ in diameter, passing through the hole cut in the centre of each plate half an inch away from the left margin The ends of the ring were soldered under a circular seal This and the ring together weigh 22 *tolas* The central portion of the seal is occupied by the figure of a standing boar, cut in high relief, facing the proper left At the bottom is placed an elephant-goad (*ankusa*), and at the top another weapon that looks like a battle axe Against the hook of the *ankusa* is to be seen an oval shaped object—perhaps a lotus bud The seal does not contain any legend

The **characters** belong to the northern class of about the 11th century, strongly influenced by the Nāgarī script Letters like *n* and *l* show each two different forms, cf *n* in *ānudyāta-*, l 2 and *dāna*, l 3, and *l* in *kuśalnah*, l 5 and *sa-jala sthala-*, l 7 The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, though it also contains some vernacular terms in ll 15 18 where boundaries of the donated village are defined It is composed in prose, barring three of the customary verses found in ll 9 15 The **orthography** of the document is as erroneous as its language is faulty To instance the latter, the verb, *ādīśanti* or whatever it be, is missing after *kuśalnah* (l 5), while some such word as *upabhōgyam* is wanting after *sanatānām* (l 6) Among the orthographical peculiarities may be noted the usage of *s* for *ś* and *sh*, of *v* for *b*, of *y* for *j* and of *j* for *y* These and some other inaccuracies have been pointed out in the footnotes to the text as well as in the text itself

The record is not dated, but may on palaeographical evidence be assigned to the 11th or 12th century A D It was engraved by the goldsmith Taula

¹ There is a symbol between the two pairs of *danqas*

² See above, pp 73 and 78

The object of the record is the grant of a village called Upalabadā to one Rēvana nāyaka by the Rānaka śrī-Rāmadēva. The donee appears to have been an officer under the said Rānaka and might have received the gift as a reward for some heroic deed on his part. As regards his master, Rāmadēva, we do not know anything from other sources, whilst the present epigraph relates so little of him. His title Rānaka, however, shows that he was a feudatory chief. Some conventional epithets added to his name indicate that he was a devout worshipper of Śiva, had acquired the right to the Pañcha Mahāśābhas and was enjoying the favour of the goddess Agni.¹ Besides, he is styled Tailapa vams ōdbhara 'born in the family of Tailapa'.

It appears that the Rānaka Rāmadēva had not to his credit any achievement worth the name. The same may be said of his father and grandfather, since neither of them is mentioned in the record. The only prestige the Rānaka could boast of seems to be his high descent as conveyed by his attribute Tailapa vams ōdbhara. This Tailapa, as is apparent from the manner in which he is adverted to in the inscription, must have been a great personality or a mighty ruler reputed enough to be the pride even of his indirect descendants and distant relations. Rāmadēva could not have been a direct descendant of Tailapa, for in that case the inscription would have specifically described him so.

Now as to who this Tailapa was, we know of several kings² who bore this name, but the one with whom Tailapa of our record can reasonably be identified is, I think, the famous Chālukya monarch, Tailapa II, who is credited with outstanding military achievements, and whose bitter rivalry with the Paramāra sovereign, Vākpati Muñja, is well known.³ Further support to this identification is lent by the fact that the lāñchhanā, consisting of a standing boar, an elephant-goad, etc., depicted on the seal of the Rānaka Rāmadēva's inscription, is the same as is usually found on the seals of the Chālukya records.⁴ We may thus suppose that the Rānaka Rāmadēva was a feudatory of and related to a Chālukya ruler subsequent to the time of the Chālukya Tailapa II whose death occurred towards A D 998.⁵

Of the places mentioned in the record, Upalabadā, the granted village, is apparently the same as Upalada where the plates have been discovered, while Chikhali sthūti from where the grant was issued cannot definitely⁶ be identified.

TEXT⁷

First Plate

- 1 Ōm⁷ svasti [||*] Chikhali-sthūtau, parama-m[ā]h[ā]śvara- samadhigata-pam-
2 cha mahā sa(śa)vda(bda) mātā-pitri-pād-ānūdhātā(ta)-satya sau(śau)rya dayā-

¹ Agni obviously stands for Agni. In Vedic and later Sanskrit literature Agni is invariably a male deity. His mention here as a goddess (dēvī) is owing to the vernacular influence. In Hindi and cognate tongues the word āg 'fire' is feminine. Agnidevī as the name of a female occurs in an early Prakrit inscription from Sānchi, etc. above Vol II, p 371.

² For instance three kings of the Chālukya dynasty and two of the Kadamba family bore the name Taila or Tailapa (see Index to G. M. Moraes's *The Kadamba Kula*).

³ Cf. D. C. Ganguly, *Hist. of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p 61.

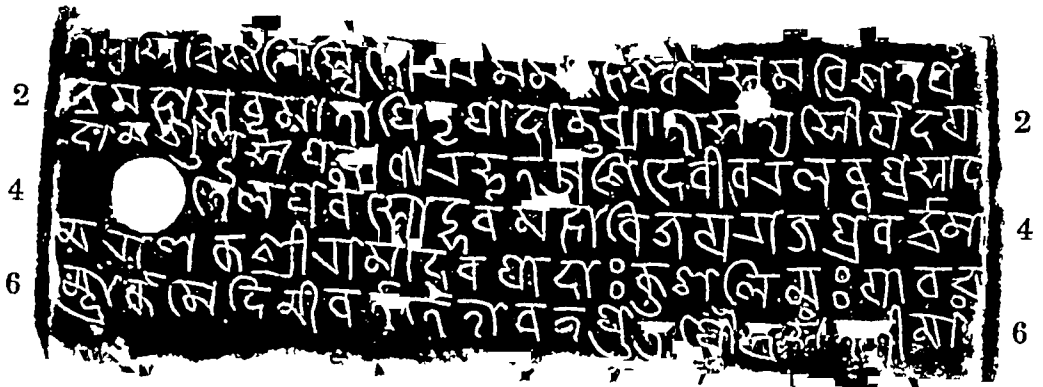
⁴ Cf. above, Vol V, pp 20, 135.

⁵ This locality cannot be far removed from the donated village, as the principality under the Rānaka Rāmadēva may not have been a very large one. Mention of one Chikhali tāṭaka is found in the Madras Museum plates of Vajrahasta III Śaka 984 (above, Vol IX, p 95), but this place is not identified either. Chikhali grāma of the Kanker Plates of Pamparājadēva (*Ibid*, p 168) is an O P.

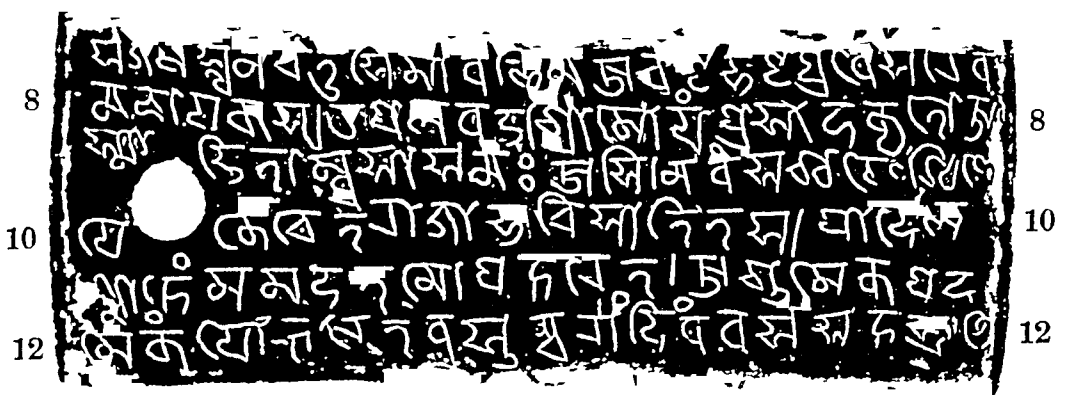
⁶ From ink impressions.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

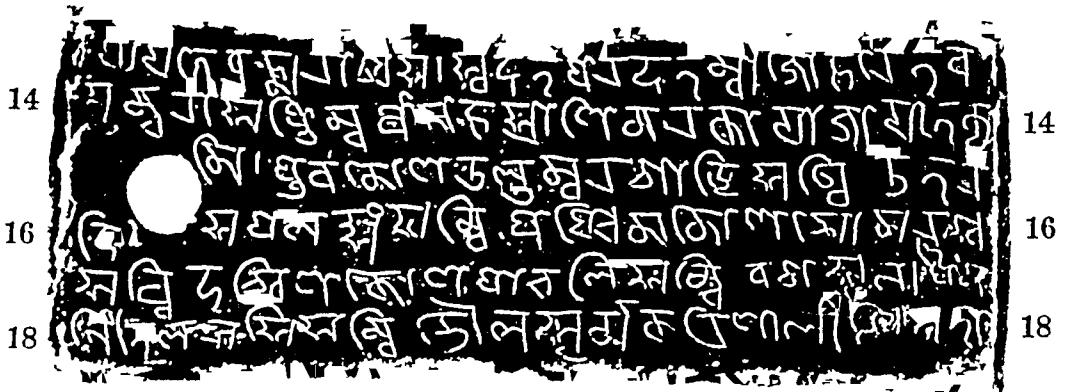
1



ii, a

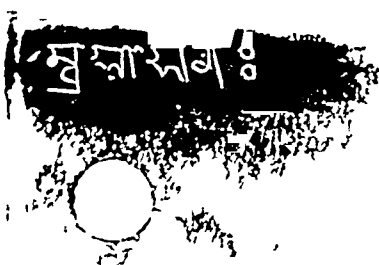


ii, b



Seal Actual Size

iii



- 3 dāna guna sa[m¹]pad-ādhāra²-bhū(bhū)ta-³Agidēvi-vara-lavdha(bdha) prasāda-
 4 Tailapa vams(ś)-ōdbhava-mahāvijaya rāja pravarddhamā-
 5 na-Rānaka śrī Rāmadēva pādāh kuśalnah [[*] yāvacha(ch=chā)-
 6 ndr ārka mēdinī⁴ vartatē⁵ tāvata⁶ putra pautra samtatinām

Second Plate , First Side

- 7 sa jala sthala chatu[h*] si(sī)m āvachhi(chchhi)na(nna)-^{3a} chatta bhatta pravēsa⁷ Rēva-
 8 na(na) [nā ?]yakasya ³Upalabadā grāmō=yam prasāda(dī)kritō ^{3a}-
 9 smābhi[s=*] tāmva(mra)sā(śā)sanah⁸[[*] As⁹1 | na vamsa-kha[y]ē khī[n]ē
 10 yē kē chēta rājā bhavisāti [I*] tasa | pādē la-
 11 [gnō]=⁹ham mama data m=ōpaharēta I(||) Agumēka pada-
 12 m=ekam yō [ha]rēta vasundharām [I*] divam varsa sahasrā[n]1

Second Plate , Second Side

- 13 [yā]yatē vrahmarākhasa I(||)¹⁰ Sva datam para datam=vā jō harēta va-
 14 sundharā [I*] sashthum=varsha sahasrāni narakāyā jāyāta kṛi-
 15 mī I(||) pu(pū)rva-kōna ulumvara-gā[d ?]11 sandhi[h I*] uta(tta)ra-
 16 disa(śi) palatsa¹² sandhi[h I*] paśchima kōna(nē) [s]ōma rukha-¹³
 17 sadhdhi(ndhi)[h I*] dakhi(kshi)na-kōna(nē) pāchah¹⁴sandhi[h I*] Vaga-suta |
 Pakha
 18 [I ?]itilajasi sandhi[h I*] Taula-svarna(rna)karēnā(na) li(h)khitam tā

Thrd plate

- 19 mvra(mra)sā(śā)sanah(nam) [[*]

No 22 —THE MELPATTI INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA-KAMPAVIKRAMAVARMAN

By V VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, B A , MADRAS

This inscription¹⁵ is engraved on a hero stone set up in a field to the north of the railway station at Mēlpattī in the Gudiyāttam taluk of the North Arcot District Beneath the record is cut

¹ The *anusvāra* is indicated by a mere dot which is to be seen below *mā* of *matū* in the previous line

² There appears to be a superfluous vertical stroke after *dhā*

³ The absence of *sandhi* here is ungrammatical

⁴ The singular here is ungrammatical

⁵ Above *tē* a superscript *r* seems to have been first engraved and then erased

⁶ Read *tavat*

⁷ Read *a chāṭa bhāṭa pravēsyō*

⁸ Perhaps we have to read *-sasanēna*

⁹ Here follow the verses Their text, which is highly corrupt in the inscription, is given without any emendations, as they are quite well known

¹⁰ The scribe seems to have confused two different verses, viz., *Aśvamēdha*, etc., and *Suvarnam=ēlam*, etc., cf above Vol II, p 310

¹¹ What is meant is perhaps *udumbura-gāḍi* *Gāḍi* seems to be a vernacular term Cf above Vol XXI, p 41, text l 46

¹² Read *plal sha*

¹³ Read *-vriksha*

¹⁴ Probably *pāṭah* is to be read

¹⁵ No 172 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection

in bas relief the figure of a warrior advancing to the proper left with a bow in his left hand and a sword in his right. Though the stone is exposed to the ravages of the weather, the inscription has not suffered any damage, since the letters, as is usually the case with such stones, are incised deeply.

The language of the record is Tamil which does not call for any special remarks. A few words which occur in the epigraph, however, require explanation. In the Tamil poem *Madurai lāñchi*, the word *lāvidi*¹ is used in the sense of a title given to experienced and capable ministers. The Tamil *Nīghantu* explains this term as 'an accountant'. In our record it is used as a title given to a warrior. The word *erittu*² (l. 6) is used in the sense of 'having defeated'.

The inscription is dated in the 10th year of Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman and records the death of a soldier of Vānaraiyar while attacking the army of Pruthvīgangaraiyar stationed at Kāvannūr in Mīyāru nādu, a subdivision of Paduvūr kōttam. This hero is distinguished in the record by the title 'who took Perunagar'. It may be pointed out here that Dr Hultzsch explained this title occurring in a slightly modified form, viz., '*Perunagar agara londa lāvidi*'³ as the chief of *Kondār* of Perunagar-Agaram and took *Kondār* as equivalent to *Kondalār*, a caste of fishermen. That this word is not used as a noun but as a verb qualifying 'Perunagar' will be evident from the present epigraph. The term has, therefore, to be interpreted as 'the *lāvidi* who took Perunagar Agaram'⁴.

This inscription helps us to determine the position of Kampavarman in the genealogy of the later Pallavas. About 35 inscriptions of this king have so far been secured, mainly in the Cojaveeram and Saidapet taluks of the Chingleput District and Arkōnam, Cheyār, Gudiyāttam, Vellore and Wandiwash taluks of the North Arcot District.⁵ These records which are dated from his 2nd⁶ to 32nd⁷ regnal years do not help us much in determining the exact period of his rule. Dr Hultzsch gave a definite lead in this direction by explaining the name of the temple of Nandi-Kampisvara⁸ occurring in a record from Sōlapuram as having been so called after Kampa, the son of Nandi, and thus he postulated that Kampa must have been the son of Nandivarman III and the brother of Nripatungavarman. Mr K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar made a further suggestion and stated that, Nandivarman III might have married a daughter of Kambha (or Stambha), the eldest son of the Rāshtrakūta king Dhāravarsha Dhruva and the name Kampavarman, just like Nripatunga, might have been derived from Kambha, the maternal grandfather of Kampavarman.⁹ Since the genealogy furnished in the Vēlūrpāliyam and Bāhūr plates does not allow us to place him before Nripatunga, and as he cannot be placed after Nripatunga, Mr Ayyar concluded that Kampavarman must have been a joint ruler with either Nripatunga or Aparājita or with both.⁹

¹ Ll. 493-9.

² Compare '*Tellari erinda Nandivarman*'. Generally in hero stones, the nature of the death of the hero is also specified as '*vilundu paṭṭar*' (i.e., fell and died), '*lonṭu paṭṭar*' (i.e., killed and died), '*miṣṭu paṭṭar*' (i.e., rescued and died), etc.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 180 and 182.

⁴ For a similar use of the word *londa* cf. the terms '*Madirai konda Parakāṣari*', '*Madirai konda Rājākāṣari*', '*Kachechiyum Tañjaiyum konda Kannarādēva*', '*Madiraiyum Ilamum konda Rājādhurādēva*', etc., occurring too frequently in inscriptions.

⁵ A stray record has also been found at Mallam in the Gudur taluk of the Nellore District (No. 498 of 1908) and another at Olakkūr in the Tindivanam taluk of the South Arcot District (No. 357 of 1909) adjoining the Wandiwash taluk.

⁶ No. 402 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁷ No. 144 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁸ Above, Vol. VII, p. 196. '*Nandikampa*' figures also as the name of a village in the inscriptions at Pallickonda in the North Arcot District, dated between Śaka 878 and 885 (Nos. 473 and 469 of 1925).

⁹ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 48-49.

This conclusion arrived at by Mr Subrahmanya Ayyar is confirmed by the present inscription as will be shown presently.¹

The name of the soldier who took Perunagar is not given in our record, but he may be identified with Akalankattuvarāyar who figures with the same title, viz, 'who took Perunagar' in a record dated in the 26th year² of Nripatunga, from Āmbūr in the North Arcot District, not far from Mēlpatti. This soldier, according to the present inscription, died in the 10th year of Kampavarman, while his son and nephew fell in a cattle raid in the 26th year of Nripatunga.³ The question then to be settled is whether Akalankattuvarāyar died prior to his son and nephew, in other words, whether the 10th year of Kampavarman was prior to the 26th, i.e., the last year of Nripatunga. From the fact that the son and father died in different reigns, one point is clear that, the reigns of Nripatunga and Kampavarman should have closely followed each other. If Akalanka had died earlier, Kampa should have been either a joint ruler with Nripatunga or his contemporary ruling over a portion of the Pallava territory, because according to the Bāhūr plates, he could not be accommodated before Nripatunga, but if, on the other hand, we suppose that Akalanka had died after his son, Kampa's rule should be placed immediately after that of Nripatunga. The latter alternative is not possible, because we know that Nripatunga was a contemporary of Varaguna⁴ (circa 862 A.D.) and that Aparājita lost his kingdom to the Chōlas about A.D. 888⁵ and that within this period of 26 years, both Kampa with a reign of 32 years and Aparājita with one of 18 years could not be accommodated.

One difficulty with regard to the contemporaneity theory is that inscriptions of both Nripatunga and Kampa are found at Uttaramallūr, Kāvčippākkam and Tiruvorniyūr. That Kampa was an independent ruler and not a subordinate under Nripatunga will be evident from the grants issued in his own name and regnal years. If Nripatunga and Kampa were independent contemporary rulers how could we have the inscriptions of both these rulers in identical villages? This would be possible if these kings were administering the whole of the Pallava dominions jointly or if the three villages mentioned above were on the border land where the overlordship of both the rulers was recognised.⁶

We may approach the contemporaneity theory from another standpoint. The Bānas and the Western Gangas were generally opposed to each other about this time, and their enmity ceased for a time by the marriage of Kundavaiyār, the daughter of Prithvipati I with the Bāna King Bānavidyādharā. The fight at Kāvannūr mentioned in our inscription must then represent, one of the series of fights that were being waged between the two dynasties. There were two Prithvīgaraiyars about this time, one was the chief of Pangala-nādu and the other was Prithvipati I, son of Sivamāra II. Since the former had died by the 8th year of Kampavarman,⁶ we may identify

¹ An attempt has recently been made to prove that Kampavarman was the son of Aparājita and that he ruled from A.D. 907-931 (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VI, pp. 224 ff). The author of this theory connects a record of Kampa (No. 372 of 1911 of the Madras Epigraphical collection), wherein Nirañjana guru figures as the donor, with another record of the Rāshtrālūta king Kannaradēva (No. 181 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) which states that Chaturānana pandita received initiation at the hands of Nirañjana guru. The initial mistake of this theory lies in identifying the guru of Chaturānana, viz, Nirañjana with the Nirañjana of Kampavarman's time. The author himself admits that the successors of Chaturānana were known by the same name. On the same analogy the successors of Nirañjana might have been called after their guru and therefore, the two Nirañjanas mentioned above might be different persons. He ignores the implications of the name Nandi Kampa. From paleographical evidence also Kampa cannot be brought down to 10th century A.D.

² Above, Vol. IV, p. 182.

³ No. 360 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁴ Above, Vol. XX, p. 49. Since the Pallava power ceased about this time, we find the Bānas also who were hitherto subordinate to the Pallavas assuming independence and issuing records in their own name.

⁵ For a similar instance see page 45, *A.R. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1930-31.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII, p. 193.

the Pirudigangaraiyar mentioned in our record with the latter. Dr Hultsch has identified the Bāna id,ādihara mentioned above with Vikramāditya I, who figures as a subordinate of Nripatunga in the latter's 24th year. This is the latest known date when the Bāna chief figures as a subordinate under the Pallavas. Soon after, Vijayāditya II, the son of the Bāna chief Vikramāditya I mentioned above, seems to have declared his independence, as his records are dated in Śaka years without mentioning any overlord. Since the Bāna chief figures as a subordinate of the Pallava king in the present inscription, this record may be placed prior to the 24th year of Nripatunga and it also seems probable that the 24th year of Nripatunga should have closely followed the 10th year of Kampa without any long interval in the middle.

Since a certain Aparājita, probably named after the king of that name, figures as the donor in the 15th year of Kampavarman¹ the latter might have been a contemporary of the Pallava king Aparājita also. Kampavarman might, therefore, have been a contemporary of both Nripatunga and Aparājita. His position may be said to be analogous to that of the Chōla Pāndya viceroys in the Pāndya country in the 11th century A. D.

Regarding the position of the Pallava territory about this period, it may be stated that, during the time of Nripatunga, it extended from Lālgudi and Nārttāmalaḥ in the south to Conjeeveram and Gudumallam in the north. Nripatunga's father Nandivarman III was a subordinate of the Pāndya king,² but in the time of Nripatunga the situation was reversed, Varaguna II appears as a subordinate of Nripatunga in his 18th year³, the Chōlas had not by this time risen to the status of an independent power, the matrimonial alliance with the Rāshtrakūṭas saved the Pallava empire from trouble from that quarter, and the Gangas, *i.e.*, Prithvipati I and his successors, and the Bānas were also subordinate to the Pallavas. Nripatunga was able to hold this empire intact, probably with the assistance of Kampavarman but towards the close of the reign of the former, we find the several neighbouring powers including the Nolambas rising to prominence with the result that the Pallava dominion diminished to such an extent as to embrace, in the time of Aparājita, the Sāidapet, Ponneri and Conjeeveram taluks in the Chingleput District and portions of the Tiruttani taluk in the Chittoor District. This small territory was easily conquered by the rising Chōlas under Āditya I.

The next point for consideration is that Akalanḥattuvārāyar figures in Pallava records as a soldier under both the Ganga⁴ and Bāna rulers thus indicating the subordinate position occupied by the two latter rulers under Pallava monarchy.

The Bāna ruler mentioned in our inscription is probably identical with Vikramāditya Vāna-vidyādihara, who also figures in the 24th year of Nripatunga. His warrior whom we have identified with Akalanḥattuvārāyar claims to have taken Perunagar, which is a village about 13 miles from Conjeeveram on the road to Wandiwash. From whom could he have taken Perunagar? The inscriptions of this village do not give us any clue. The Ganga king Durvīmīta claims victories over his enemies at Andari, Ālattūr, Porulare and Pernagara⁵. The last mentioned village was probably identical with Perunagar mentioned in the present inscription. However, during the last year of Nripatunga, the Nolambas attacked the Tondaimandalam region, especially the portion surrounding Āmbūr. Possibly it was from the Nolambas that the town of Perunagar was

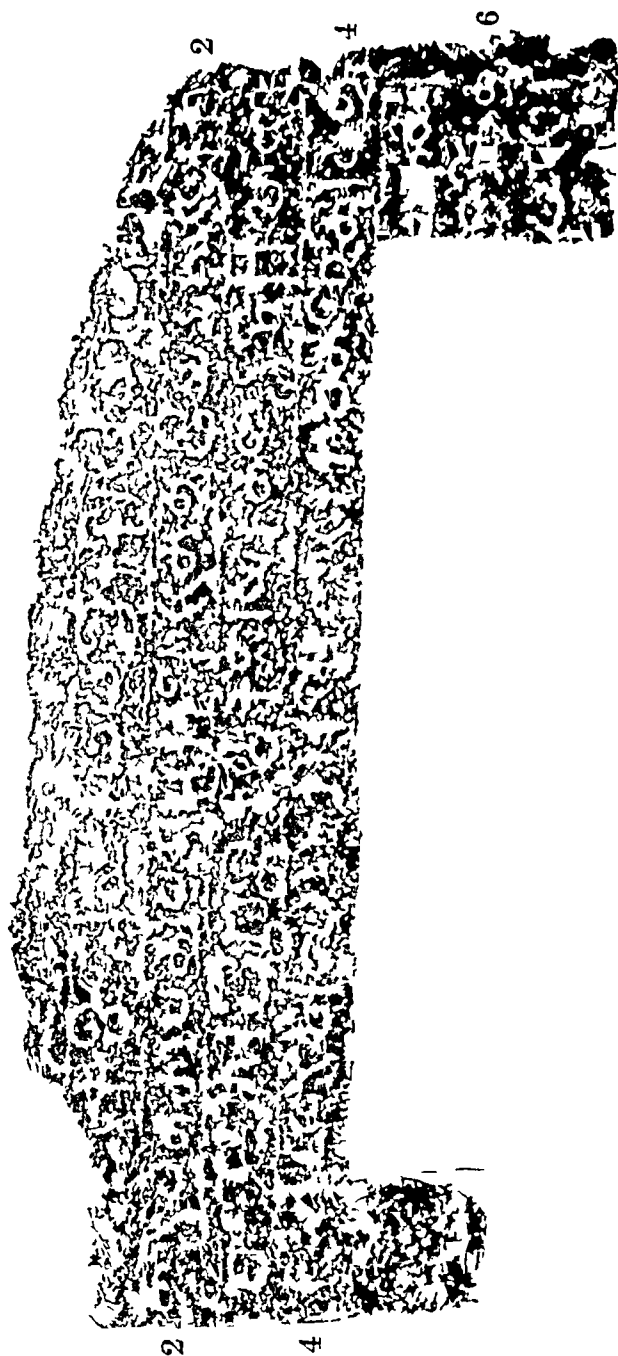
¹ No. 42 of 1893 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

² *Asiatic Researches* or *South Indian Epigraphy* for 1930-31, p. 38.

³ No. 100 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁴ (1) Prithvipati I.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XII, Tm. 23, *ibid.*, Vol. IX, Db. 68.



captured by Akaṣaukattuvarāyar. This view is strengthened by the fact that a Nolamba is said to have ruled as far as Kāñchī in a record from Hindupur, dated in Śaka 775 (A D 853).¹

The territorial division Paduvūr-kōttam was in Tondaimandalam and it roughly comprised the modern Vellore and Gudiyāttam taluks in the North Arcot District. It included the following *nāḍus*, viz., (1) Pangalā-nāḍu, (2) Mugai-nāḍu, (3) Peruntimiri-nāḍu, (4) Miyaṛu-nāḍu, (5) Mēl-Adaiyāru nāḍu, (6) Karaivali Āndi-nāḍu and (7) Kārai nāḍu. Miyaṛu-nāḍu also known as Miyaṛai nāḍu included the present Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District and the surrounding region. The village Kāvāṇṇūr may be identified with the village of the same name in the Gudiyāttam taluk.

TEXT

- 1 Kō Viśaiya Kampavikīramaparimmarḥ [yā]
- 2 ndu pattāvadū Paduvūr kōttattu Miya[ā*]ru nāttu-kkā-
- 3 vannūr² Pirudīgangaraiyar dandu nikka Vāna-
- 4 [raiyaṛ] padanar Pe[ru]nagar-kkonda-kkāvaḍi³ nedurttu-
- 5 [v-aiyaṛ]
- 6 [e]ṇttu
- 7 pattār [||*]

TRANSLATION

(During the) tenth year (of the reign of) the victorious Kampavikīramaparimmar—(when) the army (of) Pirudī-Gangaraiyar (was) stationed (at) Kāvāṇṇūr in Miyaṛu-nāḍu, (a subdivision of) Paduvūr kōttam, the Kāvadi who took Perunagar (and) the soldier of Vānaraiyar, fell (after) attacking (and) defeating (the army of) the enemy

No 23—A GRANT OF THE GURJARA KING JAYABHATA III [KALACHURI] YEAR 486

By G. V. Acharya, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

These two plates were received by the Prince of Wales Museum from the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society in 1920 when the Society's Collection was lent to that Museum. Their original find spot is not known. Both the plates measure $12\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 10", while the holes, 5" apart in each plate and meant for rings and the seals, are $\frac{5}{8}$ " in diameter. Neither the seals nor the rings are forthcoming. Both the plates are damaged at the top left hand corners and consequently some portions of the writing are lost. There are several small holes due to corrosion in the body of the plates also. Both of these are inscribed on the inner side only and their rims are thickened to protect the writing. There are 28 lines in the first and 23 in the second plate. The average size of the letters is $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". The engraving is carefully done and there are very few mistakes. The characters are of the northern type and very much resemble those found on Valabhi

¹ No 568 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection

² Kāṇaiyūr is used in the locative sense

³ The reading in the Āmbūr record (above, Vol IV, p 182) is *Perunagar agarallōṇḍa kkaṇḍi*, but it must be corrected as *Perunagar lloṇḍa llaṇḍi*. The engraver seems to have unnecessarily added the letters *la* and *ra*. Such typographical errors are common in inscriptions

plates. The language is Sanskrit and, excepting a few imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end, the whole inscription is in prose.¹

The object of the plates is to record the grant of the village Mannātha situated in the Bharu kachchha *raṣṭra* to Bhattacha Uchchada son of Āditvanāga, a Brahmin of Hṛtvalokha who had come out from the district (*āhāra*) called Lōhigalalchhapathaka, who belonged to Kaundinya *gōtra* and was a student of Vāpi Mādhyandina branch of the Yajur Veda. The grant was made for the performance of the five great sacrifices, viz., *Bṛh*, *Chara*, *Uparvāra*, *Agnīśra* and *Atithi*. The donor of the grant was Jayabhata (III) of the Gurjara family of Broach.

The date of the grant is given at the end both in words and in figures as the fifteenth day of the dark half of the month of Āśvayuja of the year 486 (of the Chōdī era) corresponding to A. D. 736.

Saungulla, the son of Alha, is the scribe and Divala is the *dātaka* of the grant. At the end there is the sign manual of Sri Jayabhata.

Of the three place names mentioned in the grant Bharukachchha stands for the present Broach. It is not possible to locate Lōhigalalchhapathaka while as to find the village granted, in the absence of the details about the boundaries, we have to look up for the name of some modern village having possible resemblance with the name Mannātha. I could suggest Manḍ about a mile and a half north-east of Mhe on the north bank of the river Narmada.

The plates under consideration have great historical importance in that they conclusively decide the line of succession of the Gurjara princes, who at the same time that the genealogy accepted so far stands in need of correction.

The genealogy framed by Dr. Bhagwānśilī given in *Bombay Gazette* 1881 accepted by Prof. Bhandarkar in the revised list of inscriptions of Northern India. The line of succession according to these scholars is as follows —

Dadda I (K. 350)

Jayabhata I (Vatavāga) K. 355

Dadda II (Pratāritāga) K. 350, 385, 392

Jayabhata II (K. 405)

Dadda III (Bhūshabhya) K. 410

Jayabhata III (K. 456, 486)

Three plates of Dadda II (Pratāritāga) dated Saka 100, 115 and 117 have to be left out of consideration because they have been accepted as spurious.

The name of Aharōla, the son of Jayabhata II and father of Jayabhata III is known to us for the first time from these plates, and we are now in a position to say that the Nausāri plates² of K. 456 are not of Jayabhata III as supposed by Dr. Bhagwānśilī, but must be attributed to Jayabhata II. In the Nausāri plates the genealogy stops with Jayabhata II whose description agrees with that of the same ruler in the present record. In the 2nd plate of Jayabhata III dated K. 486³ unfortunately the earlier descriptive portion is lost but the description of Jayabhata III is exactly similar to that of the donor of the present grant, which starts from the middle of line 21. These facts conclusively prove that the Nausāri plates of K. 456 are to be attributed to Jayabhata II and the incomplete grant (second plate) of K. 486 and the present record both to

¹ (Certain other verses seem to occur in II 30-32 — *Ed.*)

² Above, Vol. XX, Appendix, pp. 161 f.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 113.

⁴ Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 114.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1st Vol. XXIII, pp. 77 ff.

Jayabhata III, son of Ahirōla and grandson of Jayabhata II The order of succession, therefore, would stand thus

Dadda I K 330, 346

Jayabhata I K 355

Dadda II (Bāhusahāya) K 380, 385, 392

Jayabhata II K 405, 456

Ahirōla

Jayabhata III K 486

While Dadda I and Jayabhata I are referred to with the simple honorific title *śrī*, Dadda II seems to have assumed more power and strength, as he is styled *Parama-Māhēsvara*, *Samadhigata-pañcha mahāśabda* and *Bāhusahāya* The three remaining princes—Jayabhata II, Ahirōla and Jayabhata III—have each the additional epithet of *Mahāsāmantādhipati*

The epithet *Samadhigata pañcha mahāśabda* has been differently translated by different scholars¹ I always preferred to translate it as one who has obtained the prosperity and the privilege of five kinds of musical instruments and thus meaning I am now in a position to support by a passage in *Mahāsudassana Suttanta*² where Kuśāvati, the capital of the great king Sudassana is described as resounding with ten sorts of sounds (*dasa sadda*, Skt *daśa śabda*) and these sounds are detailed as the sounds of elephants, horses, chariots, *bhēri*, *mutinga*, *vīnā*, etc In Pāli literature the expression *Pañchatūriyo* is also used in a similar sense³

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 [satata lakshmi⁵] nūvāsa bhūtō⁶ trishnā samtāpa hārini dina-
nātha vistārit ānu[bhāvō] dviya-
- 2 [kul ōpa]jivya māna vibhava-śālini mahati mahārā[ja-Ka]rnn ā[nva]yē kamalākaka(ra)
iva rājahamsah prava(ba)la [ka]li kāla-
- 3 [vilasit ākulita⁷ vimala svabhāvō gambhīr ō] dāra charita vismāpita-sakala lōkapāla-mā-
nasa[h pa]ram[ēśvara śrī Ha]rshadēv-ābhūbhūta Va-
- 4 [labhi-pati-paritrān ōpa]jāta bhramad adabhra śubhr-ābhra vibbhrama yaśō vitāna[h*] śrī-
Daddas=tasya sū[nur=a śankit ā⁸]gata pranayi
- 5 [jan ōpabhukta vibhava sam]chay ōpachīyamāna ma[nō] nirvritir = anēka - kantaka - vanśa
(vamśa) samdōha dāha-du[rila]lita pratāp ānalō ni-
- 6 [śita nistrinśa(strimśa) dhārā] dārit āratī kari kumbha mukta muktāphala chchhal ōllasita-
yaśō nū(mśu)k āvagunthita dig-va[dhū] vadana sara-

¹ Prof C S Srinivasachari, M A, of Annamalai-nagar has in his article "Further light on Pañchamahāśabda" read at the Seventh Oriental Conference held at Baroda summarised the views of the opposite schools and on the strength of Vijayanagara inscriptions has discarded the interpretation of Sir Aurel Stein and Sir Walter Elliot and supported the views of Dr S K Ayyangar and Mr Padmanath Bhattacharya

- *Dīgha Nīlāya*, Vol II, p 170 (P T S ed) My attention to this reference was drawn by my nephew Mr R K Acharya

² I am indebted to Dr N P Chakravarti for kindly going through this article and suggesting additions and alterations

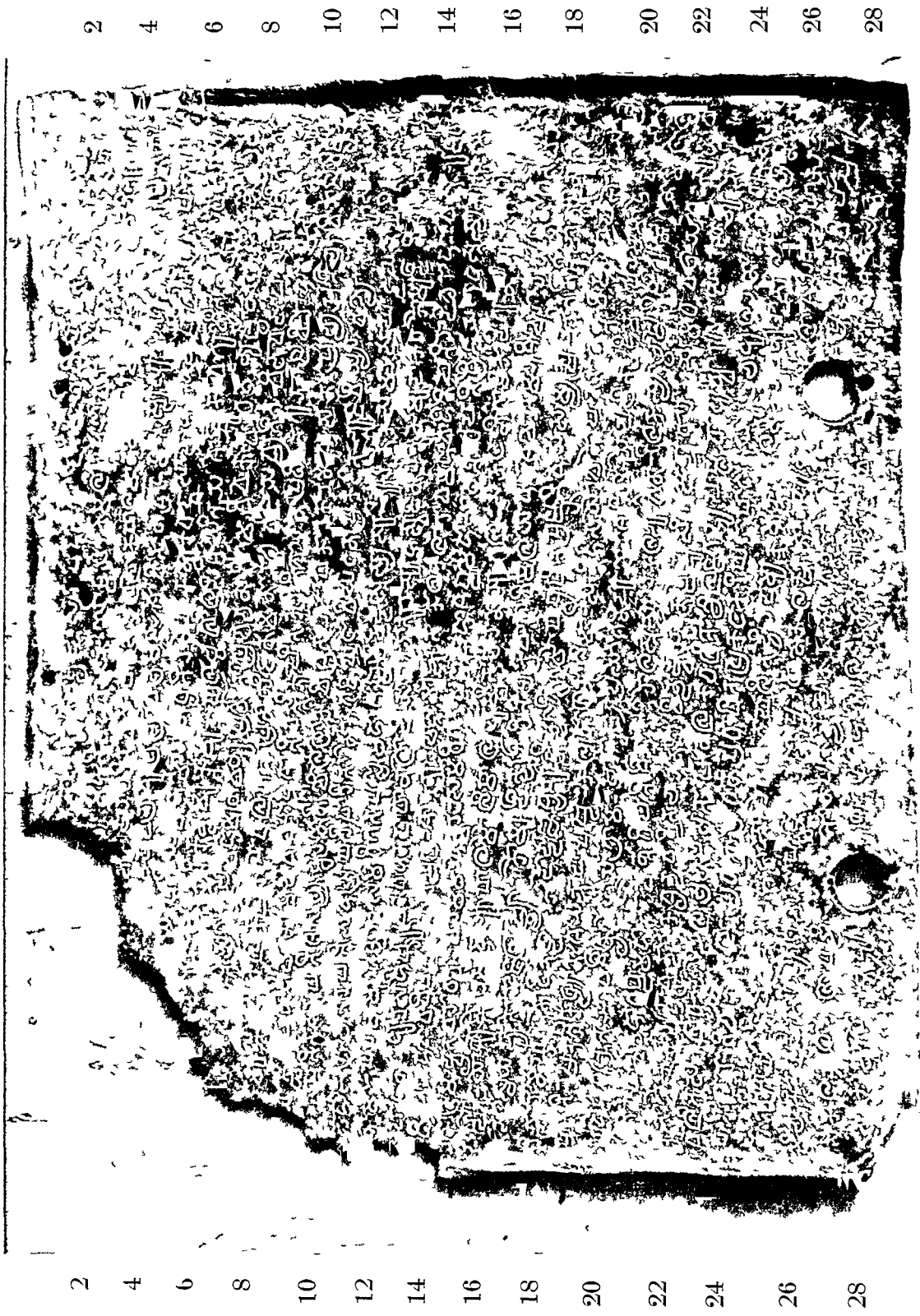
³ From the original plates and photographs

⁴ The text portions within the square brackets in the beginnings of the first fourteen lines have been supplied from the Nausāri Plates, *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, pp 77 ff

⁵ There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here It consists of two dots or small dashes, one above the other There are more such marks in the body of the inscription In some cases they are represented by a single dash

⁶ This is what the Nausāri Plates actually read To this is added the editor's note "the sense requires us to correct this into *vilasit ānakulita*"

⁷ This portion has also been taken from the Nausāri Plates



- 22 kṛtō=nṛka-narēndra vrindārakṛ vrinda-ṇ andita charan āravinda-dvayah kund-ēndu-
sita sinduṇ āra kusuma dhavala-yaśaśi sudhā dha
23 valita sīkālā dha[rā ma]jḍalā[h*] p'ratāpa(p ā)nala-kavalit ākhila jagad-upaplavō durv-
vāra-śar āsāra śamutsī[r]i[ta]-
24 [sakṛ]l ārāti chakravālah pradhāna pradhāna pradhāvita prakata karī ghatū pātana-patun
(tuś=)chātula ran-āngam-āṇ angan[āraṅga]-
25 na tunga [tura]ṅgam [pra ?]karī bhanga bhāsurō² drava dālita dvirada [kumbha sthālī *]
mukta muktāphala nīkara dantur āsī latā marīchi nichaya-
26 mī(mṛ)chakṛta dākṣiṇī bāhu śikhīrah padmākara 1[va*] prakṛt-āna(nṛ)ka lākṣhanō na
punar=mmal āśayah kṣhapākara 1[va]
27 sakālā kalī [ka]lāp ānchitō na punar=ddōshī-karah sāgara 1[v=ā]ntah pravāśita vipakṣa-
bhū-
28 bhrin mandalō na punah(nar=)grāh ākulah(lō) Nārāyana iva Sudarśana chakra-

Second Plate

- 29 [kṣhapita ?]vipakṣhō [na pu]nalī kṛṣṇa svabhāva(hō) Hara 1v=āngīkṛita-bhūti mecha[yō]
na pu[na]r=bhujāṅga pṛ
30 [rīgraha*]h l Bāl ēndu [bimbā] pratimcna ycna pravarddhama(mā)na sva tan ūdaycna [l]
pranāma kāmō=lpa karcna lō-
31 [kah krī]tīnīya(t āñja)līh kāntimatā k[rī]tō=yam(yam)⁶ || Su(A)sī dhārā jalcna sāmtah
prasabha-Valabhī patcī⁷ purc yōn=āścśha lōka sam
32 kalāpadatāyuk īnālīh Ja[rī]bhata jaladah [cśha] sa vīgīyatc dēva vadhū-
kādamb[ai]r⁸=nripī satī rakutī ratna kīraṇa(n ā)ṇ-
33 [ram*]jī(rāñjī)ti pādī pankajah² samadhyata pañcha mahā śabda(bdō) mahā sāmānt-ādhi-
pati śrī Jayabhatah kuśalī sarvān=āva rūja sā
34 mantā-ṇishayapātī rāshtrī grīma mahattar ādhīkīrik ādīn=samanudarsayaty=astu vah
samviditam yathā mayā mātā pītṛō
35 r=ā[tmanā]ś=ch=āhīk āmushmika punya yaśō bhividdhayc² Lōhugakakṣhapakath-āhāra⁹
vimrgata tat-traividya sāmā(mā)nya Kaundinya sa gōtra-

¹ The letter *p* in the conjunct syllable lool s more like *sh*

² There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here It consists of two dots or small dashes, one above the other There are more such marks in the body of the inscription In some cases they are represented by a single dash

³ This word has been supplied from the Kāvī grant of Jayabhata III, *Ind Ant*, Vol V, p 113

⁴ [This reading is mere conjecture —B C C]

⁵ These two syllables have likewise been supplied from the Kāvī grant ⁶ Metro *Upajāti*

[This also appears to be in verse and the correct reading seems to be *prasabham Valabhī patcī purc* 1 yō(yc)ṇ-ā śha lōka sam[tapa*] lalapa-da Tāyji ānālīh Ja[ya]bhata jalada cśha sa[h*] The reading in the present record would show that there could not have been any reference to a fight with the Lord of Valabhī in the fragmentary Kāvī Plate of Jayabhata III (K 486) as suggested by Bühler and adopted in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, pt 1 On the other hand it appears that the latter came to Valabhī to help its ruler in fighting the Tāyjiakas or the Arab invaders who were the common enemies of all the rulers of the Western India—Ed]

⁷ [The portion *vīgīyatc dēva vadhū kādambav*= reads like a line of *Upēndratāgṛa* metre The word *vīgīya* if it is intended to convey the sense of 'is praised', is not appropriate, since it means rather 'is condemned' —B C C]

⁸ We have perhaps to read °*pathakakāra* for °*palathakāra*

- 36 Vāyu[mā]dhyā[ndi]na sabrahmachārī Hītāvuka brāhman Ādityanāga - putra - bhatt¹ Ōcheha-
dāya² va(ba)h² charu vaśvadēv āgnihō[tr³] jātithi pa[n̄cha] -
- 37 vi(ma)hū[ra]jū ā[di] kri[ty] ō[tsaprā(rppa)n - ārttha[m]] śrī Bharukachchha - vishay āntarggata-
Mannātha-grāmah s ōdrangah s ōparikarah sa bhūtapa(vā)ta pranyā-
(tyā)ya[h]
- 38 sa dhānya [hi]rany ādēyah sa daś āpara(rā)dhah s ōtpadyama(mā)na vishitah a chāta-
bhata pravāśyah sarva rājāyānām-a hasta prakāh[ē]pa[ni]
- 39 yah pu(pū)rya prattā dēva brahma vā(dā)ya rahitih(tō) bhūmichehchudra nyāyān=ā-
chandra(ndr ā)rk ārnava kshiti sarit parvata sama kālīnah putra paulī(tr ā)nyaya
- 40 kram ōpa[bhō]gy ē(gyō)=dy - Āśvayuja ma(mā)s āmu(mā)vāyā[nyām*] ūdhaky⁴ ātisarggēna
śrī(bra)hma dāyāt[na*] pratipādītō yā(ya)t[ō]-sy-ōchitayā pra(bra)hma-
- 41 dhā(dā)ya sthityā bhūmja(bhūmja)taḥ kṛishatāḥ kāksha(rsha)jataḥ pratidīśatō vā na
kaiscid=va(ya)v[ī]r[ī]dhī vartitayam=a(ā)gāmī bhadrā nripatibhir=ayamaśmad⁵
vamśyāi
- 42 [r-a]n[va]r-vā=āyam=akmā(sma)d dāyō=numantayah pa(pī)ryatayā=cha | yaś=ch=
[ā] jñāna tīma(mi)ra=patā[ī ā*]vīta matir=ichehchudya(ndy ā)d=ichehchudya(mā)nakam
v=īnum[ē](mō)dī[tr] sa
- 43 [pa]ñchabhur=malhāpa(pī)talas=s ē(s ō)prapā(pī)talā(kā)ś=cha samv[ā]t[ā]h*] syā(syā)d=
ity=uktā[n̄]-cha bhagavatā v[ā]cdavāśēna | Shaṣṭi varsha sahasra(srī)ni
svarggēti-
- 44 [shthati] bhūm[ī]dah [ī*] āchehchēttī ch=īnuma[ntā] cha tasyā(tāny=ē)va narak[ē] vāśēta(t)
[ī*] Vindhya ātāyāvā(shv=a)tōyāsu sukhika tōtara vāśmah [ī*] kṛishn[ā]h[ā]yō hī
- 45 [jā*]yant[ē] bh[ū]m[ī]-dāyam haranti y[ē] || Vā(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā bhuktī rājabh[ī]h*]
Sagar ādibhi[hī*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmī-tasya tasya [tr]dī phalam(lam) [ī*]
- 46 Agnēr=apatyam prathamam suvarnam bhūr-Vaishnavī Su(Sū)rya sūtās=ch ā(gā)yah
[ī*] loka trayam ta(tē)na bhavēd=dhū dattam⁶ yah līchanaam gīn=cha [mahīm]
- 47 cha dadyāta(t) [ī*] Yān=īha dattīm purī narēndrah(drair-)dīnām dharmm āchē(rtha)-
yāsās karīm | nirbhutā(kta) ma(mā)ya pratumā(mā)ni tīni kō nāma sū
- 48 dhuh punar=ādadīta || Sva dattīm para dattīm vī yā(ya)tnādrum(d-ra)ksha Yudhi-
shthā(shthi)ra | mahīm mahimatīm śrēshtha dānāch=chhrētyō=nu[pa(pī)]lanam=iti(nam
[ī*]iti) [ī*]
- 49 Bhatta śrī [Dūya]ka dūtakam⁶ || Samvatsara-sāta-chatushtayō shaḍ-asīty-adhikā⁶
Āśvayuja bahula-prāñchadaśy[ām]]
- 50 Samva 400 80 6 Āśvayuja va 10 5 likhitañ=ch=aitan=mayā va(ba)la(lā)dhikṛit-ālla suta-
mahābala(lā)dhikṛita]

¹ [On the photograph the reading lool s lil e bhaff īchchadaya,—B C C]

² There is a superfluous mark of punctuation here. It consists of two dots or small dashes, one above the other. There are more such marks in the body of the inscription. In some cases they are represented by a single dash.

³ The syllable *trā* has a peculiar shape. It lool s more like *tha*, though *th* again has a different form as is seen in the very next word *atithi*.

⁴ Read °syayām=udal. On top of the syllables *dhal ya* there is a sign of an uncertain letter.

⁵ The two syllables *yamma* are superfluous. Read *nripatibhir=asmad*.

⁶ [The Kāśī grant reads *Śrīlāndakapala dūtakam*. The reading in the present inscription is not certain. It can also be *Bhaffa Śrīkhaḍḍayaka dūtakam*—B C C.]

51 [Sāṃgullī]॥

Sva hastō mama śrī-Jayabhatasya ॥

TRANSLATION

(Ll 1 1) In the great lineage of the great king Karna—which became the (perpetual) abode (of Lakṣmī), which allayed the misery (*caused by*) desires, whose glory was wide spread like that of the sun (and) which possessed (wealth that supported families) of Brahmins—(*there lived*) like a swan in the lotus pond, the illustrious Dadda, whose (pure temper was not agitated by the freaks) of the mighty Kali age, who, by his grave and noble conduct struck the minds of all kings (or *dil pālas*) with wonder (*and*) over whom there hung with the grace of a rolling mass of white clouds, a canopy of glory gained by (protecting the lord of Valabhī) who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harṣhadēva

(Ll 1 7) His son (*was*) the illustrious Jayabhata whose mental happiness increased as his stores of (wealth were enjoyed) by needy men coming (*to him*) without fear, the fire of whose valour was fierce enough to burn up numbers of inimical families, (*and*) who veiled the lotus like faces of the women who were the quarters with the cloth of (*his*) white glory that shone out in the guise of the pearls coming out of the temples of the elephants of (*his*) enemies, rent open by the (edge of (*his*) sharp sword)

(Ll 7 12) His son (*was*) the illustrious Dadda, who was devoted to the performance of his own religious duties with discrimination due to his (*right*) understanding of the treatises composed by the great sage Manu, who had rooted out all the arrogance of the Kali age by (the proper management) of the (*four*) castes (*varna*) and stages (*āśrama*) (*of life*), who removed the pride of charity of all (*other*) kings by giving (lit acquiring) wealth that was beyond the hopes of the supplicants, whose valour in mounting mighty elephants was rendered famous by holding in check infuriated elephants which were lost to all control through rut and which rebelled against the god, whose habit of benevolence was famous among all people through (*his*) assisting hundreds of kings who were afflicted by misery, who was well known by his other name of Bāhusahāya through the strength of (*his*) arm, that was displayed in tearing through innumerable troops of elephants surrounded by thousands of kings in the great wars waged with the great kings of the east and of the west, who was a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara and who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds

(Ll 12 15) His son (*was*) the illustrious Jayabhata who was clever in tearing through the troops of elephants thickly arranged in the clash of numerous battles, who was a very forest fire to the intolerant (*i.e.*, his opponents), who was a friend of the poor, the destitute and the sick, who was a full moon to the lotus pond (*in the state*) of relations and friends, who like the stream of (*the river*) Bhūgīrathī was able to agitate his enemies (or rocks), who like Śītanu was the lord of a great army (or of the great river) full of a humming noise, who like the Primeval Boar held the earth raised by the might of his own arm, who was a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara, who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds and who was a *Mahāsāmantādhipati*

(Ll 15 21) His son (*was*) the illustrious Ahrōla, whose feet were kissed by garlands on the crests of kings with their heads lofty on account of the rising pride of their valour, who was chosen by Rājalakṣmī (Royal splendour) of her own accord with her heart full of love for all his attractive virtues, whose glory, white like the mass of light of the full moon, crowned the peak of (the mount) Mṛu, whose bar like (*i.e.*, strong) arm was capable of crushing crores of troops of elephants belonging to his great enemies met in the battle field, who had pleased the subjects by properly chalking out the paths of morality through (*his*) surpassing wisdom which was increased by (*his*)

mastery over four fold learning, who, being naturally of benevolent disposition, was not stained by the blackness (i.e., the wicked influence) of the Kali age, who had his senses controlled owing to (his) natural apathy towards the pleasures of countless objects (of enjoyment) attendant upon the approaching youth, who was well versed in the employment of the six expedients, whose greatness was enhanced by (his) three *śāltis*, who was a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara, who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds and who was a *Mahāsāmantādhipati*

(Ll 21 3^a) His—who was the ornament of the whole world—son, Śrī Jayabhata, who is adorned by the garland (in the form of) the collection of his own virtues, whose lotus like feet are saluted by numerous great kings, who has the whole earth brightened with the lime wash (in the form) of his glory, which is as white as the *lunda*, the moon and the white *sindūra* flower, who has consumed the misfortune of the whole world by the fire (in the form) of his great prowess, who has expelled the multitude of all enemies by the torrents of his irresistible arrows, who is clever in destroying the troops of elephants running about in the heat of battles, who is shining (on account) of the breaking of the multitude of lofty horses eipping(?) and dancing in the unsteady battlefield, whose right shoulder has been drenched by the collection of the rays (issuing) out of the sword which looked like having projecting teeth on account of the pearls (sticking to it) which had fallen from the (teeth) of elephants violently split by him, who like a lotus pool manifests various auspicious marks (as the lotus pool has many cranes) but is not wicked (or with a muddy bottom), who like the moon is endowed with all the fine arts (as the moon has digits) but is not a repository of vices (as the moon is the 'night-maker'), who like the sea has caused the hostile kings to come in (i.e., submit?) (as the sea has given shelter to winds, mountains) but is not afflicted with disease (as the sea is full of crocodiles) who like Nārīyana has destroyed his foes with his excellent discus (as Nārīyana did with the Sudar'ana wheel) but is not of wicked nature (as Nārīyana is an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa), who like Hara has secured all prosperity (as Śiva has his body besmeared with ashes) but is not surrounded by disolute people (or serpents), who resembles the new moon, since whilst the splendour of his body is increasing he causes the people to worship with folded hands on account of the lightness of the taxation (*alpa kara*) just as the new moon when she is on the increase and sheds slender rays (*alpa kara*) still causes the people to salute, who by the edge of his sword quieted the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī, (who quenching the fire of the desires of the great Pandits of the whole world and giving them the fruits of their wishes) is praised in songs by the whole crowds of the wives of the gods who lotus feet are reddened by the rays of the crest jewels of hundreds of princes, who has obtained the privilege of the five great sounds and is a *Mahāsāmantādhipati*,

(Ll 33 10) being in the best of health, informs all princes, feudal chiefs, district officers and *Mahattaras* in charge of *rāṣṭra* and village—Be it known to you that, for the increase of merit and glory of (my) parents and of myself, both in this and the next world, the village Mannāṭha, lying within the district of Bharukachchha, together with the *udranga* and *vperulara* and *Bhūta Vāta pratyāya*, with its income in grain and gold, with (the proceeds of fines for) the ten faults with the right to forced labour, not to be entered by *chāṭa* and *bhata*, not to be meddled with by any royal officer, exclusive of former grants made to gods and Brahmins, according to *bhūmichechīdra ngāya*, to continue as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers and the mountains endure (and) to be enjoyed in succession by sons and grandsons, has, to day on the new moon of the month of Āṣvayuja, been given by me as a *brahmadāya* with libations of water, for the

¹[Here the author has followed the translation given by Bühler, which was based on his imperfect reading of the text. I would translate this passage as 'he is the very cloud (in the form of) Jayabhata who has forcibly extinguished the fire (in the state) of Tājūhas who had caused plenty of suffering to numerous people, in the city of the Lord of Valabhī with the water of the edge of his sword who is praised, etc. See above p 151 n 7—Ld.]

purpose of performing the five great sacrifices, *viz*, *Bali*, *Charu*, *Varśadēva*, *Agnihōta*, and *Atithi*, to Bhatta Uchchada¹, who came from the district of Lōhigakakshapāṭhaka, who is of Kaundinya *gōtra*, who belongs to the community of Traividyā 'Brahmins, who is a student of the Vājī Mādhyandina (*śākhā*) and who is the son of Ādityanāga, a Hētāvuka Brāhmin

(Ll 40 43) Wherefore no one should behave so as to obstruct him when enjoying (*it*), cultivating (*it*), causing (*it*) to be cultivated¹ or entrusting (*it to any one else*) in accordance with the proper conditions of a *brahmadāya* (And) this our gift should be assented to and preserved by future good kings whether of our own lineage or others And he shall incur the guilt of five great sins together with the minor sins who, having his mind obscured by the thick darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (*this grant*) or assent to its confiscation

(Ll 43 48) [Here follow six of the customary verses]

(Ll 49 51) The illustrious *bhatta* Dēiyaka is the *dūtaka*

In the year four hundred increased by eighty-six on the 15th day of the dark half of Āsvayuja (the year 400, 80, 6 Āsvayuja, va 10 5) this has been written by me, the *Mahābalādihrita* Samgulla, the son of the *Balādihrita* Alla

(*This is*) the sign manual of me, Śrī-Jayabhata

No 24 —MALLASARUL COPPER-PLATE OF VIJAYASENA

By N G MAJUMDAR, M A, INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

This copper-plate comes from Mallasārul,² a village about a mile and a half from the north bank of the Dāmodar river, within the jurisdiction of Galsi Police Station of the Burdwan District, Bengal It was discovered in 1929 by Dr Sureshwar Roy in course of re excavation of an old tank adjoining his house and was subsequently presented by him to the Vangīya-Sāhitya Parishat of Calcutta The decipherment of the text inscribed on the plate was entrusted to the late Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasād Sāstrī, but due to his continuous ill health he could not take it up seriously and the copper plate, which remained unpublished, attracted little attention after his death Recently I approached the Sāhitya Parishat for permission to edit the record, which was very kindly accorded, and the original plate together with a tentative and incomplete transcript, prepared partly by the late Mahāmahōpādhyāya and partly by Mr Chintāharan Chakravartī, M A, was handed over to me An article in Bengali giving a preliminary account of the plate has been contributed by me to the quarterly journal of the Sāhitya Parishat But considering the importance of the record I have thought it desirable to edit the same with fuller details in the *Epigraphia Indica*

This is a single sheet of copper, measuring 10 4" long by 6 5" broad, which is inscribed on both faces lengthwise A circular seal about 2 8" in diameter is soldered on the left side of the plate It bears in relief a standing figure of a two armed deity with a *chakra* in the background representing perhaps the 'Wheel of Law' Below the figure occurs in raised letters the legend (*Mahā*)*rāja-Vijaya[sē]nasya, i e*, 'Of the Mahārāja Vijayasēna,' which is partly defaced The plate contains 25 lines of writing, of these fifteen lines are engraved on the obverse and ten on the reverse The engraver has not been able to follow the draft with uniform accuracy there are slips and lapses at a number of places, which have been duly pointed out in the

¹ [See above p 152 n 1 —Ed]

² The place is marked as 'Sārul' in Survey of India map No 73 M 11 (1" to a mile scale) of 1929 30, and as 'Mallasarul' in the Map of the District of Burdwan

text The uneven surface of the reverse side, showing a number of fissures must have made the engraver's task somewhat difficult In several instances he has been obliged to leave blank space in the middle of a line and re engrave a letter or letters, as in the last line, after the blank space The plate is cracked at the upper left corner and some slices appear to have been cut away from here, as also from the lower left corner As a result of the damage, which happened probably when the plate was being dug out, several letters are lost from the commencement of lines 1 3 and 14 15

The characters belong to the Eastern variety of the ' Gupta alphabet ', representing a further stage of development as compared to those of the copper plates of Bengal dating from the 5th century A D Palaeographically, it resembles the Faridpur plates of Dharmāditya and Gōpa-chandra¹ which are referable to the 6th century As pointed out below, the approximate age of the plate can be determined also from its internal evidence As regards the forms of individual letters, noteworthy are *m*, *y*, *śh* and *s*, and the conjuncts *ñch*, *lm*, *lp* and *lm* The letter *y* shows a curl on the left with opening on the outer side This particular form of the letter has been found by Hoernle also in the Bower Manuscript,² and it appears in the Faridpur plates, the Gunrughar plate of Vainyagupta (A D 507)³ and in the latest one (A D 513 44)⁴ of the Dīmōdarpur plates The letter *h* has the lower portion of its curve shaped like a hook, turned to the right It differs from the *h* occurring in the Baigrām,⁵ Pāhārpur⁶ and Dāmōdarpur⁷ plates in which the curve is much shorter and is turned to the left Attention may also be drawn to the use of the peculiar medial *ō*, consisting of the *ī* stroke on top of consonant and the hook-like *ā* stroke added to its stem below The record contains examples of the final *t* and *m* and the numeral signs for 3, 7, 8 and 20

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit With the exception of two verses in *Āryā* metre at the beginning and eight other verses relating to land grant, the document is composed in prose throughout The superfluous addition of the suffix *la* in *dattala* (l 12) is a well known feature of the records of the Gupta period The word *īaralṛita* in *asmad īaralṛitaiḥ* (l 12), which probably refers to a class of officers, is of lexical importance⁸ As regards orthography, mention may be made of the doubling of a consonant either preceding a subscript *r* or following a superscript *r*, the use of the dental nasal in *īanśa* (l 17), and of the same nasal instead of *m*, once in *danbha* (l 1) The sign for *b* occurs only in a single instance in *brāhmanasya* (l 16), but everywhere else in the record the sign for *v* has been employed for *b* This orthographical distinction between *b* and *v*, as is well known, gradually became obsolete after the Gupta period

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XXXIX, 1910, pp 193 ff

² *Introduction to the Bower Manuscript* (Reprint, Bombay 1914), p 16

³ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol VI, 1930, pp 45 ff

⁴ Above, Vol XV, pp 141 ff and Vol XVII, p 193

⁵ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol XXI, pp 78 ff

⁶ Above, Vol XX, pp 59 ff

⁷ Above, Vol XV, pp 113 ff

⁸ The primary meaning of *tara* is ' a person's turn ' or ' proper place ', and *īaralṛita* would mean ' one appointed in turn ' or ' one appointed in a place ' In the Ghugrahatī plate of Samūchārādēva certain persons are said to have been appointed *kulavara* (*īaramika Nayanāga Kṛṣṇav adīn kulavarān pralalpya*) in connection with the land granted Also in a Faridpur plate of the time of Gōpachandra we have *Viśhayadhīlaraṇṇ=ādhi/aranalajjān=kulavarān=pralalpya*, i e, ' having appointed, through the *Viśhayadhīlaraṇṇ*, *kulavaras* who are acquainted with administrative affairs ' The word *kulavara* has been taken by Pargiter to mean ' a referee ' or ' an arbitrator ' (*Ind Ant*, 1910, p 205, n 49, in the above passage I read *jān* for *nana* of Pargiter) Evidently the word *īaralṛita* is used in a similar sense in the present record, In line 12, this class of officers are supposed to carry out the appointment of the price of the land at the *Viṭhī*

The record opens with an eulogy of the god Lōkanātha,¹ of *Dharma*, and of the saints (*santah*), i e, the Buddhist Sangha. In line 2 of the inscription occurs the name of a paramount sovereign (*Mahārājādhirāja*), the first two letters of which can be clearly read as *Gōpa*. The remaining portion of the name, appearing at the beginning of line 3, evidently consisted of two letters which are only partially preserved. It is clear, however, that the last letter of the name was a conjunct with subscript *r* as a component. The lower portion of the third letter has the shape of a triangle with an acute angle pointing downwards, from which it is evident that this is a fragment of the letter *cha*. Moreover, the name must have been in the locative case, in conformity with the present participle form *praśāsati* that immediately follows. Under the circumstances I feel no hesitation in restoring the passage as *Gōpachandrē praśāsati*, i e, 'during the reign of Gōpachandra.'

In lines 3-5, honour is shown to a number of officers who are mentioned by their respective designation and not by name, viz, *Kārttikrīṭiḥ*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Chaurōddharamiṭa*, *Uparika*, *Audrangīḥ*, *Āgrahāriḥ*, *Aurnasthāniḥ*, *Bhōgapatīḥ*, *Vishayapati*, *Tadāyuktaka*, *Hiranyasāmudāyīḥ*, *Pattalaka*, *Āśāthiḥ* and officers entrusted with *dēvadronī* (i e, procession or ablu-tion of images?). As these officers are mentioned immediately after *Varddhamāna bhuktāu* there is no doubt they were the various functionaries of the provincial administration directly concerned with the affairs of this *bhukti*. The enumeration of the officers is followed by a list of the Elders (*mahattaras*) and other important persons concerned with the present grant, viz, *mahattara* Himadatta, an *agrahārīn* of Ardhakaraka, *mahattara* Suvarṇayaśas of Nirvṇtavātaka, *mahattara* Dhṛnasvāmin, an *agrahārīn* of Kapisthavātaka, the *mahattaras* Shashthidatta and Śrīdatta, *agrahārīns* of Vatavallaka, *Bhatta* Vāmanasvāmin, an *agrahārīn* of Kōddavīra, Mahīdatta and Rājyadattī, *agrahārīns* of Gōdhagrāma, Jīvasvāmin of Śālmahivātaka, *Khādgi* Hari of Vakkattaka, *Khādgi* Gōika of Madhuvātaka, *Khādgi* Bhadrānandin of Khandajōtikā, and *Vāhanāyala* Hari and others of Vindhyaपुरी.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant of land during the reign of King Gōpachandra by *Mahārāja Vijayasēna*, to a Brahmin named *Vatsasvāmin* of the Kaundinya *gōṭtra*, belonging to the Bahvricha *sākhā* of the Rīgveda, to enable him to perform the 'five great sacrificial rites'.² The land granted measured eight *lūlyavāpas*³ in area and was situated in the village of *Vēttargarttā* within the *Vakkattaka vīthī* of the *Varddhamāna bhukti*. It was bounded on the east and south by Gōdhagrāma, on the north by the Vatavallaka *agrahāra* and on the west in part by Āmrāgarttikā. The plot was duly marked out by pegs (*līlaka*),⁴ a system that finds a parallel in the land survey of modern times.

The transaction took place in the following manner. Vijayasēna approached the Elders (*mahattaras*) and other notabilities of the neighbouring villages and also the Court of the *Vīthī* (*vīthī adhīśarana*), expressing his desire to purchase, in the customary way, eight *lūlyavāpas* of land for the aforesaid purpose. The *Vīthī* Court and the Elders enquired into the matter and signified their approval, considering that 'a sixth part of the religious merit will accrue to the *Paramabhāttārāla*, i e, the King, and they themselves, as the protectors of the gift, will also have fame and prosperity'. The necessary amount of money in *dīnāras* was then duly paid at the *Vīthī* Court by Vijayasēna to cover the price of the land, which was divided by the *Vāra* officers⁵ and the gift was made subject to the express condition that the usual dues in respect of the land

¹ The figure on the seal of the copper plate may be a representation of Lōkanātha, although it is too indistinct to admit of a definite identification.

² These comprise the five daily rites, viz, *bali*, *charu*, *śaśvadēta*, *agnihōtra* and *atithi*.

³ The area is specified in figure also in l. 24 (*kūlya* 8).

⁴ The pegs are said to have borne the device of *kalal-ālśha mālā*, i e, 'a string of lotus seeds'.

⁵ See above, p. 156, n. 8.

would be borne by him and credited to the revenues of the *ṭiṭhī*. Having in this manner obtained the right of ownership, he next transferred it to the donee Vatsasvāmin by means of a copper-plate charter. In this transaction a person named Śubhadatta acted as the *Dūtaka*, the *Sāndhivigrahika*. Bhōgachandra prepared the draft, while the *Pustapāla* Jayadāsa was responsible for getting the copper plate 'beated' (*āpita*), by which evidently the process of engraving, that is to say the technical part of it, is to be understood. The date is given as the year, i.e., the regnal year, 3, the month of Śrāvana, the 27th day.

Mahārājādhirāja Gōpachandra, the reigning king should be identified with the *Mahārājādhirāja* of the same name mentioned in one of the Faridpur copper-plates. *Mahārāja Vijayasēna*, the donor, whose name appears on the seal and also in lines 8 and 13, and who must have been a vassal chief of Gōpachandra, should be identified with the *Mahārāja, Mahāsāmanta Vijayasēna*, the *Dūtaka* of the Gunaighar plate of Vainyagupta (A.D. 507). The present charter therefore may be placed in the first half of the sixth century, a conclusion, we have already seen, is borne out by the palaeography of the inscription. It appears that Vijayasēna served both under Vainyagupta and Gōpachandra, at different dates, but it is difficult to say which of the two kings was the earlier. It is likely, however, that as Vijayasēna issued the present charter under his own seal, he occupied a more dignified position under Gōpachandra, and this would probably indicate a point of time later than A.D. 507, in which year he was associated as a *Dūtaka* with Vainyagupta's Gunaighar plate. It should be noted also that although Vainyagupta, his overlord, was at this date enjoying some sort of independent status, he styled himself only as *Mahārāja*, and not as *Mahārājādhirāja*. Vainyagupta, as his name would suggest, might have been related to the Guptas of Magadha. Gōpachandra on the other hand was probably a member of a local family. That he had the status of a paramount sovereign is certain. As we already know, this king, like Dharmāditya of the Faridpur plates who enjoyed a similar status, had placed one of his chiefs in charge of a territory in Eastern Bengal. From the evidence of this record it now appears that Gōpachandra had under him also the Vardhamāna *bhukti*, answering to the present Burdwan Division. He appears therefore to have owned a fairly extensive territory. By the middle of the sixth century, or a little earlier, Bengal seems to have been lost to the Guptas of Magadha and local princes had established their independence. They probably retained this position until the rise of the Emperor Harshavardhana. One of the Faridpur plates (the Ghugrahati plate) mentions another independent king of Bengal named Samāchāradēva. The script of this plate is definitely later than that of the plates of Dharmāditya and Gōpachandra. Hence he should be placed after them, that is either at the end of the sixth or at the beginning of the seventh century.

Some remarks are called for regarding the identification of the localities mentioned in the copper-plate. Most of them appear to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Vētttagarttā within Vakkattaka *ṭiṭhī*, a part of which was granted to the donee. Vētttagarttā itself cannot be located with certainty. But Gōdhagrāma may be identical with Gōhagrām on the Dāmodar, to the south east of Mallasīrūl where the plate has been found. Āmrtagarttikā may be modern Ambahulū (also called Simāsīmī), to the south of Mallasīrūl. Khandajōtikā is perhaps Khāndajuli between Mallasīrūl and Gōhagrām, while Śālmali may be Mallasīrūl itself. The name of the *ṭiṭhī* Vakkattaka seems to have survived in Baktā, a place immediately to the east of Gōhagrām.

The Vakkattaka *ṭiṭhī*, representing a part of the Vardhamāna *bhukti*, included a strip of the country along the north bank of the Dāmodar river. Another *ṭiṭhī* of the same *bhukti* was known during the Śīva period as Śivalpa dakshina *ṭiṭhī*, which lay along the Bhāgīrathī river in the north-

eastern corner of the Burdwan District ¹ In the unpublished Nālandā plate of Dharmapāla a *vīthī* in Gayā-*viśaya* is described as Jambūnadi *vīthī*, i e, 'the *vīthī* on the Jambū river' Again in a grant of the Gupta period from Monghyr District there is reference to a Nanda *vīthī*, the name being recognizable in 'Nandapur', the findspot of the grant, situated on the Ganges ² From these scattered references it would appear as if the term *vīthī* was applied in ancient times to a tract of land immediately bordering on a river

The expression *vīthy adhikarana*, i e, the *Vīthī* Court (l 8) is interesting A similar expression *adhishthān-ādhiparāṇa* is used in reference to the town or district of Kōtivarsha in the Dāmōdarpur copper-plates, where it seems to denote 'the City Court' The persons mentioned in lines 5 8 immediately before *vīthy adhikarana*, among whom are *mahattaras*, i e, Elders, and *agrahārins*, i e, 'holders of *agrahāras*', were probably the heads of administration of the *vīthī* In connection with *vīthy adhikarana* we may compare the expression *Suvarna vīthy adhikṛta*, i e, 'one who is in charge of the administration of Suvarna *vīthī*' ³ occurring in the Ghugrahati plate of Samāchāradīva

TEXT ⁴

Obverse

- 1 (Lō)kanāthah⁵ yah pumsām sukṛta karmma-phala hētuh [1*] satya-
tapōmaya mūrttir=llōka dvaya sādhanō dharmmah [|| 1*] Tad anu jīta danbha(mbha)-
lōbhā jaya
- 2 [nti*] para-lut-ārthāh⁶ [1*] n[rma]tsarāh su charitaih para lōka-jigīshavah santah
[|| 2*] prithivīm Prithur=iva(Prithuvat) prathita-pratāpa-naya śauryy[ē] Mahārājādhirāja-
śrī Gōpa-
- 3 [chandrē] praśāsati tad anujñaptāyām puny ōttara janapad ādhyāsītāyā[m] satata-
dharmma kṛyā varddhamānāyām Varddhamāna-bhuktau pūjyān=varttamān ōpasthi
tata⁸ kārttākṛitika ku-
- 4 mārāmātya ch[au]r[ō]ddharanik ōparik andrangik āgrahārik-aurnasthānīka-bhōgapatīka visha-
yapatī tada(dā)yuktaka hīranyasūmudāyika pattalak āvasathika dēvadrōnī samva(mba)
- 5 ddh ādīn=vidhuvāt=sampūjya Vakkattaka-vīthī-samva(mba)ddh-Ārddhakarak āgrahārīna-
mahattara Himadattah Nirvṛtavātākīya-mahattara Su[va*]mnayaśā[h*] Kapistha-
vātak āgrah[ā]rīna-
- 6 mahattara Dhanasvāmī(mī) Vatavallak āgrahārīna-mahattara Shashthidatta-Śridattau Kōd-
dāvīr āgrahārīna bhattacha-Vāmanasvāmī(mī) Gōdhagrām āgrahārīna-Mahidatta-Rājya-
- 7 dattau Śūlmavātākīya Jīvasvāmī(mī) Vakkattakīya khādgi Harih Madhuvātākīya-
khādgi-Gōika(kah) Khandajōtīkēya khādgi Bhadrānandī(ndī) Vindhyaapurēya vāhanāyaka-

¹ Majumdar, *Inscr. of Bengal*, p. 71

² Above, p. 52

³ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 76 Mr. Bhattacharya renders it as 'master of the bullion market' which cannot be accepted

⁴ From the original copper plate

⁵ About eight letters are missing at the beginning of this line

⁶ Some letters are missing also here, of which one has been tentatively restored

⁷ For this restoration see remarks above p. 157

⁸ The second *ta* is superfluous and should be omitted

- 8 Hari-prabhū(bhri)ṭayō vīthy adhikaranañ=cha viñāpayanti [*] pūjyam ¹Mahārāja-Vijayasēnēna vayam=abhyarthitā ichchhēha(ya)m=ēta[d*] vīthi samva(mba)ddha-Vētragarttā-grāmē yushmabhyō ya-
- 9 thā nyāya(yē)n=ōpakriy=āshtau kulyavāpān mātā puttrōr=ātmanaś=cha puny-ābhivriddhayē kalpāntara sthāyinyā pravrittyā puttra pauttr ānvaya bhōgyatvēna Kaundinya sagōttrāya
- 10 Vā(Bā)hvrīcha-Vatsasvāmīnō(nē) pañcha-mahā yajña-pravarttanāya pratipāva(da)ytum=iti [*] yatō=smābhīr=asy=ābhyartha[na*]y=āvadhritam=asy=ōshō(aishō)=nukramah² ubhaya lōka vijigīshu[bhī](bhīh)
- 11 [sā]dhubhīh kriyamāna-punya skandhēshu śrī-Paramā(ma)bhattāraka-pa(pā)dānām dharmma shad bhāgō cha yō³=smākam=apī pratipālayatām kīrti śrēyōbhayām yōgah [*] uktañ=cha [*] Yah kriyam dharmma-sam-
- 12 yuktām manas=āpy=abhinandati [*] [va*]rddhatē sa yath ēsht-ēva⁴ śukla-paksha iv=ōdurāt [|| 3*] tat=sampadyatām=asy=ābhuprāya ity=asman(d) vāra kritair=anēna dattaka dīnārā[n*] vīthyām samvibhajy=āsmān(d) Vētra-
- 13 garttā grāmē=shtābhyah kulyavāpēbhyō yath ōchutam dānam ta[d] vīthi samudaya ēva pranāryya⁵ vōdhavyam=ity=avachūrny=āshtau kulyavāpā Mahārāja-Vijayasēnasya dattōh(dattāh)
- 14 . pi⁶ rājū=āsmāi Kaundinya sagōttrāya Vā(Bā)hvrīcha-Vatsasvāmīnē pañcha-mahā yajña pravarttanāya tāmra pra(pa)ttēna pratipādītā⁷ atha cha⁸ ch=aishām chaturshu dīkshu⁹ sīmā bhavanti pū
- 15 (ivvasyām dī)śi Gōdhagrāmā-sīmā dakshinyām(nasyām) Gōdhagrāmā(ma) [ē]-va uttarasyām Vatavallak-āgrahāra sīmā paśchimasyām(māyām) dīśi arddhēna Āmrāgarttikā sīmā kilakās=ch=āttra kama[l ā]-

Reverse

- 16 ksha-māl-ānkitā(tās=)chaturshu dīkshu⁹ nyastā bhavanty=ēvam=ēshām krita-sīm ānkanām=asya brāhmanasya pañcha mahā-yajña pravarttanēn=ōpabhuñjānasya na
- 17 kēnachid=ētaḍ-vanśajēn¹⁰-ānyatamēna vā svalpapy(svalp=āpy)=āvā(bā)dhā hasta-prakshēpō vā k[ā]rīyah [*] ēvam=avadhritē yō=tha karōti sa vadhyah pañchabhīr=mma-
- 18 hāpātakaih s ōpāpātakaih samyuktah syād=apī cha [*] N=āsya dēvā na pītarō havih pindam samāpnuyuh [*] [chhī]nna mastaka vat=tālah apra-

¹ Read *pūjya*² [Correct reading seems to be -*asty-ō(ē)shō=nukramah* —Ed]³ [Intended reading is *dharmma shad bhāg ōpachayō=*, *pa* in the last word has apparently been inadvertently omitted by the scribe —Ed]⁴ [On the plate the reading seems to be *yadh ēshtē cha* But the reading *yath ēshtam cha* may have been intended —Ed]⁵ Read *pranayya*⁶ Not more than three letters are missing Probable restoration *anēn=āpi*⁷ Read *prat pādītā* | *atha*⁸ This *cha* is superfluous and should be omitted from text⁹ Read *chatur dīkshu* or *chaturīshu dīkshu*¹⁰ Read *vamsajēn=*

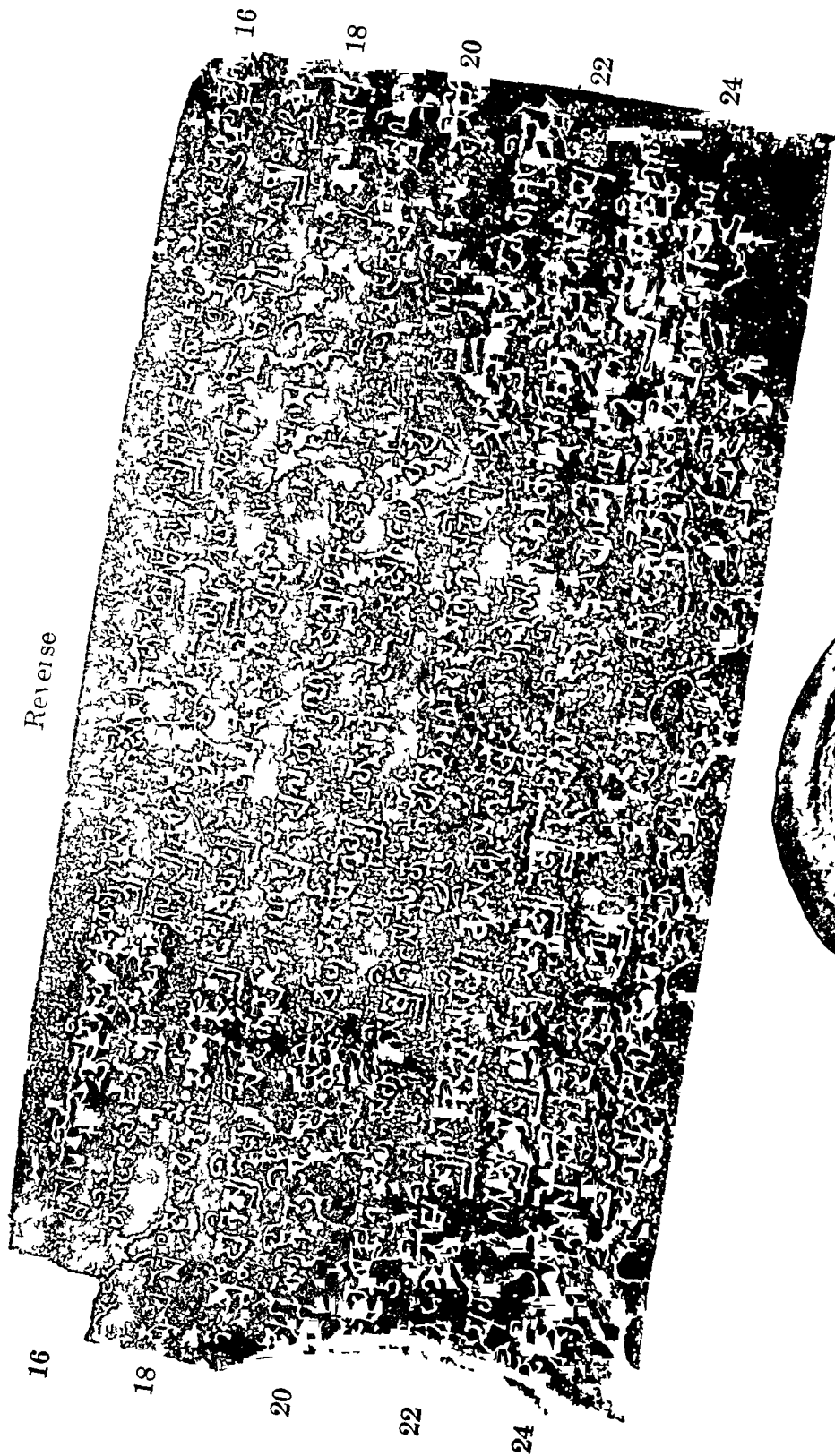
Obverse

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

The image shows the obverse side of a copper plate with a grid of text. The text is written in a script that appears to be a form of Devanagari or a related Indic script. The grid is organized into 7 rows and 14 columns. The first column contains the numbers 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, and 14. The second column contains the numbers 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, and 14. The remaining columns contain text in the script. The text is arranged in a regular pattern, with each row and column containing a single line of text. The script is highly stylized and appears to be a form of Devanagari or a related Indic script. The text is arranged in a regular pattern, with each row and column containing a single line of text. The script is highly stylized and appears to be a form of Devanagari or a related Indic script.

Reverse



Seal

- 19 tishthah patishyati [||4*] bhūmi dān āpaharana pratipālana guna dōsa(sha) vyañjakāh
ārshāh ślōkā bhavanti [|*] Shashtim varsha sahasrāni
- 20 svarggē nandati bhūmidah [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva
narakē vasēt [||5*] Āsphōtayanti pitarah pravalganti pitāmahāh [|*]
bhūmidō=
- 21 sman(t) kulē jātah sa nah santārayishyati [||6*] Yat knichin(t)=kurutē
pāpam narō lōbha samā(ma)nvitah [|*] api gō charmma māttrēna bhūmi-
dānēna śudhyati [||7*] Pū-
- 22 rvva dattām dvijātibhyō yat[n]ād=raksha Yudhishtira [|*] bhūmna bhūmi-
[ma*]tām śrēsthā dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam [||8*] Iyam rāja satair=ddattā
diyatē cha punah
- 23 punah [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [||9*] Tadi-
taranga va(ba)hulām śriyam matvā cha marttyānām [|*] na dharmma-
sthitaya
- 24 s=sadbhīh(dbhīr=)yuktā lōkē vīlōpitum [||10*] kulya 8 dūtakah Śubhadattō
lkhītam sāndhivigrahika Bhōgachandrēna
- 25 tāpitām pustapāla Jayadāsēna [||*] samvvad(samvat) 3 Śrāva dī 20 7

No 25 —TANDIKONDA GRANT OF AMMARAJA II

BY BHAVARAJ V KRISHNARAO, B A , B L , RAJAHMUNDRY

This interesting inscription is engraved on a set of four copper-plates, which was secured by the Rev Dr Isac Cannaday in 1915, while he was at Sattenapalli, Guntūr District, and forwarded to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, in the early part of the same year. It is marked as C P No 11 of 1914 15¹. From the incomplete nature of the text, the writing appears to have continued on the fifth plate which, however, along with the seal and the ring that held these plates together, was lost and never afterwards traced. Dr Cannaday informs me in the course of his letters, that while he was on tour on Mission work in Sattenapalli taluk during the cold season of 1914 15 and camping at a place called Oruvakallu, he was told by the local catechist that one Chilaka Satyānandam, a Christian of Mādiga extraction, had found, while digging for old earth (*pāri mannu*) with which to construct house walls, a set of copper plates and that he was considerably disturbed over that matter. It appears that the fifth plate and perhaps the seal and the ring, too, were melted down by that man, and Dr Cannaday who learnt everything about the discovery, allayed the fears of the man and secured the remaining plates for the Department. The place of the discovery of these plates is near the huge granite boulder or rock which is nearly 250 feet high and which is situated to the west of the village Oruvakallu². The plates were found in a good state of preservation, and I now edit the inscription on them from the excellent estampages kindly sent to me by Dr N P Chakravarti at my request.

Each of these four plates measures roughly 11 inches by 5 inches. Except for the first plate which contains writing on the inner side alone the remaining three plates are engraved on both

¹ Madras Epigraphical Report, 1914 15, pp 90 f

² In the rock at Oruvakallu there is a cave and in it is a goddess called Gangā. A large village seems to have flourished round the rock at one time and there are ruins and mounds scattered round the locality.

sides The first plate contains nine lines and the remaining three ten lines of writing on each side Thus the inscription runs into sixty-nine lines in all The writing on the plates is well preserved The characters are Telugu and belong to the tenth century and to the later cursive type, except for the primary forms of vowels *a*, *ā* and *i* which still retain their earlier forms The final *n* (lines 10, 20 and 28) and *m* (lines 11, 16, 21 and 31) have special signs but not the final (lines 7 and 8), which is denoted by the ordinary sign for *la* with the sign of *virāma* above it The sign of the medial *au* is almost similar to one of the signs of the medial *ō*, so that it is somewhat difficult to distinguish between the two signs The language is Sanskrit, except the passage in lines 48 to 51 which contain names of the localities which are in the Telugu language Besides the usual benedictory verses at the end (lines 64-67), the inscription contains 19 verses, and the rest is in prose The text in general is fairly free from clerical errors and doubtless incised with great care and neatness In respect of orthography, it will be sufficient to note that the *visarga* before the labial surd is changed into *upadhmaniya* (line 59)

The inscription belongs to the Eastern Chālukya king Ammarāja II, who reigned from A.D. 945 to 970 It opens with an invocation to god Śiva The inscription consists of two parts The first part deals with the usual Eastern Chālukya genealogy and the charity made by the king (lines 3 to 51) The second part (lines 51 to 65) is devoted to the description of the spiritual lineage of Vidyēśvara-Paṇḍita and his pupil Prabhūtarāsi (III) of the Kālamukha school of the Pāsupata Śaivas founded by Lakṣmi The genealogical account of the Eastern Chālukya kings found in this record corresponds to what is given in the Elavarū,¹ Padamkalūru² and the Mahyapūṇḍi grants of the king³ It contains no more historical information about the dynasty than what is known to us from the other charters of the king

The record is not dated, but the scribe seems to have committed a very curious, perhaps a serious, mistake in giving the date of the king's coronation He was apparently confused He probably had the year of the grant in question in his mind in numerical words as *nabha-rasu rasu*, i.e. (Śaka) 880, when he engraved the date of the coronation of king Amma II, which in numerical words is given in the other charters of the king as *giri-rasa rasu*, meaning 867 There is reason to believe that the grant was made on the occasion of the *Uttarāyana-samkrānti* (winter solstice) in the Śaka Samvat 880 The expression of the purpose of the charity mentioned in line 44, namely, "for the increase of long life, good health and prosperity of my kingdom, i.e., people", seems to give us the clue for our conjecture⁴ The Māngallu plates of Amma II⁵ inform us that the king after eleven years of his victorious reign proceeded to Kalinga in wrath against Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇa lōpāt*), and that at that time the kingdom "was protected by the king's elder brother Dānārṇava, to the great joy of the people"⁶ Ammarāja's expedition into Kalinga seems to have been occasioned by a hostile coalition of kings led by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III who wanted to uproot him (i.e., the reigning king Amma II) and place his own protégé Bādapa on the throne of the Āndhra country⁷ The turbulent kingdom of the Eastern Gāngas of Kalinga on the north east might have readily joined Bādapa and his ally Kṛṣṇa III

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol. XII, pp. 91 ff

² *Ibid*, Vol. VII, pp. 15 ff

³ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 47 ff

⁴ [The expression *asmad dēsa sanātay āyur ūrōgy asvāryy ābhūrirddhy arthhām* should literally mean 'for the increase of our country, progeny, life, health and prosperity' Therefore, it does not seem to contain a reference to any of the king's wars and does not afford any clue for fixing the date of the grant—Ed.]

⁵ C.P. No. 1 of 1916-17 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection

⁶ *Ibid*, text, line 23

⁷ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 140, and p. 142 text, lines 17-18

for its own purpose. It was evidently for these reasons that Ammarāja II proceeded against Krishna III in the direction of Kaṅga, when the latter invaded his territories. The expedition would have lasted at least a year if not two, and doubtless it ended in a colossal victory for the lord of Vēṅgi. Ammarāja II who was apparently stricken with the sorrows of his people on account of the devastating war with the enemies of his country, would have made the charity recorded in the subjoined inscription under the advice or inducement of his *guru* (preceptor), immediately after his victorious return to the kingdom.¹ Thus the date mentioned in the grant, Śaka 880, corresponding to A D 958-9, may be reasonably assumed to be the date of the grant, and would fall in the thirteenth year of the king's reign. If this is correct the expedition against Krishna III in the direction of Kaṅga, after the eleventh year and the charity recorded in the present edict, would show that by the date of the subjoined grant, king Ammarāja II had returned to his kingdom after successful conclusion of a great war against his enemies, the Rāshtrakūṭas and their allies. Verse 13 also seems to refer to such a great victory.

The inscription informs us that in the city of *Vijayavāṭī*, i.e., the modern town of Bezvāda, king Vijayāditya Narēndramrigarāja, the ornament of the race of Chālukyas (*Chālukya-lūla-lāla*), the asylum of the universe (*Samastabhuvanāśraya*) built a temple called Samastabhuvanāśraya and established in it the image of Umā Mahēśvara. To that deity, on the occasion of *Uttarāyana*, king Ammarāja II made a grant for the increase of prosperity, long life and freedom from disease of his people,¹ for repairs to the temple, for offering *bhāṭa*, *navvēḍya* and music to the god, and for a *satra* (free feeding house).

The object of the grant is the village *Tāndikonda*, situated in *Gudla-Kandērvvādī-vishaya*, together with three other villages *Ammalapūndi*, *Gollapūndi* and *Āsuvulaparru*. Ammarāja granted these four villages, having made them all a *dēvabhōga*, with the exemption of all taxes, with the libation of water, as a humble gift to the deity, for the good of his people.¹ The boundaries of the aforesaid village (*Tāndikonda*) along with the other three villages, are on the east *Tūndūru*, a stream, on the south-east *Gāralagunta*, on the south a *būṇugu* tree situated to the north of the village *Lāmu*, on the south-west, *Oddagunta*, on the west a tank called *Chayitā*, on the north-west a tank known as *Bhīmasamudra*, on the north (a heap of boulders called) *Ēnuka rālu* and on the north east, *Rēgadugunta*.

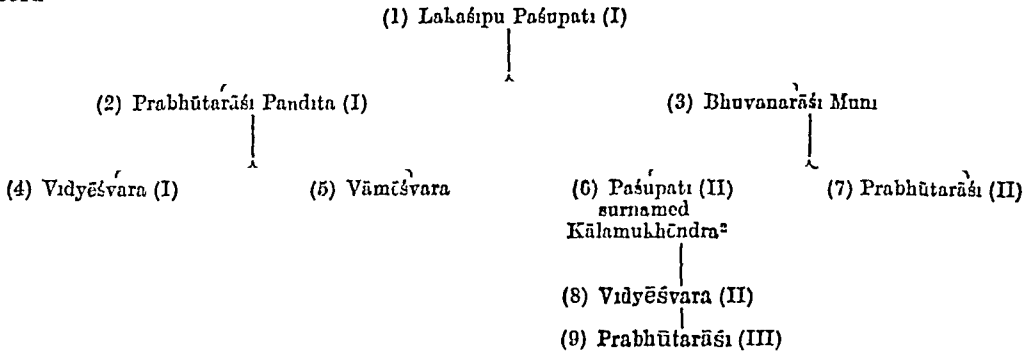
The second part of the inscription which begins with a verse in line 51, is devoted to the description of the spiritual lineage of Kālamukha Śaiva saints, who were held in great veneration in Āndhradēśa, and who were also the religious preceptors of the kings of the land. It states that in every age saints like *Lakulī* and others took upon themselves the forms of Rudra, i.e., Śiva, and became self incarnate in this world for blessing the righteous men. It is said that they were self born, of their own free will, for the purpose of preaching and setting up the path of the *dharma*, meaning the Śaiva doctrine. In the lineage of these ascetics, arose the *Kālamukhas*, who looked to the Śruti (Vēdas) for their guidance. They were worshipped by the kings of various lands and belonged to *Simha Parishad* (which was a division of the Kālamukha sect).

In the lineage of these Kālamukhas, who inhabited the ancient and celebrated temples of Śiva like *Amaravatēśvara*, was born *Lakaśipu-Pasupati* (or *Lakaśipu* who was a *Pāsupata*), who was well versed in all the *āgamas*. He nourished his holy body by living on pure water, greens, milk, fruits and roots. His disciple was *Prabhūtarāśi-Pandita* who was an incarnation of *dharma* itself. He had two disciples, *Vidyēśvara* and *Vāmēśvara*. *Prabhūtarāśi-Pandita*

¹ [See n 4 on p 162 —Ed.]

had a brother¹ named **Bhuvanarāśi-Muni**, who had also two pupils, named **Paśupati** (II) and **Prabhūtarāśi** (II). The former bore a secondary name **Kālamukhēndra**, "the lord of the Kālamukhas", and the epithet *Parahita vyasanī* (i.e., one who was devoted to the well-being of others). His (Kālamukhēndra's) pupil was **Vidyēśvara** II who was virtually an ocean of learning. His spiritual son or disciple was **Prabhūtarāśi** (III), who was like *yuvārāja* or heir apparent to the spiritual kingdom of which **Vidyēśvara** (II) was the supreme head. **Prabhūtarāśi** III rendered help to mankind in so many ways that his fame spread far and wide. He was not merely **Prabhūtarāśi** in name, he was so in fact, in deed and conduct. In the immediate presence and under the directions of his *guru*, he built a *dīvalūla* and a *maṭha* consisting of three storeys, and beautified the places with coloured paintings. He obtained from king **Ammarāja** II for the aforesaid purposes three villages, and a thousand she-goats.

The following is the pedigree of the spiritual family of the Kālamukhas, described in the record —



The inscription then states that the donor of the grant was king **Amma** II, the composer of the inscription was the king's preceptor **Vidyēśvara** (II) and that the *ājñapti* (executor) was **Katakanāyaka**. After this the record breaks off rather abruptly in the middle of a sentence which doubtless continued on the fifth plate which is now missing. The half sentence repeats, however, the grant of she goats and provision for white washing, running the feeding-house and for offering *navēdya* to the deity.

The *Cintra Praśasti*² as well as the *Purānas* **Agni** and **Vāyu** mention four pupils of **Lakuli**, viz., **Kuśika**, **Gārgya**, **Kaurusha** and **Maitrīya**, in the order of their precedence. These four disciples of **Lakuli** became according to the *Cintra Praśasti* (vv. 16-17), the founders of the four lines of Śaiva ascetics or schools amongst the **Pāśupatas**. But the subjoined inscription does not refer to any one of the four disciples of **Lakuli**, but merely states that the Kālamukhas were born as self-incarnates in the lineage of great saints beginning with the great sage **Lakuli** and others. It is not clear, therefore, whether the lineage of the Kālamukhas of the Āndhra country were descendants of any one of the four well known disciples of **Lakuli**. The Kālamukha **Pāśupatas** of the Āndhra country were guided by the precepts of the *Śruti* or the *Vēdas*, and lived in monasteries attached to great Śaiva temples like **Amaravatīśvara** at **Amaravatī**. The present record, however, is not the earliest epigraphical reference to the Kālamukhas of the **Pāśupata** school and to its division called **Simha Parishad**, in the Deccan and the south. We have an earlier reference to this

¹ It is not clear whether **Prabhūtarāśi Pandita** and **Bhuvanarāśi Muni** were spiritual or lay brothers.

² [It appears to me that **Kālamukhēndra** was the surname or title of **Prabhūtarāśi** (II) and not of **Paśupati** and that **Paśupati**, the *guru* of **Vidyēśvara** II, was **Prabhūtarāśi**'s disciple and not identical with the latter's colleague of the same name (i.e., **Paśupati** II). — N. L. R.]

³ Above, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff.

sect of Śaivas in a copper plate grant of A D 810 from Mysore ¹ The earliest reference to the Kālamukha Śaivas in the Tamil country seems to be contained in the Kodumbālūr inscription of prince Vikramakēśarin² which mentions a certain Mallikārjuna who was the disciple of two teachers named Vidyārāśi and Tapōrāśi The inscription further states that "having built three shrines (*vimāna*) in his own name and in the name of his two wives, he, *i e*, Vikramakēśarin, set up Mahēśvara (Śiva) and presented a big *matha* (*brihan matha*) to Mallikārjuna, who was the chief ascetic of the Kālamukha (sect), with eleven villages for feeding fifty ascetics of the same sect (here called *asita valtra*)" ³ The approximate period of these shrines is determined partly by the alphabet of the inscription referred to and partly by the reference to Vira-Pāndya who was among the enemies overcome by Vikramakēśarin Rāi Bahadur V Venkayya thinks that Vikramakēśarin must have flourished roughly about the first half or middle of the tenth century A D ⁴ Thus the two preceptors of Mallikārjuna would have lived almost about the same period or more probably slightly later than that and would have been contemporaries of King Amma II of Āndhra country The name Vidyārāśi is very much similar to Vidyēśvara of the subjoined record, who is stated to be the repository of various kinds of learning For these reasons, therefore, it might be that Vidyārāśi and Tapōrāśi mentioned in the Kodumbālūr inscription were identical with Vidyēśvara and his disciple Prabhūtarāśi referred to in the subjoined record ⁵ If this identification be correct, then we may believe that disciples of Vidyēśvara and Prabhūtarāśi went to the south, *i e* Chōla and Pāndya countries and preached the doctrines of Kālamukha-Pāsupata Śaivism, converted the rulers of the country wherever they went and established monasteries for their ascetics

The Kālamukhas spread themselves also at an earlier period into the Kanarese country From Morigere in Hadagalli taluk, Bellary District, come two interesting inscriptions, engraved on two slabs set up in the verandah of the temple of Uddi-Basavanna, of the time of Āhavamalla-Sōmēśvara I ⁶ Both of them are dated in Śaka 967, on the Kārttika *purnamāsī*, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, the corresponding English date being Monday, 28th October, A D 1045 These inscriptions state that there existed in that part of the Kanarese country a community of Śaiva ascetics who belonged to the Lakulisa Pāsupata sect and to the school of Simha parshe (*parishad*) Another school of the same sect, perhaps of later origin, was Śakti parshe (*parishad*) to which belonged *Mūvara kōneya santati* of the Parvat-āmnāya, whose teachers also had a strong pontifical seat at Balagāmi ⁷

The Kālamukhas, as has been shown above, spread themselves into far south and the Pāndyan country An inscription from the shrine of Kālanāthasvāmī at Pallimadam, hamlet of Tiruchchuli, Rāmnād District, refers to a *matha* of the *Mahāvratins* ⁸ These Mahāvratins, according to Dr R G Bhandarkar, were the followers of the great *vrata* 'a vow of religious devotion and observance in general', and denoted the ancient sect of Śaivas called Kāpālikas or Kālamukhas ⁹ With due respect for the learned scholar, it seems to me that Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas

¹ *Mys Arch Rep* for 1914, p 29 I am indebted to Mr N Lakshminarayan Rao for this information

² No 129 of 1907 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection

³ *Ibid*, *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1908, p 75, para 86

⁴ For the date of Vikramakēśarin and the Kodumbālūr inscription also see the remarks by Prof K A Nilakanta Sastri in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol VII pp 1 12

⁵ [The conjecture seems to be far fetched There is not enough similarity in the names to suggest the identity of the two sets of teachers—Ed]

⁶ Nos 441 and 443 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection

⁷ Above, Vol V, pp 221 ff

⁸ No 423 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection

⁹ *Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p 118.

were not identical sects and that their tenets differed largely. The matter is an important one and requires further elucidation and study.

Of the places mentioned in the record Tāndikonda, Lāmu and Gollapūndi alone can be identified to day. Tāndikonda is the modern village of Tādikonda in the Guntūr taluk of the Guntūr District and is situated at a distance of about eight miles to the north of the head quarters of the district. Among the boundaries of Tāndikonda, it may be observed that the two tanks Chayita tatāka and Bhīmasamudra are still existing. Bhīmasamudra is a huge tank on the bank of which there is a large mound called *Bhīmalīngamu-dibba*, where there are extensive ruins of a Śiva temple. Chayita-tatāka seems to be the ancient name of a huge tank which occupies an area of about three or four square miles adjoining the village. It is the source of irrigation for an extensive area in the vicinity. Lāmu is situated two miles to the south of Tādikonda. There is a village Gollapūndi on the northern bank of the Krīṣṇā river near Bezvāda in Kistna District, about twelve miles to the north of Tādikonda, and it may be identified with the Gollapūndi of the subjoined grant. The remaining villages Ammalapūndi and Āsuvulaparru can not be traced in that locality. It is probable that Anamarlapūndi *agrahāram*, twelve miles to the south-east of Tādikonda, was the Ammalapūndi of the grant. Perhaps Āsuvulaparru stood on the other side of the river in Bezvāda taluk. Gudla-Kandērvvādi *viśhaya* was the ancient name of the tract of country lying on the southern bank of the river round the celebrated place Amarāvati which was noted for its beautiful temples and *chāityas*, of Amaravatīśvara and Buddha, respectively. Gudla Kandērvvādi means "Kandērvvādi of the temples" for the term *gudla* means "of the temples".¹ Apparently that part of Kandērvvāti acquired the name Gudla Kandērvvāti *viśhaya* from its temples at Amarāvati, its chief town. The district Kandērvvāti *viśhaya* seems to have acquired its name from the ancient township Kandēru or the modern Kantēru, a village in the Guntūr taluk, which must have been a very important place in former times. Kandērvvāti-*viśhaya*² seems to have been sub divided into three or four small districts, viz., Kandērvvāti *viśhaya*, Uttara Kandērvvāti *viśhaya*,³ Īmaṇi Kandērvvāti *viśhaya*⁴ and Gudla-Kandērvvāti *viśhaya*. Kandērvvāti *viśhaya* comprised apparently the whole of Guntūr taluk, the eastern portion of Sattenapalli and the northern parts of Tenālī taluk. The central portion of Guntūr together with the south eastern part of Sattenapalli taluk was called Uttara-Kandērvvāti *viśhaya*. Gudla Kandērvvāti *viśhaya* was the name for the northern portion of Guntūr and eastern part of Sattenapalli taluks, and Īmaṇi Kandērvvāti or Īmaṇi-Kandērvvādi *viśhaya* comprised the northern portion of Tenālī taluk.

TEXT ⁵

First Plate

- 1 श्री[^{1*}] श्रीवागीशकराजानाम्⁷ स्वपादनखचन्द्रमा [^{1*}] देयात्त्रिवस्वयं⁸ शं वः
2 क्रियाकार्यं हि कारणम् ॥ [^{1*}] स्वस्ति [^{1*}] श्रीमता सकलभुवनसस्तूयमानमान-

¹ The term *gudla* is the archaic genitive form of *gudi*. The modern form is *gulla*, the medial *ḍ* having given place to the Dravidian *l*.

² *S I I*, Vol I, Nos 36 and 37, above, Vol XVIII, p 258

³ Above, Vol I, p 127, C P No 1 of App A to the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913 14.

⁴ *S I I*, Vol IV, No 681

⁵ From the excellent ink impressions supplied to me by Dr N P Chakravarti

⁶ Metre *Anuṣṭubh*

⁷ Read °श्रीनि

⁸ Read स्वयं

- 3 व्यसगोत्राणा हारीतिपुत्राणा कौशिकोवरप्रसादलक्षराज्यानाम्नातुगणपरिपालिता-
 4 ना स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्याताना भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितव[र*]-
 5 वराहलाञ्छनेक्षणाक्षयश्रीकृतारतिसङ्खलानामश्वमेधावभ्युत्थानप-
 6 विनीकृतवपुषां चालुक्याना कुलमलकरिणोस्तथाश्रयवत्समेन्द्र-
 7 स्य भ्राता कुलविष्णुवर्धननृपतिरष्टादशवर्षाणि ।¹ वेगीदेशमपालयत् ॥
 8 तदात्मजो जयसिंहस्त्वयस्त्रिंशत्त(तं) ॥ तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णुवर्धनो नव ॥ त-
 9 त्सूनुर्मगियुवराजः पञ्चविंशतिं [1*] तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्वयोदश ॥ तदव-

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 रजः कोकिलिष्यमासान् ॥ तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्धनस्तुभ्याव्य सप्त-
 निशतम् ॥ तत्पु-
 11 त्रो विजयादित्यमहारकोप्यष्टादश ॥ तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्धनषट्त्रिंशतम् ॥ ² तत्सू-
 नुर्मा-
 12 नुभासो रणविगणनया नीलकण्ठालयाना ॥³ सधामारामकाणा सललितरम-
 णोसं-
 13 पदा सत्यदानां(नाम) [1*] कृत्वा प्रोत्तुगमष्टोत्तरशतमभुनग्नीरधीरष्टयुक्ताञ्चत्वा-
 14 रिंशत्समां(माः) स्मा जननुतविजयादित्यनामा नरेन्द्रः ॥ [2*] तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुव-
 15 र्धनोऽष्टवर्षम् । तत्पुत्रो गुणगाकविजयादित्यचतुश्चत्वा-
 16 रिंशतम् । तदनुजयुवराजविक्रमादित्यनरपात्मजः चालुक्यभीमभूपस्त्रिंशतम् [1*]
 17 'तत्पुत्रो विजयादित्यो विषदित्वनपावक. [1*] स षण्मासानसौ साक्षादिन्द्रो भोगेन भू-
 18 मिप' ॥[3*] तत्सूनुर्मगियुवराजस्त्रिंशत्तवर्षाणि । तत्पितामहो(ह)गुणगाकविजयादित्या-
 नुजयु-
 19 दमस्तत्तज' तालाधिपो मासमेवम् । त युधि विनिहत्य चालुक्यभीमात्मजो
 विक्रमा-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 20 दित्यः अरिनिकरतिमिरदिनकरः द्विजदीनानाथमसुरेकादशमासान् । 'ततस्ताल-
 पराजस्य
 21 सूनुरस्तुतवाक्रभुः । युद्धमल्लधराधीशस्त्रिंशत्तवर्षाण्यपाङ्गुवम् ॥ [4*] ⁵निर्जित्या-
 र्ज्जनसन्नि-

¹ Punctuation mark here is unnecessary

² Metre *Sragdhara*

³ Mark of punctuation is unnecessary

⁴ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁵ Metre *Śārdūlavatīrīṭita*

- 22 भी जनपदात्तन्निर्गमय्योद्धतान्दायादानिनभानुलीनमगणाकारान्विधायेतरान् [1*]
 23 वज्रीवोर्जितनाकमभ्रनृपतेर्भ्राता कनौयान्भुव भोमो भीमपराक्रमस्त्रमभुनक्त्व-
 24 त्वरात्वादश ॥ [५*] ¹तस्य महेश्वरभूर्तिर्(त्ति)रभासमानाकृते; ²कुमाराभः [1*] लोक-
 25 महादेव्याः खलु यस्त्रमभवदभ्रराजाख्यः ॥ [६*] ³जलजातपत्रचामरक-
 26 लशालुश्लक्षणाककरचरणतलः [1*] लसदाजान्वललितभुजयुगपरिघो गिरीन्द्र-
 27 भानूरस्कः ॥ [७*] ⁴विदितधराधिपविद्यो विविधायुधकोविदो विलीनारिकुलः ।
 करितुरगागम-
 28 कुशलो हरचरणाभोजयुगलमधुपः श्रीमान् [1८*] कविगायककल्पतरुः⁵ द्विज-
 सुनिदो-
 29 नान्वबन्धुजनसुरभिः [1*] याचक[ग*]णचिन्तामणिरिवनीशमणिर्महोद्यमहसा
 द्युमभिः⁵ ॥[८*]

Third Plate, First Side.

- 30 ¹नभवसुवसुसंख्यान्दे शकसमये मार्गशीर्षभासेस्मिन् [1*] कृष्णत्रयोदशदि-
 31 ने भृगुवारि मैननक्षत्रे ॥[१०*] ¹धनुषि रवौ धटलग्ने द्वादशवर्षे तु जन्मनः
 पटम् । ²यो-
 32 धारुदयगिरीन्द्रो रविमिव लोकानुरागाय ॥[११*] ³यस्मिन्शासति⁷ नृपतौ परि-
 पन्नानि-
 33 क[सस्य⁸]सपच्छाली । सततपयोधेनुरभीर्निरीतिरपस्मिन्नस्तचोरी देशः ॥[१२*]
⁹यस्मिन्त्रजति चिति-
 34 पे ¹⁰वरुधानावलोकनार्थं भीताः । तद्दिग्देशाधीशा दिशन्ति भणिकनकहयगजे-
 35 न्द्रप्रतति⁹ ॥[१३*] ³यो रूपेण मनोजं विभवेन महेन्द्रमहिमकरमुखमहसा
 36 ॥(1) [हरमरिपुर[द¹⁰]हनेन ¹⁰न्यकुर्वन्भाति विततदिगवनिर्कीर्तिः ॥[१४*] स
 सकलरिपुनृपतिमकु-

¹ Metre *Ārya*

² Mark of punctuation is needless here.

³ Metre *Āryāgīt.*

⁴ Read °तरहिज°

⁵ Read द्युमणि The first half of this verse is in the *Āryā* metre and the second in the *Āryāgīt.*

⁶ Read योषादुदय°.

⁷ Read यस्मिन्का°

⁸ Read वरि°

⁹ पदालीन् is the reading suggested by Dr Hultzsch (above, Vol. XII, p. 63 note) But the present record shows that the correct reading is *pratatim*

¹⁰ Read °न्यकुर्व°

ii,a

10 10
 12 12
 14 14
 16 16
 18 18

ii,b

20 20
 22 22
 24 24
 26 26
 28 28

iii,a

30 30
 32 32
 34 34
 36 36
 38 38

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- 37 टतटघटितमणिकिरणगणमधुकरनिकरपरिचुवितचरणसरसिरुहयुगलो-
 38 युगलोचनपदकमलविलसन्मधुपायमानो मानोन्नतो नतोऽतस्मस्तु-
 39 वनाश्रय्योविजयादित्यमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परम-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 40 माहेश्वर ॥ गुह्यकाण्डेर्वाडिविषयनिवासिनो राद्रकूटप्रमुखाङ्कुटुबिनः स-
 41 माहूयेत्यमात्रापयति विदितमस्तु वः ॥ विजयवाद्या चालुक्कुलतिल-
 42 कसमस्तुभुवनाश्रयविजयादित्यनरेन्द्रमृगराजप्रतिष्ठापिताय समस्त-
 43 भुवनाश्रयनामदेवालयनिवासाय उमामहेश्वराय उत्तरायणनिमि-
 44 त्त अस्मदश्वसन्तत्यायुरारोग्यैश्वर्यामिदं प्रत्यक्षं तद्देवालयस्य-
 45 गृहस्फुटितनवकर्म्मबलिनिवेद्यातोद्यसचप्रवर्त्तनाय च ॥¹ अल्प-
 46 वृत्तितया आलूनविशीर्णं पुनर्णवीकर्त्तुं सर्वकारपरिहारेण देव[भो]गी[क्त]
 47 त्योदकपूर्वं ताण्डिकोण्डनामग्रामः अम्मलपूण्डिगोक्षपूण्डिआसुवुलपण्डिना-
 48 मादिदमेतोन्माभिर्दत्त इति ॥ अस्य संग्राम[¹]दिक्स्थावधयः² ॥ पूर्वत दू-
 49 ण्डेण्डु ॥ आग्नेयतः गारलगुण्ड ॥ दक्षिणत[¹] लामुन युत्तरवुन वूसुगु ॥
 नैर[¹]त्त[¹]त्य[¹]तः

Fourth Plate, First side

- 50 ओङ्गुण्ड ॥ पश्चिमतः³ चयितनामतटाकम् ॥ वायव्यतः भीमसमुद्रना-
 51 मतटाकम् ॥⁴ उत्तरतः एगुळीलु ॥ ईशानतः रेगडुगुण्ड ॥ युगे युगे
 52 स्त्रीकृतस्मृत्यो सुनीश्वराः श्रीलकुलीश्वरादयः ॥(1) बभ्रुवरागुण्डहीतसज्जना-
 53 स्वयम्भुवो धर्मपथप्रदर्शिनः ।[¹१५⁵] तदन्वये कालमुखाप्रत्युतिमुख्यास्त्रयम्भुवो भुवि
 54 भूयतामभिवन्द्या[¹] तस्मिन्पदस्थे स्थानस्यास्याधिपतय इह हितच-
 55 रिताः ॥ तेषामभरवटेश्वरायनेकपुराणदेवायतननिवासि[नां] कालमुखा-
 56 ना सन्ततो ॥⁶ लक्ष्मिपुत्रिखिलागमपारदक् पशुपतिर्मुनिषोपि पतिश्चिन्म ॥(1) सुज-
 57 लशकपयःफलमूलकैर्विहितधर्मशरीरविवर्धनः ।[¹१६⁵] यस्तन्मुनेश्चिन्म[¹] प्रभूत-
 राशिर्नाम
 58 पण्डितस्त्राज्याधर्मावतारः ।[¹] तच्छिष्यो विद्येश्वरवामेश्वरो ॥ तत्रभूतराशि-
 भ्रातृभुवनरा-

¹ Mark of punctuation is unnecessary

² [The reading is correctly संग्रामदिक्स्था⁰ —N L R]

³ Could चयित be a corrupt form of चैत्य ?

⁴ Metro Yamāstha

⁵ Metro Drutavilambita

59 शिमुनेशियौ पशुपति[*] प्रभूतराशिच । कालमुखेन्द्राद्यपरनामा ¹ तच्छि-
य पशुपतिपर-

Fourth Plate, Second Side.

- 60 हितव्यसनी । तच्छिथो यच्च ²विद्वान्विद्येश्वरो नाम कारुण्यवर्त्यकनिज [*]
सर्वविद्यास्रभा-
- 61 धत्ते यद्यावूनि महाबुधिः ॥[१७*] ³तत्कीर्तिलक्ष्म्योर्ध्वराज एकोप्यनेकलोकोपल-
तावनेक [।'] न
- 62 नासतः केवलमर्थतश्च प्रभूतराशिः प्रभुराश्रितानाम् ॥[१८*] स स्वकीयगुरु-
सन्निधौ [*] ³शिला-
- 63 मयं देवकुलं स्म(सोठं) च त्रिभूमिक चित्रितमच क्त्वा । ग्रामत्रयं चेतन-
जासह-
- 64 सं प्रभूतराशिर्लभते स्म भूपात् ।[१९*] अस्योपरि न केनचिद्वाधा कार्त्तव्या
यः करो-
- 65 ति स पंचभिर्भहापातकैर्लिप्यते । उक्तं च । ²स्वदत्तां परदत्ता वा यो
हरेत व-
- 66 सुन्दराम् । पटिर्वर्षसहस्रानि⁴ विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः ॥[२०*] ²बहुभिर्वसुधा
दत्ता बहु-
- 67 भिक्षातुपालिता । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्मै तदा फलम् ॥[२१*]
²शासनस्य त्रि[वि]
- 68 चास्य दाता स्यादम्भूमिपः [*] विद्येश्वरो गुरुः कर्त्ताश्रमिः कटकनायकः ॥[२२*]
अस्य सम-
- 69 स्तुभुवनाश्रयाख्यदेवालयस्य दीपसुधाकार्मसन्ननिवेद्यनिमित्तमजास-⁵

¹ Punctuation mark seems to be needless here

² Metre *Anushtubh*

³ Metre *Upajati*

⁴ Read पटिवर्षसहस्राणि.

⁵ The inscription breaks off here abruptly, it is possible that it continued on the missing plate

No 26 —A NOTE ON THE DATES OF UCHCHAKALPA KINGS

By PROF V V MIRASHI, M A , NAGPUR

There have been in all seven copper plate inscriptions of the kings of the Uchchakalpa family discovered so far in Central India, from which we can make out the following genealogy —

Ōghadēva	-m	Kumāradēvī
Kumāradēva	m	Jayasvāminī
Jayasvāmin	-m	Rāmadēvī
Vyāghra	m	Ajñhitadēvī
Jayanātha	-m	Murundadēvī
		(known dates 174, 177)
Śarvanātha		

(known dates 191, 193, 197 and 214)

The last two kings, whose copper plates have been discovered, use the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter in dating their records, but do not specify any era to which their dates are to be referred. Nor do they, except in one case, which will be discussed below, contain any astronomical details that can be tested by calculation. The Bhumarā pillar inscription states, however, that Śarvanātha was a contemporary of *Mahārāja* Hastin, who must be identified with the Hastin of the Parivrājaka family, many of whose records have also been found in Central India and who was, therefore, ruling over the contiguous territory. From the copper plates of the latter and his son Samkshōbha we get the following genealogy —

Dēvādhyā
Prabhāñjana
Dāmōdara
Hastin
(known dates 156, 163, 191 and 198)
Samkshōbha
(known dates 199 and 209)

In these plates also the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter is used for dating. The expression *Gupta nripa-rājya-bhuktau* which occurs in all of them clearly indicates that their dates must be referred to the Gupta era, the epoch of which has been determined to be A D 319-320. As the kings of the Uchchakalpa family were the neighbours of those of the Parivrājaka family who use the Gupta era in dating their records, the presumption is that the dates of the former also are in the Gupta era. It is, however, urged on the other hand, that the fact that the Uchchakalpa kings, unlike their contemporaries and neighbours, the kings of the Parivrājaka family, do not specify any era in dating their records, goes to show that they used some other era. Again, the circumstance that the Bhumarā pillar inscription, which is as much a record of the Parivrājaka king Hastin as of the Uchchakalpa Śarvanātha, does not, contrary to the practice observed in other records of the Parivrājaka kings, specify any era, points to the same conclusion, for 'the *Mahārājas* Hastin and Śarvanātha, being feudatories of two rival dynasties, could not agree as to which of the two rival eras should be used in a joint record, and compromised the matter by quoting only the year of the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter, as a method of reckoning which could hurt the dignity of neither of them'.¹ Now the only era, to which the dates of the

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XIX, p 228

Uchchakalpa kings could be referred, is the Kalachuri Chēdi era, the epoch of which has been determined by Kielhorn to be A D 248 9. On this supposition we find that the known dates of Śarvanātha range from A D 439 40 to A D 462 3, while those of Hastin (which clearly refer to the Gupta era) are from A D 475 6 to A D 517-8. The Betul plates of Samkshōbha again show that he succeeded his father in the next year G E 199 or A D 518-9. As the Kalachuri era was started 72 years before the Gupta era, we shall have to take the latest known date of Śarvanātha and the earliest of Hastin and see which year between the two would correspond to the Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* mentioned in their joint record. As stated above, the last known date of Śarvanātha would correspond to A D 462 (on the basis that it refers to the Kalachuri era), while the earliest known date of Hastin is A D 475. There would, thus, be a difference of 13 years between these two dates. The only year in this interval which could have been Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* is that corresponding to A D 472, but according to the calculation of Sh. B. Dikshit the Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* in that cycle was omitted¹. We must, therefore, take the next Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* which commenced in A D 484. This no doubt falls in the reign of Hastin, but is 22 years later than the last known date of Śarvanātha. Now Śarvanātha is known to have ruled for at least 23 years before his last date, viz., A D 462 3 and the possibility that his reign commenced earlier than 439 40 is not altogether excluded, for, the last known date of his father Jayanātha is A D 425-6, i.e., 14 years earlier². We shall, therefore, have to suppose that Śarvanātha reigned for more than 46 years (A D 439 484)—perhaps 50 or even 55 years. Such a long reign is improbable, though not impossible.

If, on the other hand, the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings also are referred to the Gupta era, Śarvanātha becomes a contemporary of Hastin, in the closing years of the latter's reign (G E 191 to 198). There was of course no Mahāmāgha *samvatsara* in this period but there was one only two years before, in G E 189. As the year 191 is not the date of Śarvanātha's accession, which, as shown above, may have taken place a few years earlier, Śarvanātha will, on this supposition, have a reign of at least 26 years—which does not appear improbable.

There are some other considerations also which rule out the theory that the Uchchakalpa dates refer to the Kalachuri era —

(1) If we except these doubtful cases of Uchchakalpa dates, there is not a single record of Central India dated in the Kalachuri-Chēdi era, earlier than A D 973³. All the earlier dates in this era come from Gujarāt and Thānā District in Bombay⁴. R. B. Hiralal's theory⁵ that the Traikūtakas, whom he identifies with the Kalachuris, were the founders of the era and the Triakūta, from which they hailed, is modern Satpura is untenable, for not a single record of the Traikūtakas has been found in Central India and what little evidence is available about the identity of Triakūta points to its location in Western India⁶.

(2) Vyāghra, the grand father of the Uchchakalpa king Śarvanātha, appears on palaeographical evidence to be identical with the Vyāghradēva of Nachnā⁷ and Ganj⁸ inscriptions, who was a feudatory of the Vākātaka Prithivishēna II, as shown by Dubreuil⁹ and Dikshit¹⁰. The Bālāghāt

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol XIX, p. 228.

² *C I I*, Vol III, p. 121.

³ Chandrehe Inscription of Prabōdhaśiva, dated K 724, above, Vol XXI, pp. 148 ff.

⁴ See Nos. 1199-1221 in Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*.

⁵ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol IX, pp. 283 ff.

⁶ Kildīsa places Triakūta on the Western coast. See *Raghuvamśa*, Canto IV, verses 58-59.

⁷ *C I I*, Vol III, pp. 233 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol XVII, pp. 12 ff.

⁹ *Ind Ant*, Vol LV, pp. 103 ff.

¹⁰ Above, Vol XVII, p. 362.

plates of Prithivishēna II state that the king of Mālwa was a feudatory of his father Narēndra sēna¹ and there is no difficulty in supposing that Prithivishēna's authority was recognized in Central India towards the close of the fifth century A D. As for the difficulty pointed out by Aiyangar² (who identifies the Vyāghradēva of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions with the Vyāghrarāja defeated by Samudragupta), viz, how could Jayanātha and Śarvanātha, who, on the above supposition, were feudatories of the Vākātakas, date their records in the Gupta era, it may be noted that the Vākātakas never founded any era and do not seem to have insisted on their feudatories specifically mentioning their suzerainty in their records. The Traikūtakas³ and kings of Śrābhapura⁴ who were evidently their feudatories do not mention any suzerain power in their charters. It is not again true that the use of a particular era signifies acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the power that founded it. The Kalachuri Chēdi era is, for instance, found used by the Śāndrakas and the Chālukyas of Gujārāt though they were not then the feudatories of the Traikūtakas, Ābhīras, Kalachuris, or any other power that may have founded it. The fact of the matter seems to be that the earlier Uchchakalpas were feudatories of the Guptas and used the Gupta era in dating their records. Vyāghra who flourished about A D 475, seems to be the first Uchchakalpa who transferred his allegiance to the Vākātakas. His successors Jayanātha and Śarvanātha continued to use the Gupta era, which was well established in the country, though they were no feudatories of the Guptas. The expression *Gupta nripa rājya bhuktāu* which occurs in the records of the Parivrajakas indicates not so much the Gupta era as the sovereignty of the Guptas. Hence, we find it omitted in the records of the Uchchakalpa *Mahārājas*. Śarvanātha might have objected to the use of the expression in the joint record on the Bhumrā pillar, which, therefore, does not contain it. As for the omission of the date, it must have been thought unnecessary in an inscription on a boundary pillar when the particular year was clearly specified.

(3) Nearly all the scholars who have recently written on the subject have accepted the view that the Uchchakalpa records are dated in the Gupta era. Kielhorn, though he gives these dates under the Kalachuri era, was not certain about the matter.⁵ Fleet seems to have long wavered between the two alternatives. While editing the Uchchakalpa records in the *C I I*, III, pp 117 ff he held the view that they were dated in the Gupta era. When later on he came to write the introduction⁶ he felt inclined to the other view, which he affirmed subsequently in his article in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XIX, pp 227 ff. In his last article on the subject,⁷ he finally adopted the view that the Uchchakalpa dates must be referred to the Gupta era. Dubreuil,⁸ G S Ojha,⁹ Haldar¹⁰ and Dikshit¹¹ who had occasion to write on the subject have subscribed to the same view. S K Aiyangar, though he does not accept the identification of the Uchchakalpa Vyāghra with Vyāghradēva who caused the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions to be incised, finds no difficulty in referring the Uchchakalpa dates to the Gupta era. The only dissentient is D R Bhan-

¹ Above, Vol IX, p 271

² *Ind Ant*, Vol LV, p 224

³ Cf the inscription No 3 in the Ajanta cave XVI (*A S W I*, Vol IV, pp 124 ff)

⁴ Above, Vol XXII, p 22

⁵ In the *Supplement* to his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* (above, Vol VIII) he expressed his opinion that the inscriptions of the *Mahārājas* of Uchchakalpa are dated, very probably, according to the Gupta era.

⁶ *C I I*, Vol III, Introduction pp 8 10, 119, 121

⁷ *J R A S*, 1905, p 566

⁸ *Ind Ant*, Vol LV, p 103

⁹ *Annual Report, Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, 1923 24, p 2

¹⁰ Above, Vol XIX, p 128

¹¹ *Ibid*, Vol XXI, pp 125 26

darkar who points out the difficulty¹ that if the year of the Sōhāwal plates is taken as the Gupta year, the month Āshādha should be intercalary, but in none of the years 509, 510, 511 and 512, which might be taken to correspond to G. E. 191, was it so. "Perhaps in this date", says Prof. Bhandarkar, "*ālōna navaty-uttarē* is intended for *eka navaty-uttarē*, which is not unlikely as we know that when there are two or more identical letters or words, one or more are inadvertently omitted by the writer or engraver. This date 189, if referred to the Gupta era, becomes equivalent to A. D. 507 or 508, but even then there was no intercalary Āshādha in 506, 507, 508 or 509. On the other hand, if we refer 189 to the Kalachuri era, we obtain A. D. 437 as its English equivalent. And we do find an intercalary month of Āshādha in A. D. 437"² The difficulty pointed out by Bhandarkar is more apparent than real, for as Dikshit has shown³ the month intercalated in the Gupta year 191, ' (which according to the rules of intercalations was *Śrāvana*) must have received its name from the preceding month, a conclusion to which the late Dr. Kielhorn was forced in the calculation of the date of the Betul plates of Samkshōbha'. An authority for such a custom has again been recently pointed out⁴. No valid objection, therefore, remains to the view that the dates of the Uchchakalpas are in the Gupta era.

(4) The drafting of the Uchchakalpa records and the symbol on their seals indicate that the Uchchakalpas rose after the Guptas. In the genealogical portions of their inscriptions we find the same form used as in the Gupta records⁵. Unfortunately nearly all the seals of the Uchchakalpa plates are lost, but from the one specimen that has been described by Fleet⁶ it seems that the Uchchakalpa kings formed their seals on the model of those of the Guptas. There is no such resemblance noticeable between the records of the Uchchakalpas and those of the Early Kalachuris.

The foregoing discussion will show that the view that the Uchchakalpa dates refer to the Gupta era is the probable one in the present state of our knowledge.

NO. 27 — THE VAILUR INSCRIPTION OF KOPPERUNJINGADEVA

BY V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, B. A., MADRAS

This inscription⁷ is engraved on a rock above a natural reservoir of water to the south of the village of Vailūr⁸ in the Wandiwash taluq of the North Arcot District. The letters are incised boldly and the record is in a good state of preservation.

¹ See his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 159, n. 5.

² Even this view is not free from difficulties. According to the epoch which suits early Kalachuri dates the English equivalent for the present date occurring in Āshādha would be expected to fall in A. D. 438 or 439. According to the epoch which suits later Kalachuri dates it should fall in A. D. 438, if the year is taken as expired as is usually the case. If the year is taken as current, it will of course fall in A. D. 437, but such cases are exceptional, apart from the fact that the epoch determined by Kielhorn does not suit early dates.

³ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 125.

⁴ *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 693.

⁵ See for instance that the names of the queens are mentioned along with those of the ruling princes in the Uchchakalpa plates as in the Mathura Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 25), the Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta I (*Ibid.* p. 42), etc.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 125.

⁷ No. 418 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ This village is different from Vāyalūr in the Chingleput District, wherein the inscription of the Pallava king Rajasimha is found. It is, however, spelt as Vāyalūr in the *A. R.* on Epigraphy for 1922, but its present name is Vailūr as given above.

The record is in Tamil language and consists of a prose passage followed by five verses extolling the greatness of the later Pallava chief Kōpperuñjingadēva. In engraving the epigraph, each line of the verse is not metrically arranged, but the stanzas themselves are divided by punctuation marks. The verses employed are *Pannirusīrkkaḷ nedilāsiriya viruttam* (v 1), *Nērisai-venba* (v 2), *Kaḷ viruttam* (v 3) and *Enśīrkkaḷ nedilāsiriya viruttam* (vv 4 and 5). The record is free from any admixture of Grantha letters except *Svasti śrī* (l 1) and the letters *ri* in Tirubuvana (l 16) and *ā* in *ānai* (l 16). The use of the word *ānai* in this inscription requires some explanation. It is derived from the Sanskrit word *ājñā* through the Prākṛit form *ānā* meaning 'command' or 'order'. The Tamil lexicon *Pingala-Nīghantu* renders the word as 'sign' or 'insignia of authority' and the word seems to have been used in this sense here since no order is conveyed in the inscription. Analogous to the word *Śoklachchīyan ānai*, some inscriptions of this period conclude with the words *Pallavarayan* (or *Vallavarayan*) *sattiyam*,¹ *Avanīmulududaiyār ānai*,² *Tribhuvanāmulududaiyār ānai*,³ etc. A record from Aragandanallūr⁴ ends with the words '*idarkku māru sonparan Śokkanāyanār ānai*', i.e., 'he (who) says contrary to this (shall be a transgressor of) the authority (of) Śokkanāyanār,' and from a record of Tiruvēndipuram⁵ we learn that such transgression was treated as a cognizable offence by the assembly.

The few verbal errors found in the record are corrected in foot notes under the text.

The main theme of the epigraph is to celebrate a unique event in South Indian history, viz., the capture and imprisonment of the Chōla sovereign along with his ministers and the annexation of a portion of the Chōla territory by the Pallava chief Kōpperuñjinga. This is expressed in the prose passage commencing the record. The name of the Chōla sovereign whom Kōpperuñjinga imprisoned as also that of the poet⁶ who composed the verses is not given. The verses themselves reveal that the poet has limited himself to facts without indulging in any far fetched imagery.

The concluding words of the present inscription indicate that the verses had been approved by the hero⁷ of the theme.

The first verse extols the greatness and prowess of Kōpperuñjingadēva in accomplishing the imprisonment of the Chōla king along with his ministers and annexing the Chōla territory, and further, it refers to his encounter with Hoysala warriors, his vast army, his favourite deity in the Golden Hall at Chidambaram and to his love for and patronage of Tamil literature. The second verse warns other kings not to oppose this chief but to submit themselves quietly by paying tribute, considering the fate of the Chōla king. The next verse, after referring to the exploits of this ruler in stamping the insignia of his banner on the breast and shoulders of powerful kings, refers to the langour of the Chōla sovereign in prison. The last two verses are addressed directly to the king describing the state of his lady love⁸ during his absence on a campaign against the Chōla king.

¹ Nos 204, 206 and 245 of 1934-35 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

² No 152 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ No 157 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ No 195 of 1934-35 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No 160 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ In the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1923, p. 96, the name of the poet is taken as Sokka Śiyaṅ. Sokka Śiyaṅ was the name of Kōpperuñjingadēva and not of the poet.

⁷ Kōpperuñjinga appears to have been a poet himself judging from the title *Kavi sarvabhauma* applied to him in a record from Tirupati in the Chittoor District.

⁸ Reference to love affairs in martial themes is peculiar to Tamil poetry. This subject is treated at length in the *Tolkappiyam*.

The record comes from a village close to Tellāru where Kōpperuñjunga claims to have defeated the Chōla monarch. The reason for engraving the inscription in a place about twelve miles from the scene of action is not clear. Tellāru is remembered in South Indian history in connection with the Pallava monarch Nandivarman III, who assumed the title 'Tellārccirinda Nandi' to perpetuate his victory over his enemies in this place. Our poet seems to have been conversant with *Nandiḷḷalambagam*, a poetical work recounting the exploits of Pallava Nandivarman, wherein the victory at Tellāru is frequently mentioned. Some of the titles given to Kōpperuñjungadēva in our inscription such as *Aṇṇinārāyana*, *king of Mallar*, *lord of Tondai*, *lord of the land watered by the Kūṇṇi*, *patron of Tamil literature*, etc., are found applied to Nandivarman in the *Kalambagam* mentioned above.

The identity of Kōpperuñjunga mentioned in our record must first be established. As early as 1906,¹ the late Mr Venkayya suggested that "there must have been two or more chiefs with the name Kōpperuñjungadēva." The late Mr Krishna Sastri also accepted the existence of two Kādava kings of this name and identified the later one with Kādava Kumāra who is stated in the Tiruvannamalai record² 'to have driven the Telungar to the north so that they may perish in the north,' but his further identification³ of the same chief with Peruñjunga who captured and confined the Chōla king at Ścndamangalam is not borne out by the latest discovery, as will be shown presently. Sewell⁴ also accepted with caution the lead given by his predecessors and distinguished two chiefs of the name Kōpperuñjungadēva. But recently an opinion⁵ has been expressed against the theory of two Kōpperuñjungas and postulating only one king of the name in the period A D 1229 to 1278. This interval really becomes still wider because Kōpperuñjunga is mentioned in inscriptions as early as the 35th year of Kulōttunga Chōla III⁶ corresponding to A D 1213. The acceptance of two Kōpperuñjungas so far rested on mere inference, but an important discovery made recently at Villivanūr in the French territory when I went there at the request of Prof. Dubreuil of Pondicherry, settles this question conclusively.

A record in this village, dated in the 6th year of Sakilabhuvanarajachakravartigaḷ Aṇṇiyūlapprandir Kōpperuñjungadēva refers to the audit of temple accounts by Perumangalam Udayār Udayapperumāl alias Kāduvetṭigaḷ for the period commencing from the 37th year of Tribhuvana viradēva, i.e., Kulōttunga Chōla III down to the 11th year of (another) Kōpperuñjungadēva Aḷagajasiyar. Since this inscription⁷ which is dated in the 6th year of Kōpperuñjungadēva refers to the 11th year of (another) Kōpperuñjungadēva, it is evident that there must have been two Kōpperuñjungas and that the earlier had at least a reign of 11 years. Probably the last year of the reign of the first Kōpperuñjungadēva was the 11th, because we know that he made an attempt to supplant the Chōla king by imprisoning him at Ścndamangalam in A D 1232 and that from A D 1243⁸, another Kōpperuñjungadēva counted his reign. Thus the Villivanūr inscription establishes beyond doubt the existence of two Kōpperuñjungas, the first commencing his reign, probably from A D 1232 and the second from A D 1243. Kōpperuñjungadēva I was probably a vassal of the Chōla king or a semi-independent chief from at least the 37th year of Tribhuvana viradēva,

¹ *A R on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1906, p. 63.

² No 480 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ *A R on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1913, pp. 126-27.

⁴ *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, pp. 144 and 376.

⁵ *The Pandyan Kingdom* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 164, n. 4 and Prof. Krishnaswami Iyengar *Commemoration Volume* pp. 212-14.

⁶ No 487 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ All the dates in this record are expressed in words so that there is no doubt about their correct reading.

⁸ No 38 of 1890 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

i e, A D 1215 to A D 1232 The king mentioned in our inscription may, therefore, be identified with KōpperuŅjingadēva I

The earlier KōpperuŅjingadēva has left a few inscriptions at Tiruvannāmalai¹, in one of which he is given the titles *Niśśankamalla*, *Malla Kāvalan* and *Bharatam valla*² The southern *gōpura* of the Natarāja temple at Chidambaram was constructed by him³ The officer Śōla kōn seems to have served under him at Chidambaram⁴ He is distinctly called *Alagīyasīyan* in the Vilīyanūr inscription mentioned above and may be identified with *Jīya-Mahīpati* of the Tripurāntakam inscription⁵

We shall next determine who the Chōla king was that was defeated at Tellāru The contemporaries of KōpperuŅjingadēva I on the Chōla throne were Kulōttunga Chōla III and Rājarāja III, of whom the first lived till A D 1217⁶ and the second commenced his reign in A D 1216⁷ For the present enquiry, Kulōttunga Chōla III may be omitted, because our record mentions the defeat of the Hoysalas who came to the assistance of the Chōlas only in the time of Hoysala Vira Narasimha II who ascended the throne in A D 1220, by which time, however, Kulōttunga-Chōla III had died The Chōla king mentioned in the present record must, therefore, be Rājarāja III, as may also be inferred from the Tiruvēndipuram inscription⁸

The last mentioned record gives a detailed account of the attempt of KōpperuŅjingadēva to subvert the power of his overlord the Chōla emperor It states that KōpperuŅjingadēva captured the Chōla monarch at Śēndamangalam Our inscription, however, specifies the place where the Chōla king was first defeated and thus links the two incidents by mentioning them together The Vailūr and the Tiruvēndipuram records,⁹ therefore, appear to be complementary to each other If so, Rājarāja III must have been imprisoned only once and not twice as has hitherto been supposed by some scholars¹⁰

The fact that the Tiruvēndipuram record refers to the complete annihilation of the Pallava forces by the Hoysalas, from which KōpperuŅjinga could not have easily recovered, would indicate that the Tellāru battle was probably fought prior to the Śēndamangalam incident The latter event may be placed in A D 1232 corresponding to the 16th year of Rājarāja III⁸ By this time KōpperuŅjinga had consolidated his position and his territory is referred to as 'KōpperuŅjingandēśam' in the Tiruvēndipuram record From the accession of Rājarāja III, KōpperuŅjinga never figured as his subordinate¹¹ As early as A D 1222 Hoysala Vira Narasimha is said to be marching towards Śrīrangam in the Chōla country¹² Two years later (i e, A D 1224), we find that Vira-

¹ Nos 480, 500, 512 and 513 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

² No 480 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

³ No 285 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

⁴ No 463 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

⁵ No 197 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

⁶ No 282 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

⁷ No 367 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

⁸ Above, Vol VII, pp 167-68

⁹ Nos 418 of 1922 and 142 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

¹⁰ *A R on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1923, p 97

¹¹ From the mere mention of KōpperuŅjinga in a record from Vṛiddhāchalam in the South Arcot District (No 136 of 1900 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) dated in the 14th year of Rājarāja III, it has been supposed that the former was a Chōla vassal till A D 1229 This inscription mentions as donor an *agzmbadī mudali* of KōpperuŅjinga which fact need not establish the subordination of this chief to the Chōla Similarly, a brother of an officer of KōpperuŅjinga figures as donor in the 30th year of Rājarāja III i e, A D 1246 (No 504 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) when KōpperuŅjinga had openly declared his independence

¹² *Ep Carn*, Vol VI, Cm 56

Narasimha was called 'the establisher of the Chōla kingdom' and a Kādava is said to have been his opponent¹. The battle of Urattī² where the Kādava (Kōpperuñjunga) was wounded in the 7th year of the reign of Rājārāja III, corresponding to A.D. 1223, was also fought in the period when Vīra Narasimha came to the assistance of the Chōla monarch. The second war of Viṣayarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I with the Chōla is placed in this period³. From the beginning of Rājārāja III's reign, therefore, Kōpperuñjunga was a source of danger to the Chōla empire and when the latter was able in A.D. 1232 to effect his *coup d'état* by imprisoning the Chōla king after defeating him at Tejjāru, he signified the event by assuming the role of a monarch counting his accession from this date. Evidently to perpetuate his victory at Tejjāru, the *nāḍu* comprising this village was called *Simhapuruda-vaṇanāḍu*⁴, i.e., the *vaṇanāḍu* where Simha (Kōpperuñjunga) fought.

For a clear understanding of the present record a knowledge of the political situation in the Chōla country about this time is necessary. The Chōla empire which had been assiduously built up by Rājārāja I and his successors showed signs of decay in the beginning of the 13th century. A.D. 1200. Even during the early years of Kulōttunga Chōla III this empire was intact but real trouble began towards the close of his reign. The Pāṇḍya under Viṣayarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I began to assert themselves, with the result that the Chōla country was taken by the conqueror and soon after restored, as a matter of price, to Kulōttunga Chōla III. In the historical introduction to his inscription⁵ beginning with the words '*perumanniṉṉi mādaiyuppiṉṉi*' i.e., Viṣayarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I claims to have invested with a crown the Chōla king, i.e., Rājārāja III, who sometimes later began to protest against his subjugation by refusing to pay tribute to the Pāṇḍya king, who thereupon immediately chose up him. In this phantasmagoric battle Rājārāja III appealed for help to the Hoysala monarch Narasimha II who forthwith despatched his army to the Pāṇḍya and Chōla country. When Rājārāja III was pushed north by the Pāṇḍya forces, Kōpperuñjunga should, as suggested by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar⁶, have joined with the Pāṇḍya and defeated the Chōla monarch at Tejjāru. The timely assistance of the Hoysala saved the Chōla empire for a time but it introduced a new power into the politics of the Tamil country. Having come, the Hoysala, to a deep root in the Chōla country by making Kannanūr their capital and building fortifications right along the south bank of the river Kāvērī. Later on they shifted their capital further up to Tiruvannamalai when their original capital Deviravandiyas was devastated by Mihil Kāṭṭūr.

In our record Kōpperuñjunga is called a Kādava. The earliest reference to this term is found in the Viśṣikudi grant of Intili Parāntī a Neduñjūḍuvan who is stated therein to have defeated the Kādava king, at Penn-ṇūḍum on the north bank of the river Kāvērī. In Tamil literature the term Kādava along with *Tondaiyar* and *Kōḷḷaṇṇi* is invariably used to denote the Pallavas. A Kādava king who is styled a Pallava, is said in the *Periarpāraṇi* to have built a temple of Śiva called Guṇadīrviṇcharam at Tiruvadi in the South Arcot District. The Tamil poem *Jatrama solan ulā* mentions a Kādava as the ruler of Gingee in the same district. The Kādavas, therefore, appear to have been in power in this district, but who exactly the chiefs were and what their

¹ Fleet *Dyn. Kan. Di.*, p. 507, in this record Narasimha is said to be 'a very Janardana (Viṣṇu) in destroying the demon Kaṭṭabha in the form of the Kādava King'.

² No. 271 of 1904 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 44.

⁴ No. 382 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 15 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁷ No. 514 of 1918 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 143.

relationship was to the main branch of the Pallavas, may be inferred from the descriptive labels of the sculptures found in the Vaikunta Parumāl temple at Conjeeveram. Here we find that the kings of the collateral branch of the Pallavas which descended from Bhīmavarman, the brother of Simhavarman, were actually called Kādavas. These appear to have been in power over a distant part of the Pallava empire, since, according to the labels mentioned above, Pallavamalla had to go a long distance 'crossing several mountains and impassable forests' to reach Kāñchī. When the Pallava power was eclipsed by that of the Chōlas, the descendants of the former, under the name Kādava, Tondaimān, etc.¹, seem to have drifted away from Kāñchī towards the South and employed themselves as officers under the Chōla monarchs. In the time of Kulōttunga Chōla II, we find the Kādavas figuring as police officers collecting *pādikāval* rent in the region now covered by the South Arcot District². Gradually they strengthened their power by influential marriages³ and by forming compacts⁴ with neighbouring chiefs for collective action to safeguard and protect their interests. The most important of these chiefs in the 13th century was Kōpperuñjingadēva, the hero of our record. He is first mentioned in an inscription of the 35th year of Kulōttunga Chōla III, i.e., A.D. 1213⁵ and the title *Kāvalar Tambirān*⁶ indicates his early position in the state. He had seen the weakness of the Chōla empire exposed by Māravarmān Sundara Pāndya I, who took the Chōla country and presented it back to King Kulōttunga Chōla III⁷. The time was, therefore, opportune for Kōpperuñjinga to assert his independence. So he tried a few years later to supplant the Chōla monarch and failed in the attempt owing to the interference of the Hoysalas. He was, however, able to secede from the Chōla empire and establish an independent kingdom comprising the present South Arcot, Chingleput and North Arcot Districts. If the Chōla was only an 'Emperor of three worlds' (Trībhuvanachakravartin), his rival Kōpperuñjinga styled himself an 'Emperor of all the worlds' (Sakalabhuvanachakravartin).

In the *Cambridge History of India*⁸, this chief is identified with 'the son and successor of the Pallava chieftain who was responsible for turning the Ceylonese out of the Pāndya country in the war of the Pāndya succession'. There is, however, no evidence to support this statement. In fact, such a view is untenable because, the two generals who took a leading part in this war viz., Kulattūlān Tiruchchirrambalam Udayān Perumānambī alias Pallavarāyar and Vēdavanam Udayān Ammayappan Annan Pallavarājan belonged respectively to Kulattūr⁹ (Chingleput District) and Palaiyanūr¹⁰ (near Madras), whereas Kōpperuñjinga was a native of Kūdal in Tirumunaiappādi¹¹ in the South Arcot District.

The kingdom established by Kōpperuñjinga I hardly lasted for half a century, and after Kōpperuñjinga II, it fell an easy prey to the Pāndyas when they extended their power into Tondai mandalam. Though a rebel, Kōpperuñjinga is recognised as a ruler in a number of later records, and in one of them found at Kāttumannārkōyl in the South Arcot District, his successor Kōpperuñjinga II is placed between Rājarāja III and Sundara Pāndya¹².

¹ Some of the Sambuvarāya Chiefs also called themselves Pallavas. Rājanārāyana-Sambuvarāyan was known as Śīyan Pallavan (No 428 of 1922). These chiefs, like the Kādavas, had the title 'Ālappirandān,' Ālāgiya Śīyan, Arasanārāyanaṇ, etc.

² Nos 137 of 1900, 45 and 46 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ Nos 203 of 1902, 460 of 1905, 112 of 1912 and 435 of 1913 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁴ Nos 516 of 1902, 435 of 1913, 234 of 1919, 487 of 1921 and 56 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ No 487 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ No 480 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ Nos 72 of 1924 and 9 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

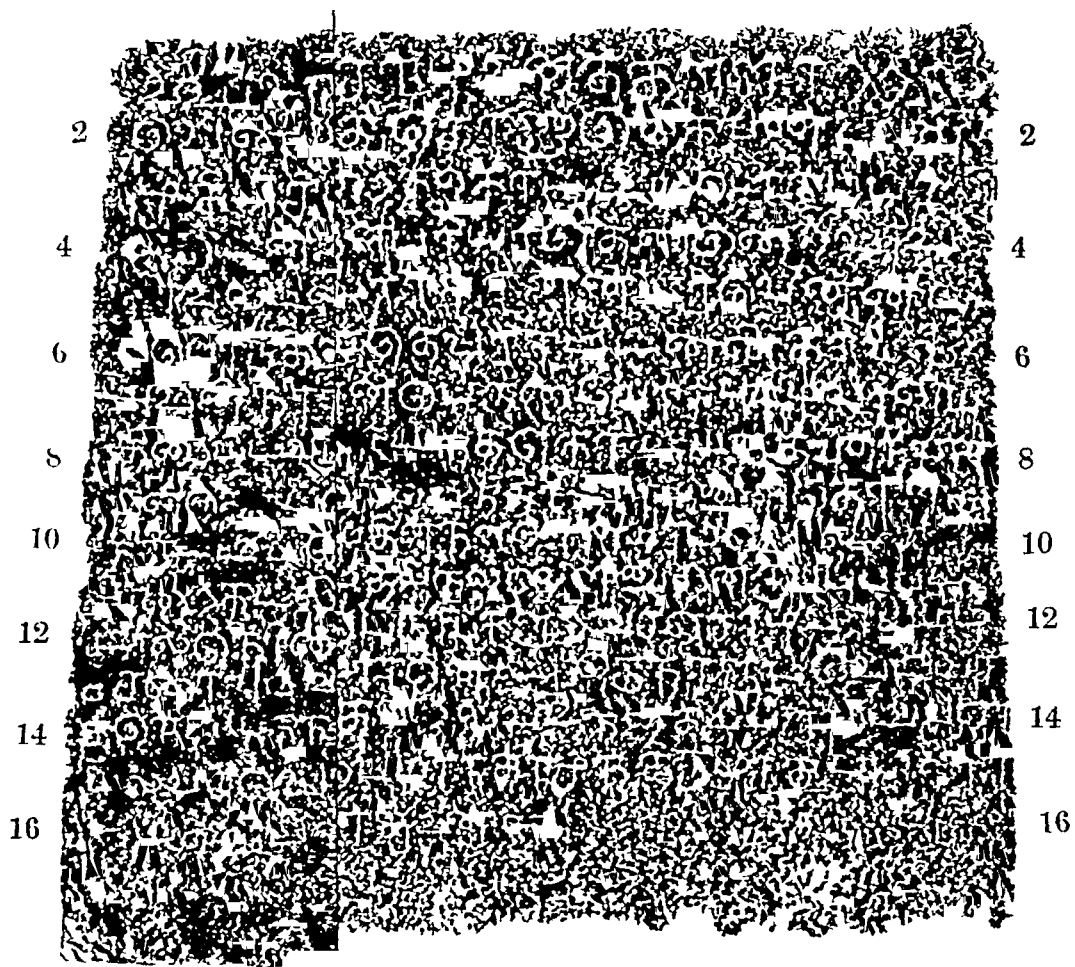
⁸ Vol III, p 482.

⁹ Above, Vol XXI, p 188.

¹⁰ Above, Vol XXII, p 88.

¹¹ No 83 of 1918 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

¹² No 570 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.



- 11 Arai kadalın=īśaiyudanēy=andar vēyīnām pa[l*][l]śai śevī kavara¹ andī-mālai[']
niraimadiyi=nilave[n]nu=neruppu-ppat
- 12 tāl nērlai mnr=ārruval[ō] Nīrupatungā['] pīrai poruda kana makara kimpuri [va]n-
kōttu-pperunkalurru²=chChōlanaiyum=ama³
- 13 chcharaiyum pīdittu=ch['] chiraiyil=ida=kkaluru² vidu mindan Śiyā Tīr[buva]
nattirāsākkal Tambirānē ௨||[4*] Oru nālum vediyā⁴
- 14 da ne[d]iya kangul=ūhiyena['] nīndu-vara ulagir=pun kan['] marunmālai yidu
munnē vandatenrāl vadanda⁵ yīval=ārruval[ō]
- 15 Mallai-vēndē['] porumālai mudī arāṣar kanni[mādar] pōrriśaiyum Buvanamuḷudu-
daiyār tāmuni['] tīrumādum punar
- 16 [pu]yattu [m]ndan Śiyā Tīr⁶bu[va]nattirāsākkal Tambirānē ௨ [5*] idu Śokkach-
chīyan ānai⁷ ௨

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1 3) Hail ' Prosperity ' *Sakalabuvanachchakkaravatti*, (the) prosperous **Kōpperuñ-
junga** **Alagiyaśayan**, (who) conquered the **Chōla** king at **Tallāru**, deprived (him) of all (royal)
insignia, (and after) imprisoning the **Chōla** (king), took the **Chōla** country

(Ll 3 7) Protector of **Pinnī**, **Avaninārāyana**, **Kādava** born to protect (and) foster **Sen-
Tami**, **Kōpperuñjunga** ' Who can extol thy greatness ' Your prison house is the abode of
the lord of **Ponni**,⁸ (his) wife (and of his) ministers, by the growing valour of (your) shoulders
(which) resemble two mountains the **Chōla** country was acquired, (the rivers) **Kanṇi**, **Kāviri**
(and) **Bagīratī** are your favourite reservoirs (ever having) billows of clear water, ruling chiefs
(carrying) tributes (wait) pining (at) your beautiful big gates, your invincible army fought with
the warlike **Kannadar** who knew no retreat, the dancing (god) in the shining Golden Hall is your
beloved deity

(Ll 8 9) (Oh ' kings ') Live paying (off your) tribute, remembering (well) the prison-
house wherein lay—on the day when the ends of the lotus like eyes of **Kōpperuñjunga** became red
—the **Chōla** (lord) of **Pugār** (to whom) the enemy kings paid (their) tributes in gold

(Ll 9-10) Let the day when the lord of **Tondai**⁹ conquered (with his) sword the haughty
kings and painted the (insignia of his) banner on their chests and shoulders, be hailed a greater
day than the one when the **Valava** was sent to droop in prison¹⁰

¹ With *andar vēyīnām pallīśai śevī kavara*, compare *aran vēyīn mullaiyan tīnkulal kelamo toli in Ayichchi
yar/uravar* of the *Śilappadīgaram* *Andar* may be taken with either *vēyīn* (flute) or *āmbal isai* *Āmbal* is a kind
of musical note

² Read *kakuru*

³ Read *ama*

⁴ Read *vidiyā*

⁵ Read *madanda*

⁶ The letter *ri* in *tiri* is engraved in Grantha

⁷ The letter *a* in *ānai* is engraved in Grantha

⁸ The **Chōla** king is called **Ponnituranan** in *Śendan Duākaram*

⁹ Cf the epithet ' **Tondamannan** who won the sacred **Tondai nādu** through the strength of (his) shoulders ' applied to **Pallavāndār** alias **Kādarāyār** in the **Attī** record (No 296 of 1912 of the **Madras Epigraphical col-
lection**)

¹⁰ The word *tūngiya* is generally used in inscriptions in the sense of ' sent to a long sleep ; e, death ' But since the **Chōla** king was released from prison by **Hoysala Vira Narasimha II** about 1232 A D and actually ruled there-
after, for about 20 years, the word *tūngiya* is here rendered as ' sent to droop '

(Ll 11 13) Oh ! **Nripatunga**, lord of the kings of the three worlds, powerful **Śīyā** (hon) (who) despatched elephants to capture and put in prison the **Chōla** (emperor) (with his) ministers (riding on a) huge elephant (whose) powerful tusks vying with the crescent, (were adorned with) heavy *maḥara*¹ and *kimpurī*² (jewels) ! (Consider how your) lady love could endure (in your absence) the heat(!) of the full-moon in the evening (when her ears were) filled with the sounds of the roaring ocean resonant with the musical note emanating from the divine flute

(Ll 13 16) Oh ! lord of **Mallai** powerful **Śīyā** (hon), lord of the kings of the three worlds, of arms espoused³ by **Bhuvanamuḥududaiyār** (i e, the goddess of Earth) (who is) praised by the queens of kings wearing crowns with wreaths of garlands and by Prosperity (i e, the goddess of Wealth) ! (Consider also) whether this *madandai* (i e, your lady-love) could (further) bear (in separation) the unending tedious night being prolonged like a *yuga* (especially when) preceded by a chain of bewilderments brought on by the troubles of this world

This (is the) order of **Śokrachchīyan**

No 28 —SANGUR INSCRIPTION OF DEVARAYA-MAHARAYA SAKA 1329

By R S PANCHAMUKHI, M A, MADRAS

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone tablet set up near the village gate at **Sangūr** in the Haveri Taluk of the Dhivār District. The record is published here for the first time, from the estampages secured by me in 1932-33⁴. The writing covers an area of 2' 2" by 7' and the size of each letter is approximately 3/4" in height. The top of the stone bears the sculpture, in bold relief, of a hero seated on horse back, which closely resembles the one found at Hosa Kummata near Anegondi⁵. The hero has a dagger hanging at his waist and holds a drawn sword in his right hand. This is evidently the image of **Kumāra Rāmanāthadēva** mentioned in line 6 of the inscription.

The characters are **Kannada** of the 14th and 15th centuries A D and do not call for any comment except that *th* in *pruthvī* (l 1) and *Rāmanātha* (l 6) is marked with a vertical stroke at the bottom to denote aspiration as in the modern script. **Orthography** is generally free from errors. In line 4 *vinōgādhipati* is written through mistake by the engraver for *niyōgādhipati*. The language of the inscription is **Kannada** prose throughout.

The inscription opens with the description of the **Vijayanagara** king **Dēvarāya I**, son of **Harihara-Mahārāya**, who is given the Western Chālukya epithets *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, *Prithvivallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara* and *Satyāśraya kula tilaka*. It then states that the statue of **Kumāra-Rāmanātha** was installed by **Mādarasa**, son of *Sēnādhipati*, **Sangama** and grandson of **Baichaveggade** who was the *Bāhattara-niyōgādhipati* and a devout servant of **Kampilarāya**, at **Changāpura** included in **Chandragutti-nādu** which belonged to **Gōveya-rājya**. The consecration of the image is stated to have been performed on

¹ *Maḥara*, which usually signifies an alligator or crocodile is a conventional beast like the European dragon, commonly found in Hindu, Jain and Buddhist decorative art in India and Greater India.

² The Tamil lexicon *Chūdumani Nigāṇṭu* defines *kimpurī* as an ornamental band fixed to the tusks of a royal elephant.

Here the Pallava chief with his consorts **Bhuvanamuhududaiyār** and **Tirumādu** is compared to **Vishṇu** with his consorts **Bhūdēvī** and **Śrīdēvī**.

⁴ B K No 173 of 1932-33.

⁵ Its photograph is given in *Qart Journ Myth Soc*, Vol XX, between pages 266 and 267.

Sunday, the 10th day of the bright half of Āsvayuja in the cyclic year Sarvvaṃt which fell in the Śaka year 1329. The details of the date regularly correspond to Sunday, 11th September, A D 1407, f d t 23

The inscription is important in more respects than one. Firstly, this is a rare epigraphical instance of the Vijayanagara period which attributes the epithets of the Western Chālukya kings of Kalyāna to king Dēvarāya. It is not possible to understand the exact significance of this departure since we are not in possession of any evidence connecting politically or otherwise with the Western Chālukyas, the Vijayanagara kings of the Sangama dynasty who rose into power nearly one hundred and fifty years after the downfall of the former. It may, however, be suggested that the locality where the inscription is found was fed strongly with the tradition that the Vijayanagara kings were the rightful successors of the Imperial Chālukyas inasmuch as they held the entire Chālukya territory, or the composer of the record had access to some political document of the Chālukyas and inadvertently copied its preamble while describing the king. It is, however, hazardous to surmise any blood relationship between the two families from a solitary record like the present one.

Secondly, the present record is the first epigraph so far known which bears a reference to **Baichaveggade** the minister of **Kampilarāya** and furnishes two generations after him, viz., his son **Sēnādhipati Sangama** and grandson **Mādarasa**. These officers are known to us for the first time, though **Baicha Dandanīyaka** figures as a minister of **Kampiladēva** in the **Kannada** works *Paradūra sōdara Rāmana chanṭe* and *Kumāra Rāmanāthana Sāṅgatya* of the 16th and 17th centuries AD¹. It further lends epigraphical confirmation to the authenticity of **Kumāra Rāmanātha** who is not mentioned in the accounts of the foreign travellers of this period, though his relationship with **Kampilarāya** is not disclosed in the record. The **Kannada** works mentioned above supply us the information that he was the son of **Kampila**, waged successful wars against the **Hoysala**, **Turushka** and **Telunga** kings during the life time of his father and at last was killed in a battle with the **Turushkas** at **Kummata**. An undated inscription² in a **Śiva** temple in **Hēmakūta** at **Hampi** records that **Vīra Kampiladēva**, son of **Mummadī Singeya-Nāyaka** constructed the **Śiva** temple and set up the *lingas* therein in memory of his mother **Mādā-Nā[ya*]kiti**, **Singeya-Nāyaka** and **Perumeya Nāyaka**. **Perumeya-Nāyaka's** relationship to **Singeya** is not stated in the record, though from the way in which he is mentioned, he appears to be **Singeya's** father. It is not improbable that **Singeya Nāyaka** installed the *lingas* for the merit of his father and grandfather. If this suggestion proves to be correct, one more generation would be added to the genealogy of **Kampila** which, from the records known so far, is given below.

Perumeya Nāyaka

Mummadī Singeya Nāyaka, *m* Mādā Nāyakatī

Vīra Kampiladēva

Kumāra Rāmanātha

¹For further historical details gathered from these works, see the articles entitled *Studies in Vijayanagara History* and *King Kampila and Kumāra Rāmanātha* by Mr M H Rama Sharma in *Q J M S*, Vol XX and Supplement to it pp 1 18 and Dr N V Ramanayya's *Kampila and Vijayanagara*

^a No 353 of 1934 25 of the Madras Epigraphical collection Vol I, p 305, No 335 evidently refers to this inscription evidently a mistake as no cyclic or Śaka year is quoted in it Mr Rama Sharma and Dr Ramanayya In *The Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, The cyclic year Saumva mentioned there is This mistake has crept into the writings of

So far, only two dates namely A D 1280¹ and 1282² are known for Mummaḍi Singeya Nāyaka who, on the former date, defeated and killed Yādava Rāmaḍṭva's subordinate *Mahāpradāna* Chāvundarasa when the latter had invaded Doravaḍi in Kurugōḍu nāḍu. From a hero stone at Lakshmēśvar³, it is learnt that Dāme Nāyaka, son of Mahāḍṭvarāya despatched a general Sa Rāneya who was stationed at Huligere, to Kummata against Mummaḍi Singeya-Nāyaka in the 17th year of the reign of Yādava Rāmachandra corresponding to A D 1287-88. It may be noted that this is the **first epigraphical reference to Kummata** which is the same as Crynamata of Numiz. Kummata must have been, as the capital of this chief, situated in Doravaḍi nāḍu over which he was ruling. It has been rightly identified with Kumāra Rāmana Kummata situated at a distance of about eight miles from Ānegondi⁴. It is clear from the above account that the rebellion raised by Mummaḍi Singeya in defiance of the suzerain power at Ḍvagirī was quelled on two occasions by the Yādavas, by despatching a force to the very heart of his chiefdom. The insurrection being thus subdued, Singeya himself was probably made to acknowledge the Yādava overlordship. We find his son Kampiladṭva, also called Khandeya-Rāya,⁵ figuring as a subordinate of Yādava Rāmachandra in A D 1300 and renewing the gift of Hariharapura which had been formerly granted to Brahmans by king Krishna Kandhāra. Since the Huligere country was held by the viceroys appointed by Rāmaḍēva in A D 1287-88⁶ and 1295-96⁷ and since portions of the Chitaldrug District, especially Dāvanagere, were held by this king till at least A D 1300, it is evident that Mummaḍi Singeya's chiefdom did not extend beyond Doravaḍi and never included the Nolambavāḍi province⁸ after the killing of Vira Chāvundarasa mentioned above. It is not unlikely that after the death of Mummaḍi Singeya, Vira Kampila was entrusted with the government of the country extending up to the northern border of the Hoysala kingdom, so that he might not only stem the Hoysala invasion on the Yādava kingdom but also acquire new territory by making fresh conquests in the enemy's country. Kampila is accordingly seen fighting with the Hoysala subordinates in the latter's territory in A D 1303⁹ and 1325¹⁰, and Hoysala Ballāla (III) opposing Ka[m*]pila in Doravaḍi in A D 1320¹¹ and marching against Siruguppe¹² where Kampila met him with a big force and probably killed his general Chamba Dandanāyaka. When the Yādava power was weakened by the invasion of Malik Kafur, Kampila might possibly have declared independance in the ensuing political chaos.

In one of the inscriptions of Lakshmēśvar,¹³ reference is made to the death of Kampila and Sidila Bomma in a military campaign from Dilli. The inscription is unfortunately not dated,

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol VII, Channagirī 24

² *Ibid.*, Vol XI, Hirivūr 86. In the published text of this record, however, the name Singeya is not fully preserved.

³ B K No 23 of 1935-36

⁴ *Q J M S*, Vol XX, pp 5 ff. Mr Rama Sharma, depending upon a verse in *Chenna Basava purāna* thinks that the fortress of Kummata was built newly by Kampila (*ibid.*, p 11). This is not tenable as the Lakshmēśvar inscription of A D 1287-88 mentions Kummata as the capital of Mummaḍi Singeya. Kampila might, however, have strengthened the fortification by fresh constructions.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol XI, Dg 26, *Mys Arch. Rep.* for 1923, No 121

⁶ The Lakshmēśvar inscription quoted above

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol I, part II, p 530

⁸ See Dr Ramanayya's *Vijayanagara—the Origin of the City and the Empire*, p 81. He holds that Mummaḍi Singeya's territory included the Nolambavāḍi province. But from *Ep. Carn.*, Vol XI, Dg 26, 59, 81, etc., it is evident that this was held by the Yādavas.

⁹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol XI, Holalkere 106. The name of the chief is given in the published text as Kamḍiludēva, which may be a wrong reading for Kampiludēva.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol XII, Tiptur 24

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol VIII, Nr 19

¹² *Mys. A. R.* 1923, No 121

¹³ B K No 21 of 1935-36

but it may be assigned on paleographical grounds to the first half of the 14th century A D According to the Muhammadan historians, Kampila was slain by Khwājā Jahān, the leader of the Muhammadan army in A D 1327¹ The *Kumāra-Rāmanātha Sāṅgatya* gives a graphic account of the fight between the forces of Kampila and of the Turushka king at Kummata and states that Kumāra-Rāmanātha's head was cut off from his body and despatched to Dilli The fact that his statue is set up at Sangūr in the Hāvērī taluk indicates that Kampila's sway was recognised in that part of the country, which was probably under the enjoyment of his minister Baichaveggade and continued to be held in his family for at least two generations more In fact, in another² inscription, at Sangūr, of the reign of Dēvarāya I and dated in the Śaka year 1334, mention is made, among the ancestors of a local chief (name lost), of a certain Baichaveggade as the *Kāvamūli* (chief guard or officer) of Sangūru included in the Eighteen Kampana province of Gutti It is just possible that this Baichaveggade is identical with the minister of Kampila³ It is not known what circumstances actuated Mādarasa to set up the image of Rāmanātha after a lapse of 80 years from the latter's death

Among the places mentioned in the record, Gōveya *rājya* and Chandragutti *nādu* are too well-known to require identification Changāpura is the modern Sangūr where the inscription is found.

TEXT⁴

1 Svasti (l) Samastabhuvanāśraya Śrī-pru(pri)thvīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Satyā-

2 sraya-kula-tilaka śrī-Virapratāpa Harihara Mahārāyara kumāra Dēvarāya-

3 ru suka(kha)ṛīm rājyam-geyuttirddallu [*] Gōveya-rājakke saluha(va) Chamdra-guttiya-nādolagana

4 Changāpuradalu Kampilarāyana Bāhattaravinōgādhipati⁵ pati-kāryya dhuram-

5 dharanum appa Bayichaveggadeya momma Sēnādhipati Saṅgamana kumāra Mādarasru

6 Kumāra-Rāmanāthadēvara pratishtheya Śaka-varsha 1329 neya Sarvva[ṇ]tu samvatsarada Ā-

7 svayuja suddha 10 Ādityavāradaḷu mādisida[ru][l] Mamgala mahāśrī

8 Śrī Śrī Śrī Śrī ||

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1 to 3) Hail ! When Dēvarāya, an asylum of the whole world, the illustrious *Prithvī-vallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara*, an ornament of the family of Satyāśraya and son of Virapratāpa Harihara-Mahārāya was ruling in happiness,

(Ll 4 to 8) Mādarasa son of the Sēnādhipati Saṅgama and grandson of Baichaveggade who was the devout servant and Bāhattaravinōgādhipati of Kampilarāya set up (the image of) Kumāra-Rāmanāthadēva at Changāpura in Chandragutti-nādu belonging to Gōveya-rājya, on Sunday, 10th (day) of the bright half of Āsvayuja of the (cycle) year Sarvvaṇit (falling in) the Śaka year 1329

¹ See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol III, p 140

² B K No 170 of 1932 33

³ It is now held by some scholars that the first Vijayanagara dynasty grew out of the wreck of the kingdom of Kampila (Q J M S, Vol XX) For different views on the subject, see Dr Ramanavva's thesis *Vijayanagara—the Origin of the City and the Empire* where previous opinions also are summarised See also Dr Salvatore's article, *Theories concerning the Origin of Vijayanagara* in the *Vijayanagara Ses centenary Commemoration Volume* (1936), pp 139 ff

⁴ From ink impressions

⁵ Read *vinōgādhipati*

No 29 —FRAGMENTARY STONE INSCRIPTION OF QUEEN UDDALLADEVI A. S. 1294

By M. M. NAGAR, M.A., SARNATH MUSEUM, BENARAS

The inscription was secured by Mr B. M. Vyasa from Nagod State,¹ Central India, for the Allahabad Municipal Museum wherein it is now preserved, and was kindly placed at my disposal by him together with an estampage for editing it. I am here publishing it for the first time.²

The Inscription is incised on a rectangular block of buff coloured sandstone measuring 18½" by 12¾" and is broken at the top. Consequently, some of the opening lines of the record have been lost, what may have been their exact number cannot be ascertained.

The writing which is in 22 lines covers a space of 18½" b, 12" and is in a fairly good state of preservation excepting some letters of the last four lines which are only partly preserved. The opening and concluding letters of some of the lines are also much worn out. The letters are cut shallow and being much corroded at places present some difficulty in decipherment. Their average size is ¾". The characters belong to the Northern variety of alphabet of the 12th and 13th centuries A.D. They resemble modern Nāgarī, the exceptions being the letters *ch*, *rō* (l. 8), *ṛ* (l. 12), *m* (l. 16), etc. The language is Sanskrit and up to the first half of line 12 it is in verse and thereafter in prose. The orthography is regular and calls for no remarks.

The epigraph refers itself to the time of one Uddalladēvi, the chief queen of the illustrious Mahamandadēva, and the daughter of the illustrious *Maṇḍasāmantha* Bhṛatadēvi of the Rāshtrakūṭa(kūṭa) family. Mahamanda was a feudatory of the illustrious *Āḍakramalla* who seems to have belonged to the Gahadavāṇa family. It records the erection of a shrine for the illustrious Vinḍhyāśvara Śiva on [Thursday], the Damannak Chaturdaśī, Samvat 1294, corresponding to Thursday, 12th March, A.D. 1237. To judge from the description of the temple it seems to have been an imposing structure. The eulogy was composed by the learned, the illustrious Sukhākar.

Line 2 of the extant record eulogizes some lady but it is not certain who she is as the major part of the verse has been lost. Supposing her to be Uddalladēvi, even then, owing to the lacunae in the epigraph it is not possible to ascertain the exact relation between her and the illustrious Lakshmanā of l. 3 f and the overlord Dharmadēva³ of l. 5.

The inscription shows that even after the extermination of the Imperial Branch of the Gahadavāṇas of Kanauj by the Muslims, local chiefs of the same dynasty were in existence in various parts of Central India and Rājputāna. One such chief was *Āḍakramalla* and that he was of some importance is clear from the mention of Mahamanda as his feudatory.

King Harischandra (c. A.D. 1197-1200)⁴, the last known ruler of this dynasty, meeting his final defeat in A.D. 1226 at the hands of Iltutmish, fled with his family towards Farrukhābād

¹ Mr A. Ghosh mentions Mau (U. P.) as its find place which is denied by the discoverer. [Mr Vyasa told me that he had got the inscription from Unchahri in Nagod State.—Ed.]

² A note on this inscription has appeared in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, July 1935, Vol VIII, Pt. 1, pp. 21-23, by A. Ghosh, M.A., who is referred to in the notes below as A.G.

³ [According to the context *Ranala* Dharmadēva belonged to the mother's family of Lakshmana and was probably his maternal uncle.—Ed.]

⁴ Though A.D. 1200 is the last date hitherto known of Harischandra from his Macchilishar Grant (above, Vol. X, p. 95), it appears that his power lingered in the more inaccessible parts of Kanauj up to A.D. 1226 when it was finally captured by Iltutmish. Dr H. C. Ray seems to be correct in his assumption that the battle of Chandwar gave to Muslims 'only the possession of the more important cities and strongholds, the countryside beyond the reach of the Muslim posts still continued to be under Hindu rule' (*Dynastic History of A. I.*, Vol. I, p. 547).

(U P) from where after a short time his son's son Sihāji is said to have gone to Mārwar and with the assistance of the Brahmins of that place to have established a principality of his own after defeating the Muhammadan marauders of Multan¹ Tod also records that 'in S 1268 (A D 1212), eighteen years subsequent to the overthrow of Kanauj, Sihaji and Setram, grandsons of its last monarch, abandoned the land of their birth, and with two hundred retainers, the wreck of their vassalage, journeyed westward to the desert'² His date regarding the final overthrow of Kanauj and the exact relation of Satrām and Sihāji may be accepted with a grain of salt, nevertheless the fact that Sihāji moved towards Mārwar remains unquestioned

Mahamandadēva, who was certainly a Hindu ruler, adopted this Muslim like name³, obviously to please the sensibilities of his Muslim overlord (Iltutmish or Queen Raziyya) of Delhi This is by no means a solitary instance of the assumption of a Muhammadan name by a Hindu ruler We also know that a Chauhan king of Ranathambhor (c A D 1283 1301) called himself Hammira (हमीरभूपतिरविवदित भूतधायी)⁴ which is a Muslim name⁵ and was used by certain Sultans of Delhi on their coins⁶

TEXT.

- 1 — — —
- 2 न गुणेन भान्ति सुवने सर्व्वे [त]या न्यङ्गतास्तस्मा — उ उ — उ —
- 3 त्वविचलं राज्यं प्रशास्वकुतम्⁷ ॥ [१^{*}] सामन्तरोजितिलकः प्र[यि]तः पृ[यि]-
- 4 व्या श्रीलक्ष्मणो [उ उ उ]⁸ लक्ष्मणतुल्यकीर्ति । यन्मातृपत्य इह रा[ण]-
- 5 कचप्रावर्ती यादार्थतः खलु तथा स च धर्मदेव.⁹ ॥ [२^{*}] श्रीविन्ध्य-
- 6 खरभूलिनीकुततरः सन्मावलीशोभितः प्रासादीय[भने]-
- 7 कभद्र[ख]चितो¹⁰ नानापताकावित । य[च्छृ]ङ्गेण दिवंस्पृशा ग]-
- 8 तिहरो विन्ध्यो रवेरत्यतो व्याजाद्यद्यो [ध्व]जपक्षिपातित[नति]-
- 9 श्री(र्वी)तो गुरोर्वीवयतः⁷ ॥ [३^{*}] प्रासादीयं तथाकारि श्रीविन्ध्येश्व-
- 10 रधूर्जटे । पुत्रपौत्रादिसम्पत्त्यै(त्यै) दित्त्यान्तारणाय च¹¹ ॥ [४^{*}]

¹ Ren's *Prācīna Bhārata ke Rajarāṇa* (in Hindi), Vol III, pp 114 115 and 118 119
² Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (ed Crooke), Vol II, p 940
³ Bhandarkar *List of Inscriptions of N India*, No 682 wherein Muhammad ibn Tughlaq has been called Mahamanda Sāhi
⁴ Above, Vol XIX, p 50, l 8 [This was also the name borne by a ruler of Chitor —Ed]
⁵ Badāun Inscription of Lakhnapāla, above, Vol I, p 62, n 5, and Mahoba Inscription, *ibid*, p 221
⁶ S Lanepoole *Coins of the Sultans of Delhi in British Museum* Coins Nos 9, 24 26, 32 33, 38 42, 51 52, 63 66, 70 72 and 96 98
⁷ Metre *Śardūlavilīritā*
⁸ Three syllables have been left out probably by the engraver through oversight
⁹ A G reads *Varmadeva* Metre *Vasantatilakā*
¹⁰ May be [र]चितो in which case the translation of 'अनेकभद्ररचितो' would be 'made of or containing much gold'
¹¹ Metre *Anushūbh*

- 11 प्रशस्तिरचनात्तत्रे पण्डितः श्रीसुभाकरः । सुगनाङ्गिनरोज-
 12 'भरजोरञ्जितसृष्टिर्(हि)जः' ॥ [५^१] इति श्रीकन्यकुजदेवोक्तया रा[द्रा(द्र)]-
 13 कुल(कूट)पद्मप्रदीप भक्तसामन्तराजश्रीमद्देवसुतया श्रीम-
 14 हृदयलकुलकोसलविकागनसराश्रीश्री[उक]भाष-
 15 सासान्तरागतागतवज्रपञ्चर'श्रीमन्महामन्ददेवपट्ट[रा]-
 16 द्य श्रीउद्भटदेवा स्वकुलैकविंगतिपुरुषमतारणार्थमात्मन
 17 प[र]मनिश्रेयसप्राप्त्य पुनर्पौत्रादिसम्पत्त्ये संव[त्स][रा-
 18 णा] दादगशतपु चतुर्नरत्वधिकेषु दमनकाचतुर्दशी [गु-
 19 रु^२]वारि श्रीविन्ध्येश्वरदेवस्य स्वप्ना [प्रा^३]-
 20 सारोय कागित प्रतिष्ठापितस्य ॥ वा
 21 रिणा पण्डितश्रीसुभाकरेण प्रगम्ति[निर्गिता^४]
 22 [हि^५]तमन्तु भव्यस्य स

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) all being eclipsed by her in merit, do not shine in the world may rule [her] firm and unique kingdom

(Verse 2) The illustrious Lakshmana the ornament (lit. mark) on the forehead) of the great feudatory chief, is renowned on the earth (and) possesses a fame like that of Lakshmana, on who a mother's side (i.e. born) in this world the forefathers of the Rājās who was justly (called) Dharmadīva

(Verse 3) This temple of the illustrious Vindhyaśvara Sūta (lit. the trident-holder, lord of the Vindhya) is beautified by series of pillars, is carved with many auspicious [scenes] and is endowed with many banners. It stands as the very Vindhya (mountain) with its summit touching the sky and obstructing the movement of the sun (but), taking fright at the command of the preceptor (i.e., the sage Agastya) [has bent down?] under the semblance of the series of banners

(Verse 4) This temple of Śiva, the illustrious Vindhyaśvara, has been caused to be erected by her for the prosperity of (her) sons, sons' sons, etc., as well as for the deliverance of (her) forefathers

(Verse 5) The learned, the illustrious Sukhāra who is tinged by the pollen of the lotus flowers that are the feet of good men, effected the composition of [this] eulogy

¹ Metre *Anuṣṭubh*

² Cf. 'सुसवप्रदीप' of Copper plate Grant of Viśvarūpaśena of Bengal. *I H Q*, Vol II, p. 84

³ Cf. 'कुलसंश्लेषासमाकर' *ibid.*, and 'श्रीधर्मराजदेवकुलसमापदोता' of Hathi plates of Dhārīvarsha. *Ind Ant.*, Vol XLIII, p. 193, l. 3

⁴ Cf. *I H Q*, Vol II, p. 84, l. 3 and *I B B R A S*, Vol XXI, p. 329

⁵ दमनकाचतुर्दशी is the particular चतुर्दशी falling in the bright half of Chaitra. See *रुतिकौमुद* (Bom. ed.), p. 23. Also see S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol I, Pt I, p. 60

(Lines 12-20) Thus this temple of the illustrious God Vindhyēśvara has been caused to be erected and consecrated on [Thursday], the Damanaka Chaturdaśī, in the (Vikrama) **Samvat 1294**, for the deliverance of twenty-one generations of her own family, for the attainment of the supreme bliss for herself and for the prosperity of (*her*) sons, sons' sons, etc., by the illustrious **Uddalladēvi**, born in the county of Śrī-Kanyakubja, daughter of the illustrious Bharahadēva, the prince of the *Mahāsāmantas* and a lamp to the family of the Rāshtrakulas (*kūtas*) and the chief queen of the illustrious **Mahamandadēva**, who was a cage of adamant to those seeking refuge (*in him*) and a feudatory of the illustrious Ādakkamalla, the very sun causing to bloom the lotus of the illustrious family of the Gahadavālas

(Line 21) The eulogy [was composed] by the learned, the illustrious Sukhākara

(Line 22) Let there be welfare to all

No 30—SANGUR INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA MAHADEVARAYA SAKA 1186

By R S PANCHAMUKHI, M A, MADRAS

Sangūr which is variously called as Sangavūru, Sangūr, Changūra and Changāpura in the inscriptions of the place, is situated at a distance of about 8 miles south west of Hāvēri on the road to Sīrsī in the North Kanara District. The inscription¹ edited below is engraved on the Nandi pillar standing near the temple of Virabhadra in the village. It covers an area of 3' 7" by 1' 4" and contains sixty-six lines of writing. The size of each letter is approximately between $\frac{3}{4}$ " and $\frac{1}{2}$ " in height. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation.

The characters are medieval Kannada of the 13th century A D to which the record belongs. The secondary forms of *y*, *v* and *m* are used in *deseya* (l 48), *vumbah* (ll 63 and 64) and *maduve* (l 61). It is noteworthy that the record indicates the aspiration of *dh*, *th* and *dh* in *praudha* (l 24), *tathya* (l 31) and *mdhānam* (l 31) by a vertical stroke at the bottom of the letter. In respect of orthography it may be remarked that vowel *i* is wrongly used in the body of the word *londovudu* (l 55) and the *anusvāra* is employed superfluously in some cases before conjunct consonants as in *pumnya* (ll 9, 17), *hiramnya* (l 44), *b* is used for *v* in *dharmma byayāya* (l 38), *sarbbā* (l 42), *pūrbbaḷam* (l 44), etc., the consonants coming after a *rēpha* are doubled as in *āchāryya* (l 6), *urvvi parvvi* (l 4), *dharmma* (l 38), *Mallikārjuna* (l 9), *variti* (l 39), etc., dental *s* is used in place of *ś* throughout the record which may be due to the influence of Kannada phonetics on Sanskrit vocabulary. *Ś* is used for *sh* in *purusa* (l 26) and *Puśya* (l 43), etc.

Excepting the benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 1-3 and 57-58, the whole record is in prose. Lines 4-19 and 45-57 comprising the two *vachanas* of Siddharāma and lines 59 to 66 giving the specification of certain estates to be enjoyed by private persons are in **Kannada**, while the description of the king and the minister and the grant portion (ll 19-44) are in **Sanskrit**. In respect of the Sanskrit language, it may be noted that its vocabulary is influenced by the Kannada phonology as for example *paduma* for *padma* (l 26), *labudha* for *labdha* (l 33), etc., the insertion of the Kannada word *neya* in the date portion in Sanskrit (ll 42-43) may also be noted. The language of the two *vachanas* is rhythmic, elegant and simple Kannada. There are, however, several redundant expressions used perhaps for the sake of alliteration and balance as e.g., *embātana ātana mātā mātā pitru* (ll 13 and 50), *valeyadolage volage* (l 48f), *chaturāśrayada nālūm deseya* (l 48), *bēga sīgham* (ll 16 and 53).

The subjoined inscription belongs to the reign of the Yādava king Mahādēva who began to rule in A. D. 1260. It introduces his minister Dēvarāja whose pedigree for three generations is given as follows. Chāvundarasa was born in the family of Vasishtha and was a devotee of Śiva. To him was born Amitarasa who begot Dēvamantriśa. This Dēvamantriśa is described as having obtained a great boon from god Sōmanāthadēva and as protecting the southern region at the command of king Mahādēva. The record states that the Mahāpradhāna Dēvarāja visited Sonnalige-nagara which had been formerly the residence of the saint Siddharāma and feeling himself purified at the sight of the god Kapilasiddha-Mallikārjunadēva there, made a gift of the village Changūr included in Bāsūra-*ishaya* together with a right over all treasure troves, etc., and with various incomes accruing from fines and *śullas*, to provide for worship and offerings to the deity and for the expenses of renovation of the temple, maintenance of the poor and the orphans and for conducting several charities such as watersheds and daily oblations. Lines 59-66 contain a stipulation that certain estates and incomes of the village specified therein must be enjoyed by the Gaudas, Hittukāras and Chaudarasa, the *Heggade* of the temple (*dēvara mane*).

The record is dated on the day of *arddhodaya* in Pushya of the cyclic year Raktākshin falling in the Śaka year 1186. *Ardhdhodaya* is an astronomical combination of "Śravana", Vyatī pātra and Sunday on the new moon day of Pushya.¹ These details coincided in the year quoted in the record and regularly corresponded to Sunday, 18th January, A. D. 1265 on which day the *nakshatra* Śravana ended at 88 of the day.

The chief interest of the record lies in the fact that it contains two *vachanas* (ll. 119 and 45-57) of saint Siddharāmanātha who is one of the famous *vachana* āraṇas of the Virāsana sect. *Vachanaṇalu* in Kannada literature denotes a particular class of works embodying sayings of great saints, particularly of the Lingāvat sect, who flourished in and after the 12th century A. D. From the *Siddharāmapurāṇa* of Rāghavāṅka (A. D. 1165), it is learnt that Siddharāma constructed a tank at Sonnalige, installed therein several *lingas* and defeated a mendicant Karpura in disputation, who had borne the biruda *Iḍyāsamudra*.² Other Virāsana works add that he received *dīkṣā* from Chennabāṇa, the sister's son of Bāṇa who flourished in about A. D. 1160. Prabhudēva alias Allama (A. D. 1160) is also credited with having taught the Śiva doctrines to Siddharāma.³

The first of the two *vachanas* is reproduced in an inscription from Sorab⁴ which records the gift of a village by a local chief Bīrarasa for the benefit of the temple of Kapilasiddha Mallikār-

¹ S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 61.

² *Karnatāka Kauchārīte*, Vol. I (Revised Edition), p. 183.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 180. For further details regarding the life and works of this saint, see *ibid.*, under Siddharāma.

Mr. Murugaiya Janganna, a leading Lingāvat gentleman of Bagalkot (Bijāpur District) whom I had addressed, has kindly communicated to me the following information on Siddharāma. Siddharāma was born at Sonnalige, one of the sixteen hamlets of the modern Sholapur. A stone image of this saint still exists there. Close to the place where he attained *samādhi*, is planted a stone with *śadalā kara mantra* which is still worshipped by all the devotees. In front of this *samādhi* over which are set up two *lingas*, stands the extensive temple of Siddhārāma. Just behind this temple there stood formerly a shrine of Mallikārjuna *linga*, the *upāya dēva* of Siddharāma. But during the Muhammadan rule some difficulty was experienced in offering worship to the deity on account of the mosque built in its vicinity and the *lingas* as therefore removed from its place and installed in a temple in the town which is now known as the temple of Mallikārjuna. The present temple is at the most one hundred years old. Siddharāma is credited with the authorship of more than a lac of *vachanas* of which only a few hundreds have appeared in print.

⁴ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VIII, Sorab 561. This same *vachana* is found in the beginning of the unpublished inscriptions at Koṭbūgi (No. 147 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) and Yadihalli (B. I. No. 95 of 1928-1929) in the Bombay Karnatak. The second *vachana* is only partially reproduced in the unprecatory portion of an inscription of Buklārīya, dated in Śaka 1278 (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Chitaldroog 1). But it is not specified there as the *vachana* of Siddharāma.

jurādēva of Sonnalige in Śaka 1176, i.e., exactly ten years before the date of the present epigraph. But the text given in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* is mutilated and corrupt. Both the *vachanas* given in the present inscription relate to the merit or sin of protecting or destroying the gift of land or money made to the temple of Kapilasiddha Mallikārjunādēva of Sonnalige. From their wording, it would appear as if Siddharāma composed them as a preamble to some grant to the temple made during his time. They are incorporated in the present record to serve as passages enjoining the protection of the gift under all circumstances.

Only a few inscriptions of the Yādava dynasty—and none of Mahādēva¹—have been edited so far. The subjoined inscription will, therefore, be the first document of the king to be published. Mahādēva is described here as “a goad to the elephant of the Gūrjara king, a three-eyed God (i.e., Śiva) to the Cupid of the Mālava king and the shatterer of the skull of the Telunga king.” In his Kotbāgi inscription² dated in the same year as the present record, he is given the additional epithet *Hoysanarāya lōlāhala*. Thus it would appear that the Yādava monarch Mahādēva had to contend for power and territory with the four neighbouring kings namely the Hoysalas in the south, the Kākatiyas in the east, the Gūrjaras, i.e., the Chaulukyas of Anhilvāda in the west and north-west and the Paramāras of Mālava in the north. It may be noted that these epithets are borne with slight modifications by every king from Bhūllama³ downwards, which would only indicate that in their attempt to expand their empire by fresh conquests, the Yādavas had to fight with these neighbouring powers since the very beginning of their political career.

From a close study of the stone and copper plate documents of the family, we learn that Bhūllama⁴, Jātugi,⁵ and his son Singana waged constant wars with the kings of Mālava, i.e., the Paramāras of Dhār. According to his Bāhal inscription⁶ and the Pāthan plates⁷ of Rāmachandra, Singana defeated one Arjuna who has been identified with the Mālava king Arjunavarman⁸. The *Hammīramadamardana*, a Sanskrit drama of the 13th century A.D., records an additional fact that he defeated and killed the Mālava king's feudatory, Chāhamāna Sindhurāja of Lāta⁹. The *Vasantavilāsa*, a Sanskrit *mahākāvya* of the 13th century A.D., contains another historical fact that Sindhurāja's son Sankha was taken prisoner by the leader of the Yādava army and was subsequently released by Simhana¹⁰. On a later occasion, Sankha sued Simhana for help and with his army marched¹¹ against Virādhavala, the king of Gujarāt who had forcibly occupied Cambay in Lāta¹². Simultaneously with this, the Mālava king Dēvapāla also invaded Gujarāt, apparently to assist his feudatory chief of Lāta in wresting back the lost Cambay. As stated in the *Hammīramadamardana*, the Gujarāt king appears to have managed to break the coalition through the strategic skill of his minister Vastupāla and turned the events of war in his favour¹³. This is testified to by the Dabhoi fragmentary inscription¹⁴ which records that Virādhavala routed a combin-

¹ A date of his Hulgūr inscription is noticed in *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 128.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1920, No. 447 of Appendix C.

³ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 31 ff., *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 314.

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 31 ff. Bhūllama must have entered the territory of Kūlhana, the Chāhamāna king of Nādol, after defeating the Mālava and Gūrjara kings on the way (*Ibid.*, Vols. IX, pp. 72 and 77, and XI, pp. 72 and 73).

⁵ Above, Vol. V, p. 31.

⁶ Above, Vol. III, p. 113.

⁷ *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 316.

⁸ Above, Vol. III, p. 111.

⁹ Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. X, Act II, p. 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. VII, *Sarga V*, Verse 42.

¹¹ *Hammīramadamardana*, Introduction, pp. vi, f.

¹² *Vasantavilāsa*, Introduction, p. ix.

¹³ *Hammīramadamardana*, Introduction, pp. viii and ix.

¹⁴ Above, Vol. I, p. 28.

ed attack of the lord of Dhārū and the king of the Deccan who must be Yādava Simhana. This enmity between the Yādava and the Mālava kings¹ is continued in the time of Kṛṣṇa Kandhūra and Mahādēva who are described in their inscriptions as the destroyers of the Mālava king.

The attitude of the Yādavas towards the Gūjaras, i.e., the Chaujukyas of Anhilvāda is one of frequent warfare. Viradhavala's son Viśaladēva (A. D. 1213-1263) wanted to take revenge on the Mālava and the Yādava kings who had invaded Gujarāt during his father's time. He is described in his inscriptions as 'a submarine fire that dried up the ocean of Simhana's army'.² The Pathan plates of Rāmachandra attribute the defeat of Viśala to Mahādēva which would show that the latter had to cross swords with Viśala within two or three years of his accession to the throne. We have seen above that the Gūjara king had seized Cambay and portions of Lāta from Sindhurāja, a feudatory of Dēvapāla. It is not impossible that he carried his arms still further to the south as a result of which north Konkan came under his sway. Or, Konkan must have been annexed to Gujarāt during the time of the Chaujukya king Kumārapāla (A. D. 1113-71)³, though its northern portions had been occupied by the Mālava king in the intervening period. An inscription of Arjunavarman (A. D. 1233), the predecessor of Dēvapāla, states that the king was encamped at Bhigulakechha at the time of the grant.⁴ This shows that the Paramāra kingdom extended up to the Breach District on the west in the early part of the 13th century A. D. According to Marco Polo (A. D. 1290)⁵, the chiefs in the west coast of north Konkan were dependent on the Anhilvāda kings. Rashid ud din (A. D. 1300)⁶ states that Gujarāt included at the close of the 13th century A. D. Cambay, Somnath and Konkan Thānā. Thus it is evident from these references that the Paramāra hold on the northern part of Konkan was dislodged and the Gūjara sway established in the latter half of the 13th century A. D. Hāmādrī records in his *Irat-i-handa*, Mahādēva's fight with Sōmśvara who was the Silāhāra chief of north Konkan and refers to the latter's drowning in the sea as a result of ship wreck. Since Sōmśvara's inscriptions⁷ dated in Śaka 1171 (A. D. 1219) and Śaka 1182 (A. D. 1260) are found in Ranvad and Chadiche near Uran, his fight and death must have taken place some time after 1260 A. D. As the last year of Viśala is known to be A. D. 1263, the defeat of Viśala and Sōmśvara might possibly have formed part of a single campaign undertaken by Mahādēva soon after his accession to the throne.

The epithet *Telungarāja śrāṣṭa lamala mūlōtpātana* borne by the king is significant as it indicates that Mahādēva had crossed arms with the Kākatiya king of his time and inflicted a crushing blow on his power. It is noteworthy that his brother Kṛṣṇa is called 'the establisher of the Telunga king' in his Mamdāpur inscription⁸ of Śaka 1172 and the Arjunvād inscription⁹ of Śaka 1182 which was the last year of his reign. According to the chronology of the Kākatiya kings, the Telunga contemporary of Mahādēva was Rudramāmbī, the daughter of Ganapati whose latest known year is Śaka 1183. Since Hāmādrī says that the Andhras placed a woman on the throne thinking that the Yādava king Mahādēva would not deign to fight with her, the crushing

¹ For particulars see also D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasties*, pp. 203-217.

² *Early History of the Deccan* by Bhandarkar, p. 242.

³ *History of the Konkan in Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I Part 2, p. 24.

⁴ *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VII p. 33.

⁵ *History of the Konkan*, p. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Early History of the Deccan*, App. C.

⁸ *History of the Konkan*, p. 21, n. 1.

⁹ Above, Vol. XIX p. 20.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI pp. 9 ff.

of the Telunga power suggested by the above epithet must have a reference to the wars conducted in the time of Ganapati especially after A D 1260¹ Mahādēva must have taken away from him (the title of) *Pañchamahāśabda* and the elephants of war as recorded by Hēmādrī, soon after his accession to the throne² It is not, however, possible to understand the exact circumstances which favoured the rising of the Silāhāra, Gūjara and Kākatiya kings immediately after the death of Krishna

Mahādēva, like his predecessors, entrusted the government of his southern country to his minister Dēvarāja³ apparently to guard against the Hoysala invasion into his territory The Hoysalas of Dōrasamudra who had lost considerable territory in the north west of Mysore to the Yādavas under Simhana and Krishna must have endeavoured to wrest back from them their past possessions and the struggle seems to have continued till the last quarter of the 13th century A D when we find some Yādava regiment stationed at Hāvērī⁴ marching against Dōrasamudra The Mamdāpur inscription of Krishna (Saka 1172) records the defeat of Hoysala Sōmēśvara by the king, perhaps in conjunction with his brother Mahādēva who was the *Yuvārāja* under him The epithet *Hoysanarāja-kōlāhala* may bear reference to this or any subsequent fight undertaken by Mahādēva against the Hoysalas

Incidentally, the record throws some light on the extent of the Kannada language in the north in the 12th and 13th centuries A D Sonnalige which was the home of Siddharāma now forms part of the modern Sholāpur, the headquarters of the Sholāpur District in the Bombay Presidency The Kannada language must have been prevalent in this part of the country in the 12th century A D⁵ This view finds confirmation from the statement in the Marāṭhī work *Līlā charitra* of the Mahānubhāva school, written in A D 1190 that the sixty lac Mahārāshtra country extended as far as Tryambaka kshētra (i e, Nāsik) on the bank of the Gangā (i e, Gōdāvarī) in the west⁶ Jñānēśvara the celebrated saint of Mahārāshtra who flourished about 1290 A D, praises in his *abhangas* the god Vitthala of Pandharpur as the deity of Kannada and Karnāṭaka and also remarks in his *Gītābhāvadīpikā* that the southern limit of Mahārāshtra in his time was the south bank of the Gōdāvarī⁷ This would show that even as late as the 13th century A D Kannada which is a southern neighbour of Marāṭhī, extended up to at least Nāsik and the Gōdāvarī, not to speak of Sholāpur and Pandharpur on the bank of the Bhīmā in the farther south There can, therefore, be no doubt about the veracity of the statement contained in the *Kavirājamārga* that the northern limit of the Kannada language in the 9th century A D was the Gōdāvarī⁸

¹ This was the last year of Krishna See Fleet, *Dynasties, etc.*, p 527

² The Yādava sway in the territory of the Kākatiyas is testified to by the discovery in 1922 of a pot of treasure buried in the earth at Rāchapatnam in the Kaikkalur Taluk of the Kistna District The pot contained 43 gold coins known by the name of *padma śaṅkas* which bear the legends Singhapa, Kānhapa, Mahādēva and Śrī Rāma in Dēva Nāgarī script (*J P A S B*, Vol XXI—Numismatic Supplement No XXXIX, pp 6 ff) The find may be taken to support the epigraphical and literary evidence regarding the defeat of the Kākatiyas by the successive Yādava kings from Singhana downwards

³ Dr Fleet thinks that he may be identical with Toragaleya Dēvarasa appearing in an inscription at Hāvērī See *Dynasties, etc.*, p 528

⁴ B K No 75 of 1932 33

⁵ Poet Chaundarasa (cir 1300 A D) is supposed to have lived at Pandharpur *Karnāṭaka Kavīcharite*, Vol I, p 403

⁶ *Marāṭhī bhāshā udgama va vilāsa* by Mr Kulkarni, pp 191 2

⁷ *Mahārāshṭra mūla* by Mr S B Joshi of Dhārwar, pp 40 and 49 50

⁸ *Parichhēda I Kumara Ramana laithe* of Nanjunḍa (cir A D 1525) also states, in conformity with the evidence of the Marāṭhī literature, that Karnāṭaka was bounded on the north by the Gōdāvarī and on the south by the Kāvērī in his time.

The following geographical places are mentioned in the record Kavilāsa, Sonnalige-nagara, Bāsura viśaya and Changūru Kavilāsa which is mentioned under this form in an inscription of Chalukya¹ is evidently the Mount Kailāsa, the abode of Śiva. It should not be confounded with Kavilāsa-pura whose greatness is extolled in ll 59 to 55 of the Arjunavāda inscription and which is identical with the modern village of the same name near Nūlgrāma, in the Hukkeri taluk of the Belgaum District². Sonnalige which is called *abhinava Srīnagara*, as stated above, a part of the modern Sholapur Bāsura-viśaya, which included the gift village Changūru, comprised 110 villages and included the southern part of the Hāvēri taluk of the Dhārwar District. Changūru is the modern Sangūr where the inscription is found. It may be noted that this village was included in the Chandragutti nāḍa during the Vijayanagara period³.

TEXT⁴

- 1 ॐ Śrī Siddharāmanātha varṇam | Namac tunc ॥ (4)
- 2 ras(4) tumbhi(chumbi) chandra eb mra chūravē C trāṣṭi vāṁṭṭi va) naḥar ā
- 3 rambhāya(bha) mu(mū)la stambhī(bhā)ya Svāśa)mbhāvē | ॐ
- 4 Svasti Śrī Om[*] Jayā Paramēvara Parimittā Yī(I)svara-uravī paravī[3 3]
- 5 daugikondippanu vōbbanunūv āgi yō vāṣa manūda) onēva
- 6 jōṭisvaranum Vri-bhanna rūp āgi [3a]jamān unum āchūryavanum tā
- 7 nex=āgi yōgēdi vūpūmra [ba]ḷi vāmpa)-ellavani vūpūdi (v) yō
- 8 ga [taru]niva kshētravane talav it'u calāl he vididu abhinava Srī vāṣane mā-
- 9 di Kāpilasiddha-Mahāārjun dēvane nēli i nūmdu i unava(punava) pīpūkaḷam
- 10 bīram pēḍu [be]ram pēḷuttav iralu ēm b = i dēvā nalu vī ēti-
- 11 nadalu mīnva ॥ ॥ vūrugalūm bhūmū dham dharmā vī lūngalē
- 12 hast-ōḍukavam mīdi lottuduvam manum pēḍē kōḷudukondap
- 13 n=embātana itina mītī mītī putru ēllam eppattī lūṭi varā ma
- 14 bīram pulu gonidada nra) adolē ilki nīn iluṭi pōḷuttuṭu kāmḍē e-
- 15 le pīpūvē || Yī dēvāna bhūmi dhamā | ān-vāpūva nēḍu pūṭṭēva ma
- 16 pīv=adarddante manum beduṣi pōḷavatt mra b'za ॥ ghēva lōmdu bī l mḍi
- 17 elo pūmnyavē Kavilā ila [*] yu it eridēya bame panava(punava) pīpūng-
- 18 lum pīrēdu lōmdu vudu tippidu dithi dithum -atyam gān lūre vembu
- 19 du guru Siddharāmanāthadēvāra vachana | Śva tūl[*] Śrī prithvī vallabham (vall. bha)-
- 20 Mahārājādhirāja Paramēvara Parimabhittār dīa Dvārī
- 21 vati pura var idhāva iri-Xādīva lūṣa lāmala kōḷi i vīl āḷ(4)ā bhā
- 22 skara-Gūrjararāya-a-vāraṇāsiluśa-Mājavarāya-Madana-Trinētra-
- 23 Teluṁgarāya-si(sī)lāsh(h)-kamala-mūl-ōtpātana Rīva jhala jhampa-Rī-
- 24 a Nārāyan ēty idī nī māv dī vīrī unūna-Praudha prāṭīpā
- 25 Chakravartī Śrī Mahādēvarāya vijaya rīva oḍaḍ(davē) | Tat pī
- 26 da padum(padm) ōpāyīmō Dēv vīryasya pūrbha(vā) puruśa(-ha) varmanam | Śr-
- 27 majam Vasistha vāmsē l' Chudarasah Śiva pad ābja-madhu bhringah(bhringah) [*]
- 28 tastūḍ Amutarisō-bhūd-anupama gunā ratna āgarah suja-
- 29 nah [*] Tatō=bhūd=Dēva mamtrīśah kshīr ābdhēr-va Chāndramāh [*] yatū(t) ka-
- 30 rō vibudh ānanda karah sarva ābhay amkarah || Svasti [*] Śrī-manu(n) m-
- 31 hūpradhānam(h) sakāla janā tathtō mīdhānam(h) mōga Yōgaṁdhārāh

¹ Ep. Carn., Vol. VI Chalukya 22² Above, Vol. XXI p. 11.³ B. K. No. 173 of 1932-33⁴ From ink impressions⁵ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous

- 32 patī kāryya du(dhu)ramdharah sarbb(rvv)ādhikāri(i) sujan ōpakāri(i) samārā
 33 dhī(dhī) ta bhūdēvah śrī Sōmanāthadēva-labudha(bdhv) varī prasādō **Dēvarājō(jah)**
 34 śrī Mahādēva-nru(nri)p ājñayā dakṣuṇām bhuvam pālayamnu(pālayan)
 35 śrī **Siddharām-ādhishthitam** (I) **Somnalige-nagaram=avalōkya śrī Kapilasiddha-**
 36 **Mallikārjuna-ālōkana**¹ pūt-āmtaramgō dhammmē (dhammmē) manō
 37 nidhīya tasya dēvasy=ānga raṅga bhōg ārtham jīrnnōddhār ānātha-
 38 samrakshana vārī sūtra nitya hōm ādy anēka dharmma b(v)ya
 39 yāya || **Bāsūra-vishaya-madhya-varttinam** prasiddha-simā-samam(ma)nvitam
Chamgūra-nāmdhēyam grā-
 40 mam nidhī nīkshēpa jala-pās(sh)āna sāmam(sama)nvitam damda su(su)-
 41 lk-ādī vividh āy āmnvitam (ānvitam) rāja purushair=anamguhi prē
 42 kshanīyam sarbba(vva) namasyam kru(ku)tvā || Śaka(Śakā)d=ārabhya 1[1]86 ne-
 43 **ya Raktākshi-samvatsarasya Pus(sh)ya-māsē arddhōdaya-**
 44 **tīthau** hīramny(hirany)-ōdaka pūrbba(vva)kam pra(ā)dāt ||[°]||
 45 Yirulum pagalum parīva kolli kallaṇ=ādodam mamneya
 46 mahāmāmdalēsvaran=ādadam dhareyan=ālva Chakravarttiy=āda-
 47 dām śrīmanu mahā mahīma Kapilasiddha Mallēsvaradēvara
 48 kshētrada chaturāśrayada nālkuṇ deseya valeyadolage vo
 49 lage horag=ippa dhanakke arasugalol=akku kolli kallārol=akku manam pēsa-
 50 de kaladukomden=embātana ātana mātā-mātā pītrurrga(pītriga)-
 51 l=ellam° The rest of the *vachana* is a reproduction of ll 13 19 of the previous *vachana*
 to 57 (ll 4-19) with slight orthographical variations
 57 58 Imprecatory verse beginning with *dāna pālana*
 59 [Sō]dara Sōma Gauda Sōdara Sōma Gauda Hittukā-
 60 rarige aruvana mattarimge hamneradu homna mariyā-
 61 de kōlu kolaga dēvarige || Maduvey=āya mām=emne (eṇne) hadiyade
 62 tippē sumka ashta bhōga-tēja sāmmya (sāmya) [gau]dugalige Hīriya-
 63 Sōma Gaumdana vumbali mattaru eradu Chikka Sōma Gaumdana vum-
 64 balī mattaru eradu yī Gaudu Hittukārara belada belasīn=āya-
 65 vu tammadu || Dēvara-maneya Heggade Chaudarasamge mattaru eradu
 66 maneyumam śrīmāmnya(mānya)v āgi kottaru ||

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

- (Line 1) Invocation to Siddharāma
 (Ll 2 3) Invocation to Śambhu
 (Ll 4-19) A *vachana* of Siddharāma
 (Ll 19 25) While *Praudhapratāpachakravartin Mahādēvarāja* who was *Prithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhīrāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhāttāraka*, a chosen lord of Dvārāyatīpura, a vanquisher of Gūrjara, Mālava and Telunga kings, a Rāja-Nārāyana was ruling the earth, (and)
 (Ll 26 34) his minister, the *Mahāpradhāna Dēvarāja*, son of Amītarasa and grandson of Chaudarasa of the Vasishtha family was governing at his command the southern country, (the latter)
 (Ll 35 44) visited *Somnalige-nagara*, the former residence of Siddharāma and being pleased at the sight of god Kapilasiddha-Mallikārjunadēva made a gift of the village, *Chamgūra* in *Bāsura-vishaya* together with a right over treasure troves and the incomes derived from

¹ Read *Mallikārjun ālōkana*

finer, *śulla*, etc., for the worship of the deity, renovation of the temple and for water shed and daily oblations, etc., on the occasion of *arddhōdaya* on the new moon day of Pushya in the (cyclic) year Raktākshin, the Śaka year 1186

(Ll 45 58) Another *tachana* of Siddharāma

(Ll 59 66) Specifies certain estates and incomes in the village to be enjoyed by some *Gauḍas*, *Ittuhāras* and *Chauḍarasa*, the *Heggade* of the temple (*dāra manē*)

NO 31 — A NOTE ON THE TIRIYAY ROCK INSCRIPTION

By B CH CHHADRA, M A, M O L, PH D (LUGD), OOTACAMUND

This interesting epigraph was brought to light in the year 1931¹. The rock on which it is engraved is situated on the north eastern sea coast, near the village of Tiriyaṅ, in Ceylon. The inscription has recently been published by Mr S. Paranavithana². It is written in the Pallava-Grantha script and in the Sanskrit language. Both these features are rather uncommon in Ceylon. It is not dated, but is palaeographically assigned to the late seventh century A.D. Like the other few Sanskrit records discovered in the island, the present one also is associated with the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism. Its contents constitute a hymn in praise of a sanctuary, called in the inscription itself *Girikandī chaitya*, which had apparently been set up by a guild of sea-faring merchants. The principal deity in the shrine is Sugata (i.e., the Buddha) attended by Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuvāg. For a detailed discussion on these and kindred points, the reader is referred to the exhaustive study of the record made by Mr. Paranavithana². In the present paper, special attention is drawn to what has somehow escaped the notice of that scholar concerning the text.

Mr. Paranavithana has taken the inscription to be entirely 'in prose', whereas to my observation it has revealed itself to be almost wholly in verse, the last line apparently being the only exception. It will be seen that the composer has displayed his peculiar taste in employing throughout one and the same metre and that of a very rare occurrence, namely *Nardatala*. The engraver, on his part, has exhibited a like trait by allotting one line to each stanza. Thus the first ten lines of the text, the whole of which consists of eleven lines, comprise ten stanzas.


The above discovery has led me to a further conclusion that the record is not fragmentary as Mr. Paranavithana has shown it to be. 'Lines 1 to 4', says he, 'are totally illegible at the beginning for a distance of nearly three feet and the ends of lines 4 to 10 are much damaged'. One does get such an impression while glancing at the illustration of the record. On comparing the text, however, it becomes manifest that, in spite of its irregular appearance, the document has reached us almost in its entirety. Thus, in contradiction to Mr. Paranavithana's remarks, I may state that no inscribed portion has been lost at the ends of lines 4 to 10. The same can be said of the beginnings of the lines 1 to 4, with only this reservation that the portion in question does seem to have originally contained some sort of engraving on it,³ and that about eight

¹ *An Rep. on Arch. Survey of Ceylon for 1931-32* (Pt. IV—Education, Science and Art (J)), p. 19, *An Bibliography of Ind Arch.* (Kern Institute, Leyden), Vol. VII (1932), pp. 31-35, *J. A. S. B. Letters*, Vol. I (1935), p. 12.

² *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, pp. 151-160 and Plate.

³ I may add that the portion might have contained some letters. The second line of our text begins from [sa]lila, but before these letters the stone shows traces of at least two more syllables, though as such they are superfluous in our text. It may also be pointed out that there are three signs, one below the other, facing the extremities of the lines 4-6, but they do not have any bearing on the text, although they have the appearance of regular letters *dha*, *dhi* and *ghah* respectively.

aksharas at the commencement of the fourth line have peeled off along with the engraving above

The space occupied by the inscription roughly corresponds to this shape , the upper rectangle containing the first three lines of the writing and the lower the remaining eight. It will further be noticed that there are some natural cracks and rough patches which existed on the stone even at the time of the incising of the inscription and which the engraver has carefully avoided. For example, blank spaces between *vishāda harah* and *kanaka vibhūshana*, l 6, and *gandha jalāh* and *kara bhrita*, l 7, are original gaps and not the lacunae in the text.

It is obvious that in the light of the observations made above, the task of deciphering the record has become particularly easy, as it always happens in case the composition of a document turns out to be metric. It is, I believe, possible now to restore the text more or less completely by examining either the original epigraph or a good estampage of it, neither of which has been at my disposal. The photographic reproduction accompanying Mr. Parānavitana's paper being too inadequate for the purpose, it has not been possible for me to amend all the doubtful readings or to read all the portions left undeciphered. Below I suggest some alterations and additions in the text given by Mr. Parānavitana.

L 2 At the end we may read [*Girikandī*] *lam=ity=udītē*

L 3 Instead of *nagara ja[na*]* I would read [*nā*] *ga[rā]ja*

L 4 The reading appears to be *-natam* where *-nata-* has been read

L 5 Perhaps we have to read *siddha* instead of *sadā*, and *-pūjyatamah* | in place of *pūjyatam[ō]*. Before *Girikandīka* we may read *namāmi*. The last letter is final *m*, so indicated by its smaller size. Thus we have to read *=aham* and not *=aham=a(pri)*

L 6 The reading is *=madana dōsha vishāda harah* and not *=manō dōsha visha dahara*. So also *-ruchir=nniyatam=* and not *ruchin=nniyatam-*, *varam* and not *varam*

L 7 Read *-jalāh* instead of *jala*, and *pūjanām* for *pūjāni*. The two letters after *Girikandī* seem to read *jushah*

L 8 Instead of *pranipātam kurutē* the reading is probably *prampatan=kurutē*

L 9 The *anusūāra* indicated within square brackets is not found in the original, nor is it necessary. Read *-lāranam=* for *-larana[m]=*, and *gatam Sugatam(tam)* for *data sugata*

L 10 The last word is *jagat* and not *jagatah*

It may also be pointed out that after the first half of each stanza, except perhaps the third, fourth and sixth, a single *danda* is clearly visible on the stone. A superfluous *danda* is found after the first quarter of the second verse. In certain places Mr. Parānavitana's reading is not tenable as warranted by the metre, e.g., *Buddhāmkurō* (l 5). His translation will naturally have to be considerably modified after so many changes in the text.

No 32 —FOUR COPPER PLATES FROM SORO,

By N G MAJUMDAR, M A, INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

These copper plates, which are edited here for the first time, were unearthed at Badkhuri near Sōrō in the Balasore District of Orissa, and recently acquired by the Ravenshaw College Museum, Cuttack. Prof. N C Banerji of the College brought the plates to me for decipherment in March 1937, and as they had a thick incrustation of verdigris they were chemically treated in the Indian Museum, Archaeological Section. I am obliged to the authorities of the Ravenshaw College Museum for the loan of the plates, as also for the permission to edit them in this Journal.

These are four plates (A, B, C and D), representing four separate documents, each complete in itself. Their respective sizes are as follows —A, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1''$, B, $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$, C, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$ and D, $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$. The plates are engraved on both sides, there being 19 lines of writing in A, 21 lines in B, 18 lines in C and 21 lines in D. Originally each plate had a seal attached to it at the left hand side, but the seals of plates A, B and C are missing. Plate D still retains the seal, but it is very much worn out and its details are completely obliterated.

The characters are a form of the Northern alphabet, representing an earlier phase of the writing as compared with the Gañjām plates of Śaśānka.¹ Palaeographically, Plate A, which shows slightly earlier forms of letters, should be placed first in the series, while Plates B, C and D between A and the Gañjām plates. The chief points of difference between the Gañjām and the Sōrō plates in respect of alphabet may be noted. The characters of the Gañjām plates are of 'the acute angled type with nail heads,' which, as pointed out by Bühler,² forms the transition from the Gupta to the Nāgarī alphabet. These acute angled letters are absent in the present records. In the Gañjām plates the medial *i* and *ī* strokes are more developed and often extend below the head of the letter, and the letter *y* is of the later type in which the top bar is reduced to a mere stroke, and the bottom bar, and often also the middle bar, hang down, in which respects it resembles the same letter in Plates B and C. Some examples showing these tendencies of the letter *y* occur also in Plates A and D, but in Plate A, and in some cases in Plates B, C and D, the top bar is not reduced. The letter *r* in the Gañjām plates has a stroke added to its base on the left side, which is absent in the Sōrō plates. Plate A shows uniformly the earlier tripartite form of *y* while in Plate B, C and D it is of the later bipartite type akin to that used in the Gañjām plates. The letter *ē* in the Gañjām plates shows in the majority of cases an oval loop at the top, while in the Sōrō Plates it still retains its angular form, often having the shape of a perfect rectangle. The Gañjām plates are dated in the Gupta year 300, i.e., A.D. 619-20. Plates B, C and D, which should be placed somewhat earlier than this date, may be assigned to the second half of the sixth century, while Plate A which must be still earlier to the first half of the sixth century. Palaeographically, Plate A closely resembles the Patnācillā grant of Mahārāja Śivarāja.³

The language of the copper plates is Sanskrit. Each has the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, but the rest of the document is in prose. As regards orthography, a final *m* is occasionally joined to the following consonant, a consonant following or preceding *r* is occasionally doubled, and both *b* and *t* are uniformly expressed by the sign for the latter, the only exception being in Plate A, in which the two letters are clearly distinguished in *bahubhiraśasudhā* (l. 16).

The general character of the four plates, so far as their phraseology is concerned, is more or less uniform. This is to be expected in view of the fact that they belong not only to the same age but also to the same locality. First is mentioned the place of issue of the charter, which is followed by the name and titles of the donor. Next is introduced the name of the province or subdivision wherein the grant is made, and in this connection are enumerated the various officers forming the administrative machinery of the province to whom the document is addressed. The name of the village as well as the names of the donees in whose favour the charter (*tānarapatta*) is issued is then given. The prose portion of the plates recording all these details of grant is followed by benedictive and imprecatory verses. These are followed by the names of persons entrusted with drafting of the document, mechanical execution of the copper sheet by heating, and also

¹ Above, Vol. VI, Pl. facing p. 114.

² *Indian Palaeography*, English translation, p. 49.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 285 and Pl.

(in Plate C) with engraving The date of the grant is specified either at the end (in A), or immediately before the names of the draughtsman and others (in Plates B and C), or just before the commencement of the metrical portion (in Plate D)

Plate A records a grant of eight *tmpiras*¹ of land by *Mahārāja Śambhuyasas* of the *Mudgala* family in a village called *Ghantākarnnakshētra* adjoining *Sarēphā*, evidently the headquarters of the same *vishaya*, in *Uttara-Tōsalī*. It was issued from the royal camp at *Tamparavadama* to a Brahmin named *Bharanasvāmin*, belonging to the *Bharadvāja gōtra* and the *Kānva-śākhā* (of the *Yajurveda*). The draft was made by the *Mahāsāndhvirgrahika Nārāyana* and the plate was 'heated' by the *Mahattara Vīdēsasvāmin*. It is dated in the year 260, the 30th day of *Kārttika*. This date in view of the palaeography is referable to the *Kalachuri* era and becomes therefore equivalent to A D 508-9.

Plate B records the grant of a village called *Adayāra* situated in the *Sarēph-āhāra vishaya* in *Uttara-Tōsalī* which again formed a part of the *Ōdra-vishaya*. The donees are *Dhruvamitrāsvāmin*, *Ārungasvāmin* and others of the *Vātsya gōtra* and the *Vājasanēya charana* (of the *Yajurveda*). The grant was issued by the *Mahābalādhrīkṛta, Antaranga* and *Mahāsāndhvirgrahika Sōmadatta*, from his camp at *Āmratakshaka*. It was written by the *Sāndhvirgrahika Kēsava* and 'heated' by the *Mahattara Sūryadēva*. It is dated in the year 15, the 13th day of *Vaisākha*.

Plate C is another grant of the same *Mahābalādhrīkṛta, Antaraṅga, Mahāsāndhvirgrahika Sōmadatta*. It was issued from a place called *Śāichātaka*, the grant consisting of a village called *Bahīrvātaka*, situated in *Varukāna²-vishaya* in *Sarēph-āhāra*. The donees are *Dhruvamitrāsvāmin* and *Ārungasvāmin* of the *Vātsya-gōtra* and the *Vājasanēya charana* (of the *Yajurveda*). The grant was written by *Śubhasimha* and 'heated' by the *Pēdāpālaka Divākara*, while the engraving was carried out by *Nārāyana*. It is dated in the year 15, the 24th day of *Māgha*. It should be noted that in this plate *Varukāna vishaya* is said to have been within *Sarēph āhāra* which itself was also a *vishaya*, as we know already from Plates A and B.

Plate D was issued from a place called *Virañjā* by the *Mahōpratīhāra, Mahārāja Bhānu-datta*. The same *Bahīrvātaka* village, which is mentioned in Plate C as having been granted to *Dhruvamitrāsvāmin* and *Ārungasvāmin*, is hereby granted once again. The donees this time are *Priyamitrāsvāmin*, *Vātamitrāsvāmin*, *Dhruvamitrāsvāmin* and *Ārungamitrāsvāmin*, all of them belonging to the *Vatsa gōtra* and *Vājasanēya charana*. In this plate the village is stated as being within the *Sarēph āhāra vishaya* and not *Varukāna vishaya* as in Plate C. The grant was written by the *Sāndhvirgrahika Arunadatta* and 'heated' by the *Pēdāpālaka Pratishthitachandra*. The date is the year 5, the 17th day of *Phālguna*.

It has been already stated that the year 260 of Plate A, which refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Śambhuyasas*, should be assigned to the *Kalachuri* era of A D 248, the date thus corresponding to A D 508-9. The difficulty in assigning the year to a later reckoning such as the Gupta or the Harsha era is obvious, because palaeographically the record is not referable to a date later than the middle of the sixth century. The same difficulty also arises in the case of the *Patīakellā* plate of *Mahārāja Śivarāja* of the year 283. R D Banerji, who has edited it refers the date to the

¹ The word *tmpira* which occurs also in the *Pārikud* and *Nivina* grants (above, Vol XI, p 286 l 44 of the text and Vol XXI, p 35 and n 1) denotes a unit of land measurement.

² [See below p 201 n 5 —Ed.]

Gupta era,¹ but as pointed out by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar,² the palaeography of the record is not in favour of this assumption. The latter has accordingly suggested that the year 283 should be referred to the Kalachuri era. According to this view, with which I entirely agree, the Patīkellā plate should be placed twenty three years after the present record.

The Patīkellā plate records a grant of land in Dakṣiṇa Tōṣali by *Mahārāja Śivarāja*. In line 3 of the plate occurs a passage containing the name of the immediate overlord of Śivarāja, which has been read by Banerji as *Paramamāhēśvara śrī Sagguyayyanē tāsati*. This he translated as, "when the great worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the illustrious Sagguyayyana was ruling." In an editorial note on Banerji's article Dr. Sten Konow observed, "I am unable to see *Sagguyayyanē*, but I cannot suggest a satisfactory reading, I think I see *Śambhuyayyē=nu*." The plate which is now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, was subsequently re-examined by Banerji, but he found himself unable to accept Konow's emended version.³ Recently I had occasion to examine the record very closely in connection with my study of the Sōrō plates, when I found that neither of the two readings could be accepted. The actual text in the Patīkellā plate is *Paramamāhēśvara śrī Śambhuyasasy anusārati, i e*, "during the rule of the illustrious Śambhuyasas, the great devotee of Mahēśvara." There is no doubt that this Śambhuyasas, who also belonged to the Mudgala family, is identical with *Mahārāja Śambhuyasas* of the Sōrō plate. The expression *Paramādīvat ādhīdanata* and *Paramabhāttārāla* used in reference to him in line 1 of the Patīkellā plate shows that Śambhuyasas held the position of a paramount ruler. It should be noted that he has only the epithet *Paramamāhēśvara* prefixed to his name in this grant, while in the Sōrō plate he is described as a *Mahārāja*. It is difficult to say what position he precisely held in the year 260 when the latter record was issued. It is likely that he enjoyed a sort of independent status. The combined evidence of the Sōrō and Patīkellā plates shows that King Śambhuyasas ruled over the whole of Tōṣali. The expression *Paramādīvat-ā(ba)ppa-pādīnudyāta, i e*, "meditating on the feet of his father who was (to him) like a great divinity," used in reference to him in line 5 of the Sōrō plate may be compared with similar phrases occurring in the land grants of the kings of Kalinga, *e g*, the Komarti plates of Chandavarman which describe him as *bappa bhettārāla pādabhatta*.

Mahārāja Bhānudatta of Plate D, who calls himself also *Mahāpratihāra*, must have been a vassal chief like Śivarāja of the Patīkellā plate. That he was under some *Paramabhāttārāla, i e*, a sovereign ruler, follows from lines 8-9 and 13 of Plate D, although we do not know who this ruler was. Of a somewhat lower rank was Sōmadatta, the donor of Plates B and C, who is styled *Mahā-balādhiprita*, *Antaranga* and *Mahāsāndhivrahīla*. His overlord, who likewise remains unknown, is referred to as *Paramādīvat ādhīdanata* or *Paramādānata*, and *Paramabhāttārāla*. Neither Bhānudatta nor Sōmadatta is known from any other sources. There could not be a difference of more than a generation between these two persons, as the donees Dhruvamitrasvāmin and Ārungaśvāmin of Plate C issued by Sōmadatta were evidently identical with the donees of the same names mentioned in Plate D of Bhānudatta.

As is well known, Tōṣali is first mentioned in Aśoka's Rock Edicts at Dhauli near Bhuvanēśvara in Purī District which itself must have been comprised in that province. From several copper plates from Orissa it appears that the province was divided into two sections, namely,

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 287.

² Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 160 (No. 1203) and n. 2.

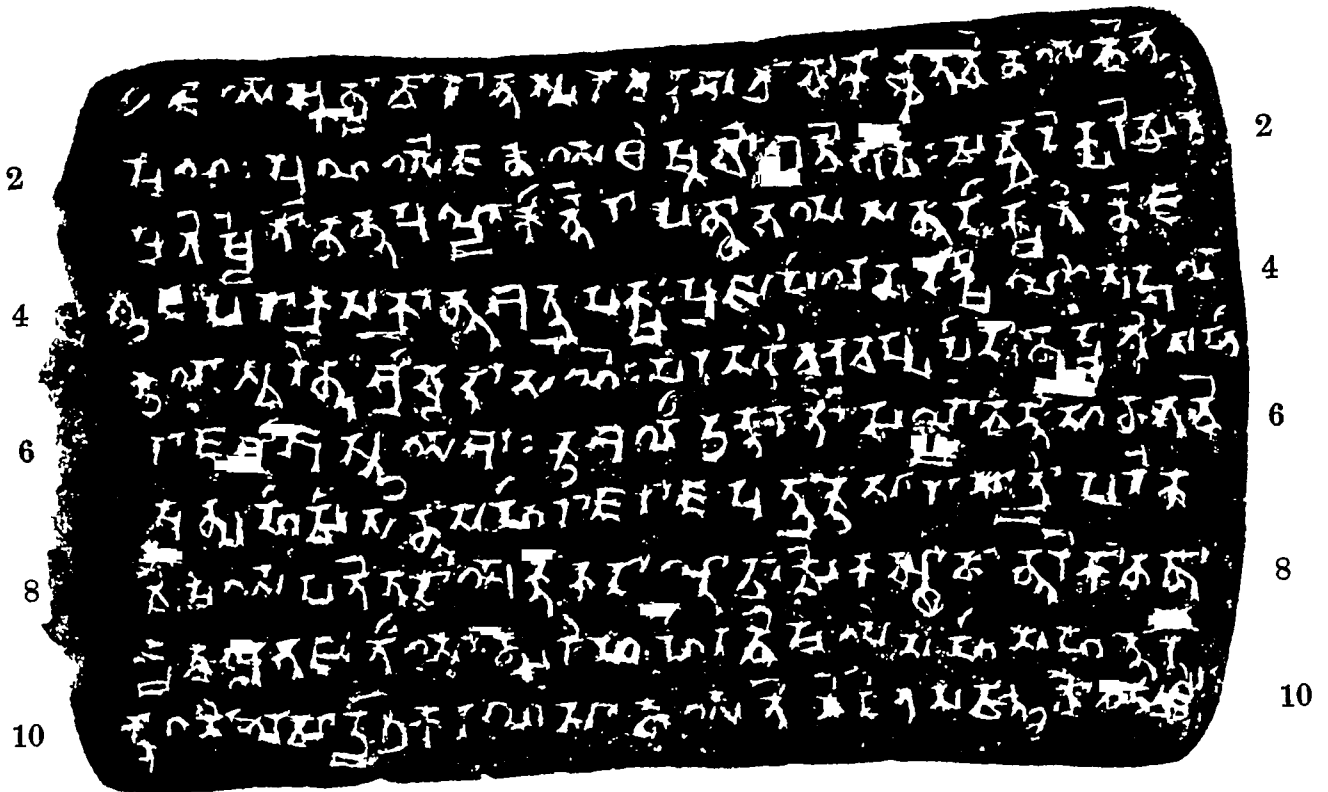
³ *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, 1930, p. 118.

⁴ For similar expressions used in other records see Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 186-187, note.

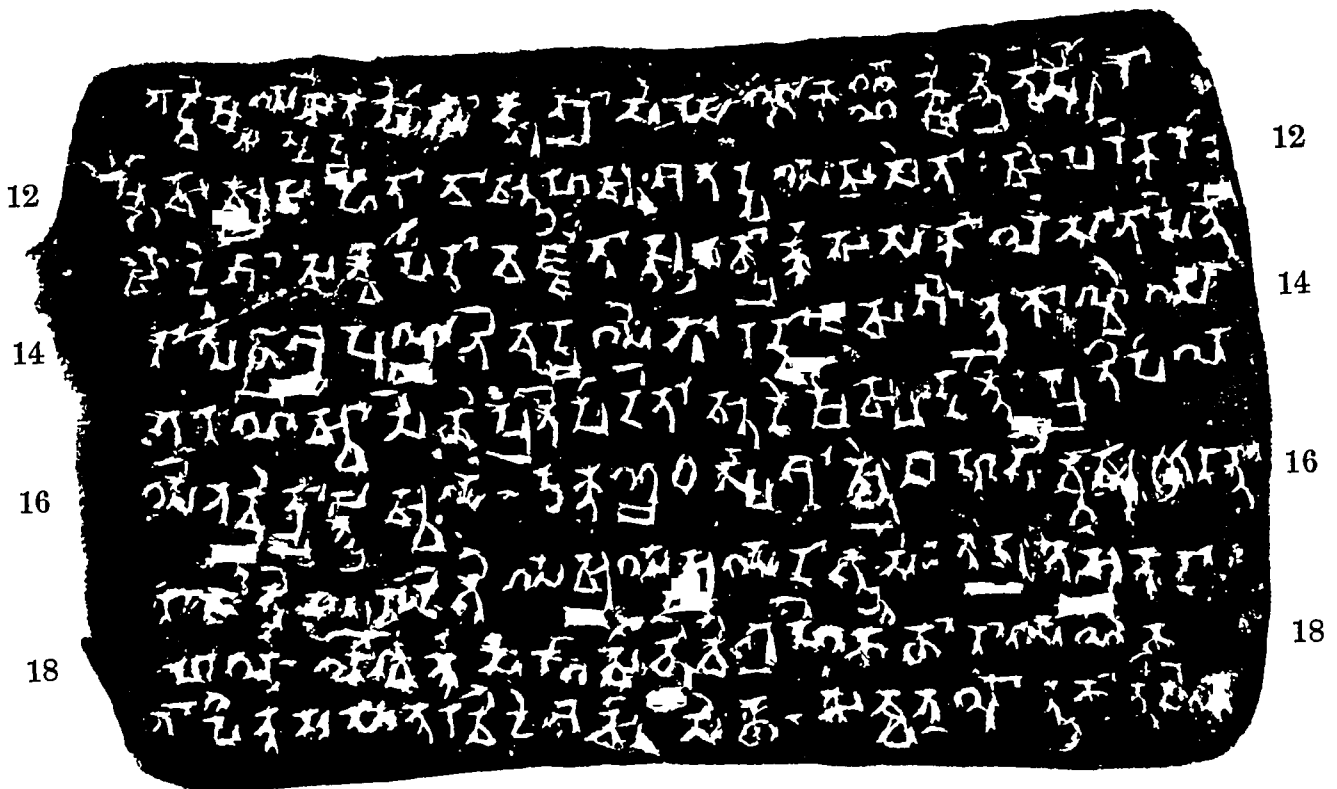
⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 144.

FOUR COPPER PLATES FROM SORO
A PLATE OF MAHARAJA SAMBHUYASAS, THE YEAR 260

Obverse



Reverse



७ सुं...
 २ ...
 ४ ...
 ६ ...
 ८ ...
 १० ...
 १२ ...

Reverse.

14
 16
 18
 20

Uttara Tōsalī and Dakshina Tōsalī¹ The latter included Kōngōda *mandala*, which according to some scholars was to the south west of Purī and might have extended as far as the borders of the Gañjām District² As regards the extent of Uttara Tōsalī, light is thrown by the Neulpur grant of Śubhākaraśāstra³ and also by the present copper plates The Neulpur plate records the grant of certain villages in Uttara Tōsalī which are to be located in the Balasore District⁴ All the four plates published here refer to grants of land in Sarēph *āhāna* which also was situated in Uttara-Tōsalī **Sarēphā** (or Śrēpha) should be identified with Sōrō in Balasore, in the vicinity of which the present copper plates were discovered In the Revised Rent roll of Shah Sujah (*circa* A D 1650) Sōrō appears as one of the principal divisions of Sarkar Jalesar It is also mentioned as Sōrō dandapāta in the *Mādalā pāñī*⁵ Even now Sōrō is an important station in the Balasore District **Varukāna**,⁶ the name of the adjoining *vishaya*, is perhaps to be identified with the present Baruā pargana which appears as Barwa, a *mahal* under Sarkar Bhadrak, in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*⁷ The other localities I am unable to identify

A —Plate of Mahārāja Śambhuyasas, the year 260

TEXT

Obverse

- 1 Ōm⁷[*] jaya-skandhāvārīt=**Tamparavadama**(?) vāsakāch=chhruta vinaya-vibhū-
- 2 shanah pranayī jana-yathēśhta bhōgya vibhavaḥ sarvva dīk parisara-
- 3 pratishthit ānanta punya kīrtti=āpann ābhaya mantra dikshītō nija
- 4 bhujā parākrama krānta śatru-pakshah prajā pālana dakṣhṇō Mudgala⁸
- 5 kul āmva(mba)r endu śrī chūdā manih paramadaivata va(ba)ppa pād ānuddhyātō Mahā-
- 6 rāja śrī **Śambhuyasāh** kuśali **Uttara-Tōsalyām** varttamāna bhavi-
- 7 shyan mahāsāmanta mahārāja-rājaputtra kumārāmāty ōparika-
- 8 vishavapatī tadāyuktaka dāndavāsika sthānāntarikān=anyā[m]
- 9 ś=cha vallabha-jātīyān=**Sarēpha**-(ph-ā)hāra-vishaya mahāmahattara-
- 10 [kū]takōlas ādy adhikaranam mānayati viditam=astu vō yath=ai-

Reverse

- 11 tad vishaya samva(mba)ddha⁹ **Sarēph** āsanga grāmē¹⁰ **Ghantākarnna-kshētrē** timpir ā-
- 12 shtau sasya sahītā vāstu hasta śata dvaya-samētāḥ s ōparikarāḥ
- 13 s ōddēsā[h] sarvva pīdā-varjūtā ā chandr ārkka samakālam mātā pittrō-
- 14 r=ātmanaś=cha puny ābhivriddhayō Bhāradvāja sagōttra-Kānvēya-
- 15 **Bharanasvāmīnē** pratipāditās=tad=ēsh=āsmad dattih pratipāla

¹ Cf above, Vol XXI, p 38

² Above, Vol XV, p 1

³ Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, 1934, p 3

⁴ M Chakravarti, *J P A S B*, 1916, pp 46, 48

⁵ [The reading may be Vāru(or Varu)kōna Names of villages ending in *kōna* are not uncommon, cf *Buludravalōna* in the 'Indian Museum Plates of Dēvēndravarmaṇ' (above, p 74) and *Varahakōnā* in the 'Saktipur copper plate of Lakshmanasēna' (above, Vol XXI, p 214) It may be pointed out that there is a place called Mārkaṇa (on the B N R) only ten miles to the south west of Sōrō —Ed]

⁶ See *J P A S B*, 1916, p 44

⁷ Expressed by a symbol

⁸ For this reading I am indebted to the Editor

⁹ This word, which was omitted at first, has been added below

¹⁰ [Reading appears to be *Sarēph ō[tsu]nga grāmē*, i e, in the village in the vicinity of Sarēphā —Ed]

- 16 yitavy=ēty=ājñā svayam | uktañ=cha dharmma sāstrē [I*] Bahubhur=vvasudhā dattā
 17 rājabhu[h*] Sagar-ādibhi[h I*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmih ta(mis=ta)sya tasya tadā
 18 phalam(m) [I*] lkhittam(tam) mahāsāndhivigrahika-Nārāyanēna
 19 tāpittam(tam) mahattara-Vide[sa]svāmīn[ā] | samvva(va)t 200 60 Kārtti dī 30

B —Plate of Sōmadatta , the year 15

TEXT

Obverse

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti | jaya-skandhāvārād=Āmratakshaka-vāsakāt=parama daivatādhidaivata śrī
 2 Para[ma]bhattachāraka-pād ānudyātō mahāva(ba)lādhikrit āntaranga-mahāsāndhi
 3 vigrahika Sōmadattah kuśali Ōdra-vishayē Uttara-Tōsalyām Sarēph-ā-
 4 hāra-vishayē varttamāna bhavishyan mahāsāmanta mahārāja rājaputra kumārā-
 5 mātṛy ōparika vishayapati-tadāyū(yu)ktaka dāndavāsika sthānāntarikān=a
 6 nyāms=cha chāta bhata-vallabha jātīyān=vishaya mahāmahattara kūtakōlasa
 7 pustapāl ādy adhikarānañ=cha yath-ārham=pūjayaty=avagamayaty cha vidita-
 8 m=astu bhavatām yath=āsmābhur=ētaḍ vishaya samva(mba)ddha Adayāra-grāmō(mah)
 śrī Parama
 9 [bha]ttāraka-pādānām=ā chandr-ārka sama-kālam=puny ābhivridhayē rāja dattī-
 10 tāmra patta sthityā Vātsya-sagōtra Vājasanēya Dhruvamītrasvāmy-Āruna-
 11 svāmy ādīnām=pratipāditas=tad=ēshām samuchita-tāmra patta-dā[na*]n=datvā(ttvā)
 12 bhuñjānām na kēnachid=anyathā karānīyā ēshā cha dattih paramadaivata

Reverse

- 13 śrī Paramabhattachāraka-pādānām dharmmasya cha gauravāt=pratipālayitavyā ||
 14 uktañ=cha dharmma sāstrē [I*] Va(Ba)hubhur=vvasudhā dattā rājabhih Sagar ādibhih [I*]
 15 yasya yasya yadā bhūmus=tasva tasya tadā phalam(m) [I*] Sva dattām=para-dattām=vā
 16 yō harēta vasundharām(m) [I*] sa vishthāyām kṛmīr=bhūtvā pītrbhih saha pachyatē || [2*]
 17 Mā bhūd=aphala śānkā vah para datt=ēti pārthivāh[I*] sva dānāt=phalam=ānanyam
 18 para dān ānupālanam(m) || [3*] Shashtim=varsha-sahasrām svargē mōdati
 19 bhūmidah [I*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakam=va(kē va)sēd=iti || (t || [4*]iti)
 20 samvat 10 5 Vaisākha dī 10 3 lkhitam sāndhivigrahika-
 21 Kēsavēna tāpittam mahattaraka-Sūryadēvēna ||

C —Another Plate of Sōmadatta , the year 15

TEXT

Obverse

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti[I*] Śānchātakāt=paramadaivata śrī-Paramabhattachāraka-pād-ānudyātō mahā
 2 va(ba)lādhikrit-āntaranga-mahāsāndhivigrahika Sōmadattah kuśali Sarēph-āhāra-
 3 samba(mba)ddha Varukāna²-vishayē varttamāna bhavishyan mahāsāmanta mahārāja-rāja'
 4 puttra kumārāmātṛy ōparika vishayapati-tadāyuktaka dāndavāsika-sthānāntarikā
 5 n=anyāms=cha chāta bhata vallabha jātīyān=vishaya-mahāmahattara-kūtakōlasa
 6 pustapāl ādy adhikaranam cha yathārham=pūjayaty=avagamayaty oha viditam=astu bhava-

¹ Expressed by a symbol

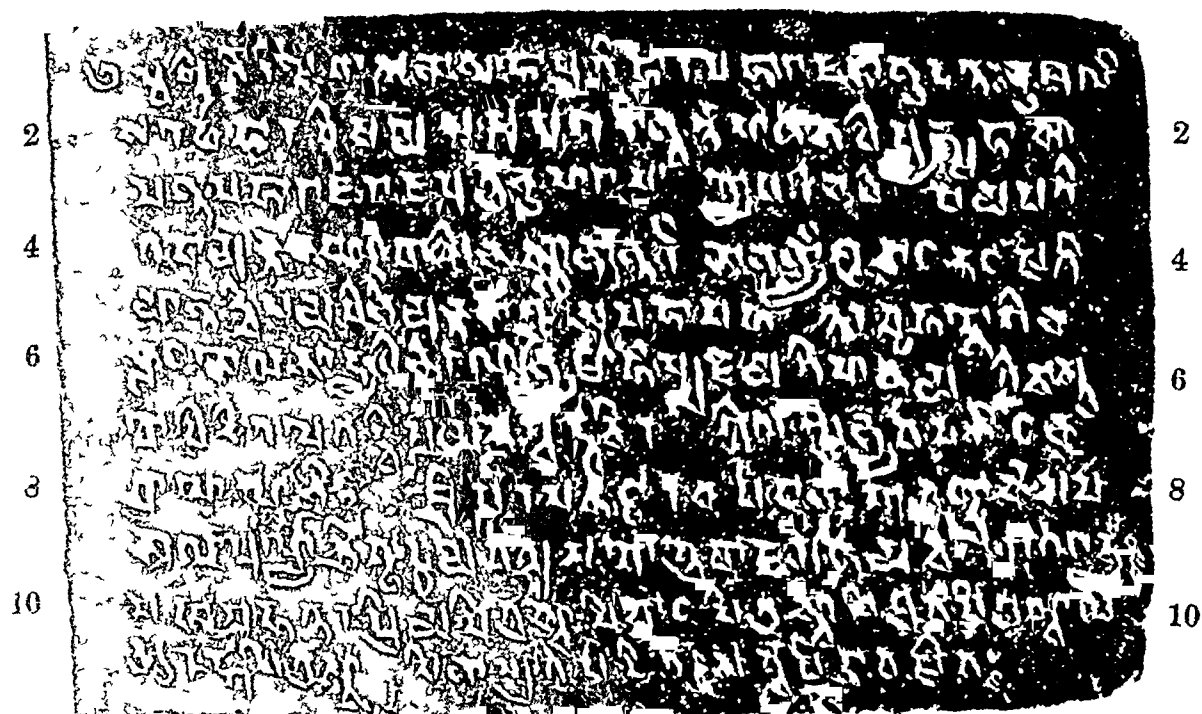
² [See above, p 201 n 5 —Ed]

Reverse

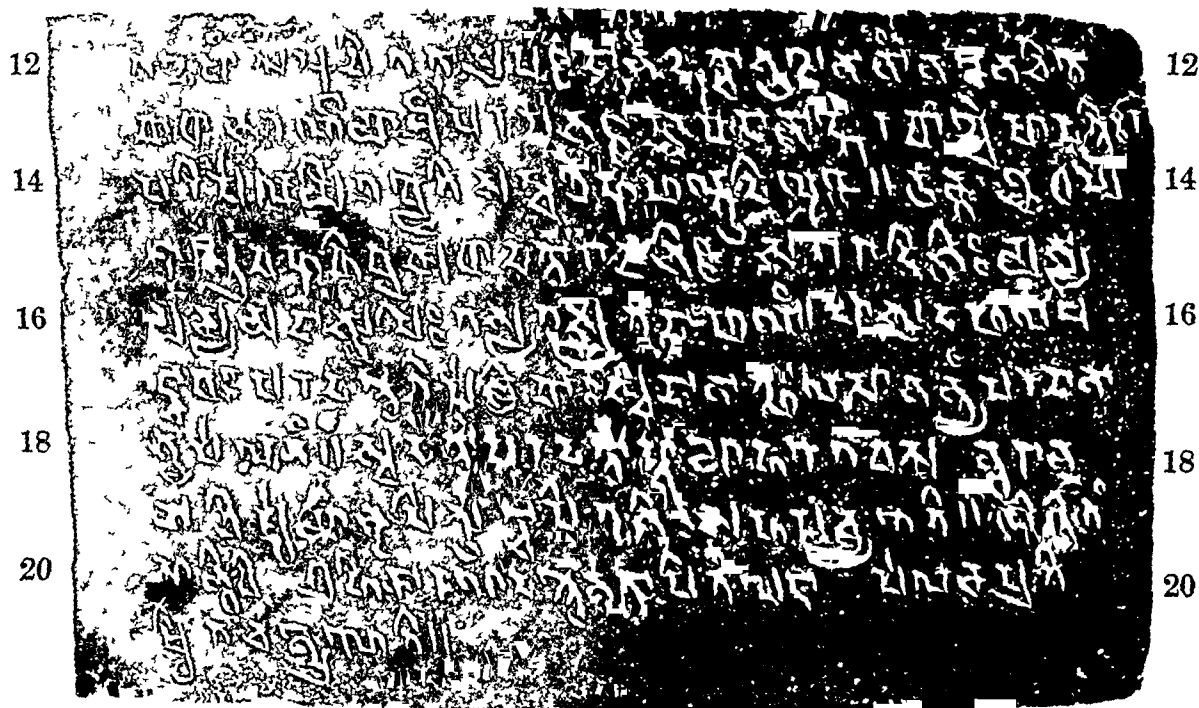
[illegible]

D. PLATE OF MAHARAJA BHANUDATTA, THE YEAR 5

Obverse



Reverse



- 7 tām=ētaḍ viśhaya samva(mba)ddha chira khula [śū]nyō **Va(Ba)hurvāṭaka**-grāmah parama-
daivata
8 śrī Paramabhātā(ttā)raḥ pa(pā)ḍānām=ā-chandr ārkha samakālam puny ābhivṛddhayē
Vātsya sagō
9 ttra-Vājasaneyā charana **Dhruvamītrasvāmī-Ārungsavāmibhyām** rāja-tāmra patta-
sthitā
10 pratipīditas=tad=anayōs=samuchita rājadattī tāmra patta dānam dattvā bhuñjānayōr=na
11 kēnachid=vā(bā)dhā kāryā ēshā cha dattih paramadaivata-śrī Paramabhātāraka-pādānām

Reverse

- 12 dharmmasya cha gauravāt=pratipālayitavyā | uktam cha dharmma śāstrē[*] **Va(Ba)hubhir=**
vasu
13 dhā dattī rājabhīḥ=Sagar ādibhīh[*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
14 phalam(m) || [*] Mā bhūd=aphala śankā vah para datt=ctī pārthivāh[*] sva dānāt=phala-
m=ānantyam para dān ānupālanam(m) || [*] Shashtim varsha sahasrāni svarggē ti
16 sthiti bhūmidih[*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasōd=iti(t) || [*] iti
17 samvat 10 5 Māgha dī 20 4 līkhitam Śubhasīmbhēna |
18 tāpitam pādāpālaka Divākarēna | utkīrṇam Nārāyanēna ||

D —Plate of Mahārāja Bhānudatta , the year 5

TEXT

Obverse

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti[*] **Virañjā** vāsakān=mahāpratibhāra mahārāja **Bhānudattah** kuśali
2 **Sarēph-āhāra**-viśhayāt samupagat in=arttamāna bhaviśhayan-mahāsā-
3 mantī mahārāja rājaputtra kumārāmāty ōprika-viśhayapāti-
4 tadāyuktaka dāndavāsika sthānāntarikān=anyāmś=cha chīta bhata jāti-
5 yān(y)ims=tad viśhaya viṇyuktakīmś=cha sa-mahāmahattara vṛi(bri)hadbhūgika
6 kūtakōlas ādy adhikaranān=yathārham=pūjyati mīnayati ch=āstu
7 vō viditam=ētaḍ viśhaya samva(mba)ddha chira khulā(la) śūnya **Va(Ba)hurvāṭaka**-
8 grāmō=smābhīh śrī Paramabhātāraka pādānām=ī chandr ārka-sama
9 kīlam puny-ābhivṛddhayāt Vatsa-sagōttī Vājasanīya charanābhyah
10 mahāmahattara **Priyamītrasvāmī-Vātamītrasvāmī-Dhruvamītrasvāmī**-
11 **Ārungsavāmīnām**=pratipādita² sarva-pidā varjita[*]

Reverse

- 12 tad=ēshīm samuchita tāmra patta dānam datvā(ttvā) bhuñjānām na kēnachit
13 vā(bā)dhā karaniyō śrī Paramabhātāraka pādānām=gauravāch=ch=aishā dattih
14 paripālayitavy=ctī samvat 5 Phalgu dī 10 7 || uktañ=cha dharmma-
15 śāstrē[*] **Va(Ba)hubhir=vr̥sudhā** dattā rājabhīh Sagar ādibhīh[*] yasya
16 yasya yadā bhūmih(mis)=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [*] Mā bhūd=aphala sha(śa)
17 ākā vah para datt=ctī pārthivāh[*] sva dānāt=phalam=ānantyam para dān ā
18 nupālanam(nam) || [*] Sva-dattāñ para dattām=vā yō harīta vasundharām[*]
19 sa viśthāyām kṛmīr=bhūtvā pītribhīh saha pachyat=ti³ || [*] līkhitam
20 sāndhivīgrahik **Ārunadattēna** tāpitam pādāpālaka **Prati**
21 **sthitachandrēn=ctī** ||

¹ Expressed by a symbol² Read *stāmibhyah pratipaditah*³ Read *pachyate* ||[*] iti

No 33 —TWO COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BERAR.

By PROF V V MIRASHI, M A , NAGPUR

Two sets of copper-plates, each consisting of three plates, complete with ring and seal, were discovered in 1935 in the possession of a Muhammadan of Sirso, a village two miles north of Murtazāpur, the head quarters of a *tālukā* of the same name in the Akōlā District, Berār. They have since been acquired by the Local Government and deposited in the Central Museum, Nāgpur. I am obliged to the Curator of the Museum for permission to edit them. To distinguish the sets, both of which were found at Sirso, I name them here as Sīsavaī grant and Lōhārū grant after the villages granted by them.

A.—Sīsavaī grant of Gōvinda III, Śaka Year 729

These are three copper-plates each measuring about 12 6" in length and 6 5" in breadth. Their ends are either raised or thickened for the protection of the writing. The first and third plates are inscribed on the inner side and the second on both the sides. About 6" from the centre of the proper right side of each plate there is a roundish hole about 9" in diameter for the ring which has joined it to other plates of the set. The ends of this ring, which is about 5" in thickness and 2 9" in diameter, are soldered into the socket of a round seal 1 6" in diameter. The latter contains in relief on a countersunk surface the figure of Garuda, facing full front and squatting on a lotus. He carries a serpent in each hand. The ring was cut before the plates reached the Museum, but there is no reason to doubt its connection with the grant. The weight of the three plates is 213 *tolas* and that of the ring and the seal 56 *tolas*.

The plates are fairly well preserved. Some letters here and there and especially in the centre of both the sides of the second plate are damaged by verdigris, but they can be read without much difficulty from the traces left behind. There are sixty-two lines in all, of which sixteen are inscribed on the first plate, seventeen and sixteen on the first and second side respectively of the second plate and the remaining thirteen on the third plate. The letters are beautifully formed and deeply engraved. Some of them can be marked on the back of the first and the third plate. Their size varies from 2" to 3". The writer has treated ornamentally the *mātrās* for medial *ī*, *ai*, and *ō* and the curve for medial *ī*, especially in the last line on each inscribed surface. It may be noted in this connection that the encircling curve for medial short *ī* resembles that seen in the Khāmkhōd plates¹. A floral device is incised to fill up the empty space to the left of the hole opposite ll 24-26. The writer has inadvertently omitted letters and even words in some places, see e g, °*py*=*alīṣṣha chaitō bhuvī* in l 2. In some cases these mistakes are corrected by incising the omitted letter immediately below, see e g, *ra* in *drisht āśū radhayah* in l 17, *ni* in *nijām* and *pa* in *naya parō* both in l 25. In a few cases letters are unnecessarily repeated, see e g, °*py*=*amalayā* in l 7.

The characters are of the North Indian alphabet and resemble those of the Nāśarī² and Rādhānpur³ plates of Gōvinda III. The forms of the initial *ī* in *na* (l 8), the rare *ṣh* in *nirṣhara* (l 11), *ih* in *yathā* (l 33) and of *ph* in *phalālī* (l 22) are noteworthy. The superscript *r* everywhere appears above the line, see e g, *īmdur=yathā* (l 15). The form of the superscript *ñ* is not different from that of *n*, see *chāñchalañ=cha* (l 50). A final consonant is generally indicated by a slanting stroke to the left of its vertical. The sign of *visarga* is in many places used as a mark of

¹ Above, Vol XXII, p 93² G H Khare—*Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (Marathi), Vol I, pp 15 f.³ Above, Vol VI, pp 239 ff

punctuation The language is Sanskrit The first thirty three lines and part of the thirty fourth, which contain the eulogistic portion, are in verse Then comes the formal part of the grant in prose, which is followed by the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses The record ends with a line in prose which states the names of the writer and the *dūtaka* In respect of orthography we may note that (a) the consonant following *r* is in some cases doubled, e g, in *anyair=nnā*, l 8, *durmmārggam*, l 12, (b) one of the two similarly sounding members of a conjunct is often dropped, see e g, *rudhā*, l 10, *matam* for *mattam*, l 12, *-valabhō* for *vallabhō*, l 14, (c) the final consonant is wrongly omitted in many places, see e g, *Pallavā*, l 11, (d) the final *n* is either dropped (e g, in *vidiā*, l 25) or changed to *anustāra* as in *tasmim*, l 19, *ślimukhām*, l 23, etc, (e) the final *visarga* is omitted, in accordance with a *vārttika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36, in *Kaṇm ādha sthita*, l 7 and *vibhūṣitā sphutam*, l 18, etc, but wrongly in some cases, see e g, *pāda sutah*, l 15, (f) the vowel *ri* is used for *ri* in many places (e g, *śriyam*, l 29) and *vice versā*, though rarely, as in *iriti*, l 30, (g) *y* is used for *j* in *yēśhthō*, l 6 and *vice versā* in *ālālayya*, l 50, (h) *v* is used for *b* throughout (e g, *vānāsana*, l 23), and the palatal *ś* for the dental *s*, see e g, *śudūram*, l 13, and *vice versā* in *śia śarm īchchhayā*, l 30 In one case the lingual sibilant takes the place of the palatal in *prāvēśhya*, l 43 As instances of wrong *sandhi* may be cited *Vimdhya ādrēṣh=katakē*, l 26, *pūriaiṣh=paraiḥ*, l 27, *naraīaraiśō syāt*, l 57, etc

The plates were issued from Mayūrakhandī by the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda (III), who is described in ll 34 35 as *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* with the *birudas* the illustrious *Prithivīallabha*, the illustrious *Prabhūtarsha* and the illustrious *Vallabhanarēndra*, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Dhārāvarsha* The object of the inscription is to record the royal gift of the village *Sīsava* together with the site of habitation in another named *Mōragana* on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Bhādrapada in the cyclic year *Vyaya* in the (expired) Śaka year 729 (expressed in words only) This date corresponds to Saturday the 21st August A D 807, when there was a lunar eclipse as stated The cyclic year according to the southern luni solar system was, however, *Sarajit* and not *Vyaya*¹ The latter cyclic year can be connected with the expired Śaka year only by the so called northern luni solar system, which, as Kielhorn has shown,² was current in the south down to Śaka 855

The donated village was situated in the *Mānaka vishaya* and was bounded on the east by the village *Haripura*, on the south by *Khairadī*, on the west by *Athakavāda* and on the north by *Lakhaipari* The donee was the illustrious *Risīyapabhatta* of the *Kāśyapa gōtra*, a religious student of the *Rigvēda*, who was the son of *Annasāvi bhatta* and the grandson of *Vishnu* who had studied the four *Vēdas* He is described as a resident of *Dhārīśiva* and a member of the community of the *Chāturvidyas* of that place The charter was written by *Arunāditya*, the son of *Vatsarāja* The *dūtaka* was the illustrious *Jadavulabhatta*

¹ If notwithstanding the wording *Śaka nripa lal atita*, etc, we take the Śaka year as current as proposed in some cases by Kielhorn (see *Ind Ant*, Vol XXV, p 266) the date would correspond to the 1st September A D 806, on which day also there was a lunar eclipse Besides, the cyclic year was *Vyaya*, as required, according to the southern luni solar system, but as in all other dates of Gōvinda's reign the Śaka years cited are expired and the system followed is the so called northern luni solar system, I prefer to interpret the date as above

² *Ind Ant*, Vol XXV, pp 268 269 The cyclic year mentioned in the Wani Dindōri plates also is *Vyaya* As we find the northern luni solar system used regularly in all other records of Gōvinda III, the same was in all probability adopted in the Wani Dindōri plates The expired Śaka year intended to be mentioned in that grant was, therefore, 729 as in the present plates, but the word *ekōna*² was inadvertently omitted before *trimsat* in l 46 of that record Or, the year 730 may be taken as current, notwithstanding the wording *Śaka nripa lal atita* The lunar eclipse which, on no hypothesis, occurred on the full moon day of *Vaiśākha* (see *Ind Ant*, Vol XXV, p 11) was another mistake of the scribe The nearest lunar eclipse was that which occurred in the previous *Phālguna*

Unlike the earlier Paithan¹ and Añjanavati² plates the present plates contain a long description of the conquests of Gōvinda III. They do not, however, make any addition to our knowledge of the events in his reign as the draft followed here is identical with that used in the Rādhapur plates, the number of introductory verses being exactly the same. The earliest record in which this draft is known to have been adopted is the Mannē plates³ of Śaka 724 recording a grant of Gōvinda III's brother Śauchā Khambha (or Stambha). The draft continued to be used regularly in all the plates issued subsequently by Gōvinda III from his capital⁴. It was also generally used by the Governors of the Karnāṭaka. The longest form of this draft is that seen in the Nēsari plates where we find five verses (*viz*, vv 21-25) not occurring in any other grant. As shown below, the same draft is used in the Lōhārā grant. Its importance in fixing the chronological order of events in Gōvinda III's reign will be discussed later on.

As for the geographical names occurring in the present grant, Śrībhavana has now been satisfactorily identified with Sarbhōn in the Broach District⁵. Vēngī, the capital of the Eastern Chālukyas, is too well known to need identification. I have elsewhere⁶ suggested an identification of Mayūrākhandī, the capital of Gōvinda III, different from the one originally proposed by Bühler. Sisavai, the donated village, is evidently Sirso where the plates were discovered. Mōra-gana, which must have been situated in its vicinity, cannot now be traced. Its site may have been occupied by modern Mūrtizāpur. Mānaka which gave its name to the district in which the donated villages were situated is probably Mānā, a station on the Bombay Nagpur line of the G I P Railway, 8 miles east of Mūrtizāpur. Most of the boundary villages mentioned in the present grant can still be identified in the neighbourhood of Sirso. Thus Haripura is undoubtedly modern Hirpur two miles to the east, Khairadē may be Kharbādī three miles to the south-east, and Athakavāda Atkalī about three and half miles to the west of Sirso. Lakhaipari is clearly Līkhpuri five miles north of Sirso. Dhārāsiva, where the donee resided cannot be definitely identified, but may be Dhārur in the Ākōt talukā of the Akōlā District⁷.

TEXT⁸

[Metres Vv 1, 22, 23, 25, 26 and 28 *Anushtubh*, vv 2, 6 and 9 *Vasantatilakā*, vv 3-5, 7, 8, 10-20 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*, v 21 *Āryā*, vv 24 and 27 *Indravajrā*, v 29 *Śāhnī*, v 30 *Pushpitāgrā*]

First Plate

1 [ओ⁹ । स वो¹⁰] व्याधेधसा धाम य नाभि¹¹ कमल क्षत(तम्)[।*] हरश्च यस्य
कार्त्तिकेक्षया¹² कमलक्षतं(तम्) ॥[१*] — —¹³ [भव]-

¹ Above, Vol III, p 105

² *Ibid*, Vol XXIII, pp 13 ff

³ *J p. Carnatica*, Vol IX, Nelamangala Taluka inscriptions, p 51

⁴ It is not used in the British Museum plates and the Kadab plates but the former were granted not at the capital, but at the Rāmēśvara tīrtha on the Tungabhadra, and the latter are suspected to be spurious.

⁵ This identification first suggested by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, Part I, p 123) has been shown to be satisfactory by Dr Altekar (see his *Rashtrakūṭas* etc., pp 67-68).

⁶ Above Vol XXIII, pp 12 f

⁷ [Dhārāsiva may with greater probability be identified with the village of the same name (spelt Dharaseo in the Imperial Gazetteer Atlas Plate 42) now changed to Osmanabad, the headquarters of the district of that name in the Nizām's Dominions, and famous for its caves described by Burgess in the *Arch Surv of Western India* Vol III (pp 4 ff)—N L R.]

⁸ From the original plates. The facsimiles accompanying this article are prepared from ink impressions kindly supplied by Mr Natarajan, Superintendent, Government Press, Nagpur.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ Only faint traces of the *alsharas* in the brackets can be seen on the plate.

¹¹ Read यत्राभि

¹² Read कर्त्तिके

¹³ Supply रूपे

- 2 [हृ(हृ)ह]दुर्स्थलराजमानश्रीकौस्तुभायतकारैरुपगूढकण्ठ, [1*] सत्यान्वितो विपुलचक्र-
विनिर्जितारि[चक्रो]-
- 3 पक्ष्ण¹राजः [॥२*] पक्ष्णेदमयाशु(श्रि)ताखिलमहाभूमृत्कुलभ्राजितात्² दुर्मध्याद-
परैरनेकविमलभ्राजि[पुत्रा]-
- 4 न्वितात् [1*] यस्यालुक्कुलादनूनविबु(बु)धव्राताश्रयो वारिधेर्लक्ष्मि(क्ष्मी)भद्रवत्स-
लीलमचिरादाक्षयान्वस्रमः [॥३*] तस्या-
- 5 भूत(त्त)नयः प्रतापविसरैराकृत³दिग्गण्डलखण्डाशो[1*] सद्योप्यचण्डकरताम्रह्लादित-
त्मातल[1*] धीरो धैर्यधनी विप-
- 6 [क्षव]नितावक्त्रावु(बु)जश्रीचरो हारीकृत्य यशो यदीयमनिश दिग्भायिकाभिर्भित⁴
[॥४*] येष्टो⁵लघनजातया[प्यम]लया
- 7 प्यमलया⁶ लक्ष्या समेतोपि सन्धोभून्निर्मलमण्डलस्थितियुतो दोषाकरो न कश्चित् [1*]
कण्ठाधस्थितदान[सततभृ]-
- 8 तो यस्यान्यदानाधिकं दा[न]⁷ वीक्ष्य सुलजि(ज्जि)ता इव दिशा प्राते स्थिता
दिग्ग[जा]: [॥५*] अन्यैर्न जातु विजित गुणश-
- 9 तिसारमाक्रातभूतलमन(न)न्यसमानमान(नम्) [1*] येनेह वध(वध)सवलोक्य
चिरा[य गंग(गम्) ॥⁸ दूर खनिग्रहमि-
- 10 येव कलिः प्रयातः [॥६*] एकत्रालव(व)लेन वारिनिक्षिना(ना)प्यन्यत्र रुद्धा-
(ह्वा) धनं ⁹ निष्कष्टोसिभटोद्धतेन विहरद्ग्राहातिभीमेन च ।
- 11 मातंगान्मदवारिनिर्भरमुचः प्राप्यान्न(न)तात्पल्लवा[त्*] तच्चिन्न सदलेशमप्यनुदिन
य स्पृष्टवा¹⁰ न कश्चित् [॥७*] हेल्लाश्वी(स्वो)ल-
- 12 तगौडवाप्यकमलामतं(त्त) प्रवेश्याचिरात् दुर्भाग्यं मरुमध्यमप्रतिव(त्र)लैर्यो वत्स-
राज व(व)लै [1*] गौडीय शरदीदु¹¹पा-

¹ The writer has omitted seven *aksharas* here by haplography as his eye caught only the second of the two occurring word कण्ठ Read पक्ष्णचरितो सुवि कण्ठराज

² Read भ्राजिताद

³ Read रामान्त-

⁴ Read धृतम्

⁵ Read येष्टोल्लघन-

⁶ These four *aksharas* are redundant

⁷ The *anusvara* is redundant

⁸ The engraver at first cut न् and afterwards cancelled the subscript य्

⁹ Mark of punctuation superfluous

¹⁰ Read स्पृष्टवान्

¹¹ Read शरदिदु-

- 13 दधवल ष्च¹दय केवल ।² तस्माना(न्ना)[ह्र]त तद्यशोपि ककुभा प्राते
स्थिता(त) तक्षणा(त्क्षणम्) ।[15*] लब्ध(व्य)प्रतिष्ठमचिराय कलिं शु(सु)-
दूरदू(सु)-
- 14 ष्छा(त्सा)र्यं शुध(इ)चरितैर्द्वरणीतलस्य [1*] क[त्वा] पुन[ः*] कतयुनाः(गा)श्रु(श्र)यम-
प्यशेष चित्रं कथ निरुपम³ कलिवल(क्त)भोभूत् ।[16*] प्राभूधै(है)र्यव-
- 15 तस्ततो निरुपमादिदुर्यया वारिधेः शुद्धात्मा परमेश्वरोनत³शिरःसक्तपाद[ः*]
सुतः ॥(1) पञ्चानन्दकार⁴प्रतापस⁵हि-
- 16 तो नित्योदयः सोऽन्नतेः पूर्वोद्वेगिव भागुमानभिमतो गोविन्दराज[ः*] ⁶सता ।
[170*] यस्मि⁷ सा(स)र्वगुणाश्रये क्षितिपतो श्री-

Second Plate , First Side

- 17 राक्षकूटान्वयो जाते⁸ यादववश्वन्म⁹धुरिपावसीद[ल]घ्यः परे [1*] दृष्टाशव¹⁰धयः
कता[ः*] म्यु(सु)श(स)दृशा दानेन येनो[इ]ता
- 18 सुक्ताहारविभूषिता स्फुटमिति प्रत्यर्थिनोऽर्थिना(नाम्) ।[111*] यस्याकारमभागुं
तृ(त्रि)भुवनव्यापति(ति)रचोपित कण्ठस्येव निरीक्ष्य यच्छति
- 19 पितै(त)र्यैकाधिपत्य भुवः [1*] आस्ता¹¹ तात तवैतदप्रतिहता द्वा(त्ता) त्वया
कण्ठिका कि नाज्ञेव मया धृतिति पितर युक्तं वचो योभ्यधात् [112*]
तस्मि¹²
- 20 ¹³[स्मि]र्गविभूषणाय जनके जा(या)ते यशःशेषता¹⁴मेकीभूय समुद्यता¹⁵ वसुमतीस-
हारमाधिच्छया¹⁶ [1*] विच्छया¹⁷ सहसा व्यधत(त्त) नृपतीने-

¹ Read क्व-

² Danda superfluous

³ Read परमेश्वरोन्नत-

⁴ It would be better to read पञ्चानन्दकार प्रताप- as in the Rādhanpur plates

⁵ स which was first omitted is written below the line

⁶ What looks like an *anusvāra* on *sa* may be due to a fault in the plate

⁷ Read यस्मिन्

⁸ The engraver at first cut वी but subsequently cancelled the stroke for medial आ

⁹ Read वश्वन्मधु-

¹⁰ य which was at first omitted, is written below the line

¹¹ The *anusvāra* here is a little displaced

¹² Read तस्मिन्

¹³ The engraver first cut स्मि which he afterwards tried to change into स् without cancelling the curve for medial : and the *anusvāra* Read स्वर्ग-

¹⁴ The *anusvāra* is redundant

¹⁵ Read समुद्यता ।

¹⁶ Read मापिच्छय

¹⁷ Read विच्छयायान्

- 21 को[पि] यो द्वादश ¹ ख्यातान्प्रधिकप्रतापविसरै[:*] संवर्तकोर्कानिव ।
[1१३*] येनात्यतदयानुनाथ निगडक्लेभादपाश्यायतात्² ख देश
- 22 गमितोपि दर्पविसरायः प्रातिक्कु(क्)ले स्थित [1*] यावं न³ भुगुटी लला-
[ट*]फलके यस्योन(न्न)ते लक्ष्यते विक्षेपेण विजित्य तावदचिराद(व)व[1*] स
- 23 गगः पुनः ।[1१४*] सधायाशु श्री(शि)लीमुखां(खान्) स्वसमयाद्वा(द्वा)णसनस्योपरि
प्राप्त वर्धितव(व)धुजीवविभवं पद्माभिष्टब्धा(ब्धा)न्वित(तम्)[1*] संन⁴चनमुदी-
- 24 ह्य य शरद्वृतं पर्जन्यवहूर्जरो नष्ट[:*] कापि भय(या)त(त्त)था न ससर
स्वप्नेपि पश्येद्यथा [1१५*] यत्पादानतिमात्रकौकशरणामा-
- 25 लोक्य लक्ष्मिं(क्ष्मीं) निजा दूरां⁵भालवनायको नयप⁶रो यं प्राणमप्राजलि. [1*]
को विद्वान्[1*] व(व)लिनो(ना) सहास्यव(व)लकः स्रष्टां वि[ध*]ते(त्ते) परां
- 26 नीतिस्तद्वि(द्धि) फलं यदात्मपरयोराधिक्यसवेदनं(नम्) [1१६*] विध्याद्रे⁸काटके
निविष्टकटकां श्रुत्वा चरैर्य(र्यं) निजै[:*] खं देश समुपा-
- 27 गत ध्रु[व]मिव ज्ञात्वा भिया प्रेरित[1*] माराश्वर्ममहीपतिर्द्रुतमगादप्राप्तपूर्वे⁹परैः
यस्येच्छामगुल्लया¹⁰ कुलधनैः पा-
- 28 दौ प्रणामैरपि ।[1१७*] नीत्वा श्रीभवने ¹¹धनो धनधनव्यासाव(व)रं प्रावृष
तस्मादागतव(वान्) समं निय(ज)व(व)लैरातुंगमद्रात-
- 29 ट(टम्) [1*] [त]त्रस्थ[1*] ¹²स्वकरस्थितामपि पुनः निश्चेष¹³माकृष्टवा विक्षेपे¹⁴रपि
चित्रमानतरिपुर्यः पल(ल्ल)वाना श्रुय(श्रियम्) [1१८*] लेखाहारमुखो-
- 30 दिताव(र्द्ध)वचसा ¹⁴यज्ञैव वे(वे)गीश्वरो नित्यं की(कि)करवक्ष्यवादविरत(तं)
कर्म ख(स्व)स(श)र्मेच्छया [1*] वाद्याली[त्रि](ह)तिरस्य येन रचिता व्ये(व्यो)-

¹ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous

² Read °दपाश्यायतात्

³ Read यावन्न

⁴ Read संनचन-

⁵ नि which was first omitted is written below the line

⁶ The *anustāra* is superfluous

⁷ प which was first omitted is written below

⁸ Read विध्याद्रे काटके ⁹ Read पूर्व परैर्ये

¹⁰ Read °मगुल्लयन्

¹¹ Read चनाधनधनव्यासावरं as in the Rādhānpur plates

¹² ख which was first omitted is incised below

¹³ Read नि शेषमाकृष्टवान्

¹⁴ The engraver at first cut द्वा but subsequently cancelled the stroke for medial द्वा.

- 31 साग्रलब्धाचचट्टाचै(चौ) सौक्तिकमास्तिकासिव धृता मूर्द्धस्वतारागणैः [॥१६६] सचा-
सात्परचक्रराजकमशात(त्त)मूर्धस्वतारा-
32 विधिव्याव(व)क्षालिशोभितेन शरणं सूधा(ध्री) यदह(ह्रि)दयं(यम्) [१*] यद्य-
दत्तं प[रा]दिभूषणगणैना(र्ना)ललित तत(त्त)या सा भैषी-
33 रिति सत्यपालितयशःस्थित्या यथा तन्निरा [॥२०६] तेनेदमनिलविद्युच(च्च)चलम-
वलोक्य जीवितमसार(रम्) [१*] चित्तिदा-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 34 नपरमपुण्य[१*] प्रवर्तितो ब्र(व्र)ह्मदायोयं(यम्) [॥२१*] स च परमभट्टारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरम(मे)श्वरश्रीमहारावर्षदे-
35 वपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीसमभूतवर्षश्रीवल्लभन-
रेद्रदे-
36 व[१*] कुशलो सर्वानिव यथास(स)[व१]ध्यमानक(कान्) राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटा-
युक्ताका(क)नियुक्ताधिकारिकमहत्त(त्त)-
37 रादो[न्] समादिशत्युक्तं व[१*] संविदितं(तम्) । यथा श्रीमयूरखण्डिसमा-
वासितेन मया सातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिका-
38 सुभिक्षपुण्यशोभिषुध(ध)ये १ धारासिवा[स्त]व्यतच्चातुर्विध्यसामान्य(न्य)कास्य(श्य)-
पसगोत्रव(व)हृचसत्र(त्र)हृचचारि-
39 विष्णुचतुर्वेदपौत्राय अन्नसाविभट्टसुताय श्रीरिसियपमहाय माणकविधयातर्गतो
सौरगणग्रामधा-
40 नसमन्वितो^१ सीसुवै^२ नाम, ग्राम[१*] तस्य चाधाटनां पूर्वतः हरिपुरग्रामः
दक्षिणतः खैरडे पश्चिमतः अ-

¹ In the Rīdhanpur plates also the reading was =aruchad= but Kielhorn proposed to amend it as =arachad= for reasons stated above, Vol VI, p 245, f n 1 I would read लग्राचट्टाचौ सौक्तिकमास्तिकासिव धृता, etc The Nom singular धृता which is evidently intended as an adjective of सौक्तिकमास्तिका shows that the latter also must have originally been in the Nom singular अचत्त is aorist, third person singular form of रुच् The intended sense is that the circular enclosure of the royal camp looked beautiful at night like a garland worn by clusters of stars

² Read ययदत्त

³ Read समादिशति । अस्तु

⁴ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous

Read धारासिवात्मन्य as in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhakā Mandala and Lōhūrā plates

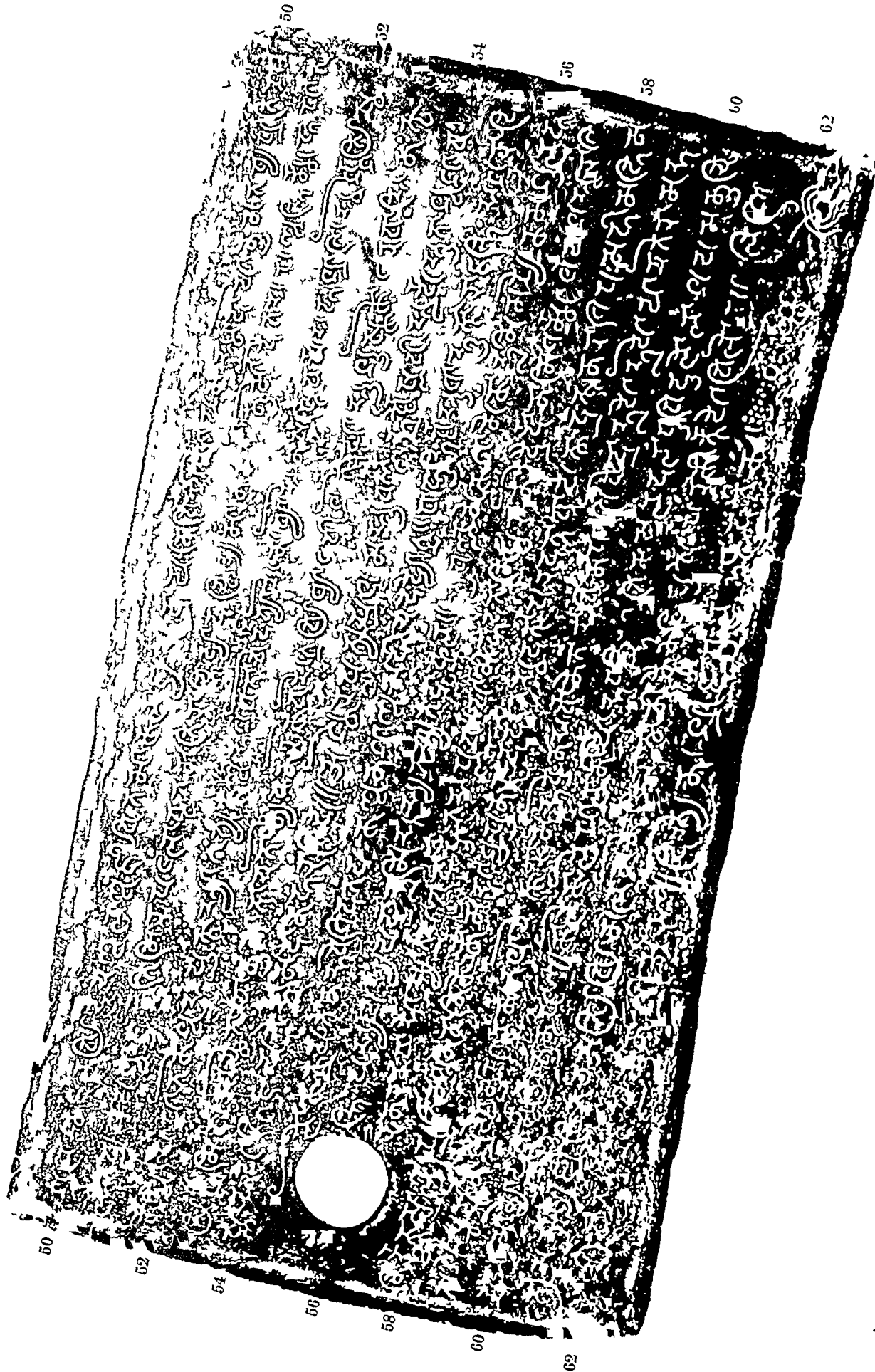
⁵ Read ससन्वित

⁶ What looks like a slanting stroke on the top of sa is an accidental scratch

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nb





- 41 थकवाड उत(त्त)रत लखैपरिग्राम एवमय¹ चतुराघाटजोपलक्षितो ग्राम[²]
सोद्वगः सपरी(रि)-
- 42 कर[³] सदा⁴दशपराध[⁵] सभूतोपांत(त्त)प्रत्याय[⁶] शो(सो)त्यद्यमानविष्टिक[⁷]
सधा⁸न्य(न्य)हिरण्या-
- 43 देयो¹ अचाटभटप्रावेष्टा(श्य) सर्वरा[जकीयानामहस्त]प्रक्षेपणोय आचद्रार्का²वक्षित-
सरित्प-
- 44 र्वतससकालोन[³] पुत्र⁴पौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्य[⁵] पूर्वप्रत्तदेवत्रा(त्रा)ह्म[दा]यरहित-
म(तो)भ्यतप(र)मिध्या(ध्या) भूमि⁶च्छि-
- 45 द्रन्वायेन शकनृपका[ला]तीतस(त्त)वच्छ(त्त)रस(श)तेषु सप्तपु(सु) ⁷शूनतृषत्यधिकेषु
व्य[य⁸]नाम्नि [सवत्सरे] [भा]द्र-
- 46 पदपौर्णमास्या सोमग्रहणपर्वणि व(व)लि[चर]वैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञक-
(क्रि)योत्स[र्प्य]णा-
- 47 र्थं ज्ञात्वाद्योदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादि[तो]⁴ यतोस्योचितया ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायस्थित्या
भुंजतो भोजयत
- 48 क्षपत, कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिदप्यपि परिपश्यना कार्या तथा-
गामिभद्रनृपति-
- 49 भिरभक्ष्यैरन्यैर्वा सामान्य भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यैश्चर्याणि वृणा-

Third Plate

- 50 अलग्नजलवि(वि)दुचक्षलक्ष जीवितमाकलज्य(य्य) सदायनिर्व्विसे⁵धोयमस्सदा(हा)यो-
नुमंतव्य[⁶] प्रतिपा-
- 51 ल[यि⁷]तव्यश्च [1⁸] यथाज्ञानतिभिरपटलाहतमतिरा⁹च्छि¹⁰द्यादा¹¹च्छिद्यमान[क वा]-
नुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्भहापात-
- 52 कैद्योपपातकैश्च सयुक्त[¹²] स्या¹³ इत्युक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [¹⁴] षष्टिं
वर्षसहस्रा(स्रा)णि स्वर्गे तिष्ठ¹⁵
- 53 ति भूमिद¹⁶ । आच्छेता(त्ता) चासुमा¹⁷ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥२२¹⁸]
विध्याटवीश्व(ध्व)तोयासु शुष्ककोट¹⁹वासिनः [1²⁰] क्ष-

¹ Read देयोचाट

² The engraver at first cut न and then changed it into व

³ Read एकोनत्रिंशदधिकेषु

⁴ Read प्रतिपादित, ।

⁵ Read निर्व्विशेषो

⁶ Read स्यादिति । उत्तम

⁷ Read चासुमन्ता

- 54 एषाद्वयो हि जायते भूमिदानं हरति ये ॥[२३^{*}] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं
भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यभुताश्च गावः [1^{*}]
- 55 लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि (हि) दत्त (त) यः काञ्चनं गाञ्च मही च दद्यात् ॥[२४^{*}] सुवर्ण-
व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
- 56 सि [1^{*}] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लम्) ॥[२५^{*}] सुवर्ण-
मेकं गामिका भूमेम(र)प्येकमगुलं(लम्) [1^{*}] ह-
- 57 र नरकावासी स्यात् यावदाहु(सू)तसंभव(वम्) ॥[२६^{*}] यानीह दत्ता(त्ता)नि पुरा
नरेद्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1^{*}]
- 58 निर्भुजमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु[ः^{*}] पुनराददीत ॥[२७^{*}] स्वदत्ता
परदत्ता वा यत्नाद्वा नराधिप । मही^३ सहिभ-
- 59 ता श्रेष्ठ दाना^४ श्रेयोनुपालनं(लम्) ॥[२८^{*}] तथा चोक्तं रामभद्रेन(ण) ॥[^{*}]
सर्वानिता^५ भाविन[.] पार्थिवेन्द्रा^६ भूयो भूयो याचते रामभ-
- 60 द्र[.] सामान्योय धर्मसेतुनृ(नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवन्ति ॥[२९^{*}]
इति कभलदलावुविदुलोला श्रु(श्च)यसमुच्चि-
- 61 त्व मनुष्यजीवितं च [1^{*}] अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीनै(नं) हि पु[रु^{*}]वै[.]
परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[३०^{*}] लिखि-
- 62 त श्रीवत्सराजसूनुना श्रीअरुणादित्येन । श्रीजडबुलभट्टकृतं ॥^८

B.—Lōhārā grant of Gōvinda III, Śaka Year 734

These also are three copper-plates, each measuring 10 6' in length and about 7 7" in breadth. The first two plates are thinner than the third. Though their total weight is exactly the same as that of the Sisavai grant, they are smaller in length and larger in breadth than the latter. All the edges of the third plate and the proper right edge of the other two are raised, while the rest are flat. The first is inscribed on the inner side only and the other two on both the sides, but as the record ended about the middle of the outer side of the third plate, its lower portion measuring about 3 2" in breadth is blank. About 4" from the middle of the proper right side of each plate there is a roundish hole about 9" in diameter for the ring which joined it to the other plates of the set. The ring and the seal attached to it, though more substantial, resemble those of the Sisavai grant. The ring was not cut when the plates reached the Museum. The seal contains a worn out figure of Garuda larger in size, but otherwise of the same type as that of the Sisavai grant described above. The plates weigh 213 tolas and the ring and the seal together 86 tolas.

^१ The engraver first cut क and then changed it into त

^२ Read एरन नरकावांस

^३ Read मही

^४ Read पार्थिवेन्द्रान्

^५ Read दानाच्छ्रेयो?

^६ Read कभलदलावुविदु

^७ The punctuation mark is followed here by several dots and an ornamental figure indicating completion of the record

The plates are generally in a state of good preservation. Only a few letters at the end of lines 7-14 have been completely damaged by rust and two letters, one in the beginning of line 24 and the other at the end of line 40, have been lost on account of the subsequent widening of the hole for the ring, but these can be easily supplied from cognate records. There are seventy-two lines in all, of which sixteen occur on each inscribed surface except the second side of the second and third plates which have fifteen and nine lines respectively. The letters are deeply engraved, but do not show through on the back of the plates. Their average size is 3". The characters are of the North Indian alphabet. As we shall see below, the writer of the present record is stated to be Arunāditya, the son of Vatsarāja, who, as stated above, was also the writer of the Sisavai grant, but to judge from the formation of letters, the present inscription seems to have been actually written by a different person. We do not, for instance, find here any ornamentation of the *mātrās* such as that noted above in the case of the Sisavai plates. The formation of several letters, again, is different. The stroke for medial *u* is not round as in the other inscription and is added not at the lower end of the vertical stroke but a little above, see *urhad-ura* and *upula* both in l 2. The forms of *ṛ*, *ṭh* (whether independent or subscript), *v*, *ś*, the subscript *n* of the conjunct *nn* and the final *t* are considerably different from those occurring in the earlier record, see e.g., *na* (l 10), *katham* (l 16) and *pratyarthinnō* (l 21), *vinayit* (ll 2 3), *sadṛisō-* (l 6), *larnn ādha* (l 9) and *bhāṇitāt* (l 3). *R* as the first member of the conjunct *rya* does not rise above the line but appears as a horizontal stroke to the left at the top, see *dhairya* (ll 6 and 16), *°m=utsārya* (l 15), etc. The language is Sanskrit and like the previous record the inscription is partly in verse and partly in prose. It shows many of the orthographical peculiarities noticed in connection with the previous record and though not altogether free from orthographical and other kinds of mistakes is, on the whole, more correctly written than the latter.

The plates were granted by the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III, residing at Mayūra-khaṇḍī. His genealogy, titles and *brudas* are identical with those in the previous record. In fact the text of the whole inscription, with the exception of the names of the donated village and its boundaries, the *dūtaka*, the date and some minor details and with the omission of seven verses three of them being from the eulogistic portion,¹ generally agrees with that of the Sisavai grant edited above. The object of the present inscription is to record the royal gift of the village Lōhārā in the Murumba district to Bhatta Rishiyappa of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who was a religious student of the Rīgvēda, the son of Annamabhatta and the grandson of Bhatta Māsōpavāsīn. He is described as residing at Dhārāsiva and belonging to the community of the Traividyas of that place. The donated village was bounded on the east by the smaller Lōhārā village, on the south by two villages² named Mudupa, on the west by the villages Pīpparikā and Mārurika and on the north also by two villages Sāmaripalla and Khēda. It is also recorded that Rishiyappa, reserving 400 *nivartanas* of the land in the afore mentioned village for himself, divided (the revenue of the remaining land) into 120 parts of which he assigned sixty to Mādhava, Śrīdhara, Dōdhāma, Aghakuti and others and the remaining sixty to Lōkabhatta, Śrīdhara Dikshita, Madhuka Dvivēdin, Prīthivibhatta and others. These transactions took place on the occasion of the solar eclipse on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgasīrsha in the expired Śaka year 734 (expressed in words only). No cyclic year is mentioned in the grant. We find that in the expired Śaka year 734 there was a solar eclipse on the previous day which was the new-moon day of Kārttika. The first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgasīrsha was current at sunrise of and therefore civilly connected with the next day, Tuesday the 9th November, A.D. 812,

¹ These are vv 7, 16 and 17 of the Sisavai grant

² These were probably the smaller (*laghu*) and the larger (*bṛihat*) Mudupa

which is thus the date of the present plates.¹ The charter was written by Arunāditya, the son of Vatsarāja. There were two *dūtakas* Chandiyamma and Vayama.

It will be noticed that the donee of the present plates is, in spite of slight discrepancies in his description, identical with that of the Sisavai grant. He is also the donee of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samsōdhaka Mandala plates² of Gōvinda III. The provenance of the latter is not known but it is not unlikely to be some place in Berār. The villages³ mentioned in the plates were, therefore, probably situated somewhere in Berār, not very far from Sirso (Sisavai of the previous plates) where he or his descendants seem to have lived, and not in distant Gujarāt as surmised by the editor of the above plates. It may also be noted that Arunāditya, the son of Vatsarāja, who is mentioned as the writer of this grant whether he actually wrote it or not, figures in that capacity in five other sets of plates, viz., the Nēsari plates⁴ of Śaka 726, the Wanū Dindōri plates⁵ of Śaka 730 (for the expired Śaka 729), the Sisavai plates of Śaka 729, the Bahulāwād plates of Śaka 732 (for the expired Śaka 731)⁶ and the B I S M plates of Śaka 730. He was also probably the writer of the incomplete Rādhānpur plates of Śaka 730, judging by the writing on them which resembles that on the Nēsari and the Sisavai plates. He was thus the official writer in Gōvinda III's secretariat at least from Śaka 726 to Śaka 734.

Having disposed of the formal part of the grant, let us now turn to the historical information furnished by it. The charters granted by Gōvinda III fall into two main groups. Under the first of these come the Paithan plates of Śaka 716 and the Añjanavati plates of Śaka 722. The second group includes almost all the rest.⁷ The draft of the genealogical and eulogistic portion adopted in the two grants of the first group consists for the most part of old verses descriptive of the ancestors of Gōvinda III, which are known from the earlier records of Dantidurga, Krishna and Dhruva. To the glorification of the reigning king, the draft devotes only two verses which mention no historical event except that he obtained the kingdom from his father in supersession of his brothers. No exploits of Gōvinda III,—not even his victory over the twelve kings headed by

¹ [There are instances of the *tithi* which commenced some time after sunrise being cited as the current *tithi* (See e.g., Nos 215 and 269 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1918, whose dates have been calculated by the late Mr Swamikannu Pillai on pages 84 and 85 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1919.) It is, therefore, not necessary to take Tuesday the 9th November A D 812 as the date of the record for, the *pratipat tithi* commenced at 5½ *ghatikas* after sunrise on the previous Monday which was also the day of the eclipse. The latter, viz., A D 812 November 8 Monday may thus be the date of this charter.—N L R.]

² These plates were first noticed by Mr G H Khare in the *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol III, pp 27 f and subsequently edited by Mr Y R Gupte in the *Journal of Indian History* for 1925, pp 100 f and in the present plates. His father is called Annamā in the present record, but Annasāvi (not Sannasāvi as Mr Khare has read in the B I S M plates) in the other two records. Rishiyappa is said to belong to the community of the Chāturvīdhas in the Sisavai grant, but to that of the Trāivīdhas in the other two records. His name, *gōtra*, *Vāda* and place of residence (which both Mr Gupte and Mr Khare seem to have incorrectly read as *Vārāsiva*) are the same in all the records.

³ The plates record the grant of the village Daśapura which was bounded on the north by the Vindhya mountain. This is likely to be Dasur in the Ellichpur tahsil of the Alōlā District, situated only two miles to the south of the Sātpurā hills which were in ancient times called Vindhya. Some of the places mentioned in the grant can still be traced in the vicinity of Dasur. Thus Lādāvallikā, Pimpārikā and Khēda of the grant are probably modern Ghat lādā, Pimpri and Khed in the neighbourhood of Dasur. The Ambili *kuṇḍa* at which the king bathed before making the grant was probably a *kuṇḍa* at the source of the holy river Payōshni (modern Pūrṇā) not far from Dasur.

⁴ G H Khare—*Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol I, p 23.

⁵ *Id. Int.*, Vol XI p 160.

⁶ *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol II, pp 13 f.

⁷ The only exceptions so far known are the British Museum and the Kaḍab plates, for which see above, p 206.

Stambha and the release and subsequent reimprisonment of the Ganga king, events which we know happened soon after his accession¹—are alluded to. And this is but natural, for that draft is found used as early as Śaka 716, within a year of his father's death. When it was prepared, none of the afore mentioned disturbances may have occurred. The same draft is again used in the Añjanavatī plates issued six years later, without adding any verses descriptive of Gōvinda's achievements. It would scarcely be correct to infer from this that these six years in the beginning of Gōvinda's reign were altogether uneventful. At least the revolt of Stambha and the Ganga prince and their subsequent defeat must have happened during this interval,² but for some reason or other we find Gōvinda using the same old draft even in his Añjanavatī plates. Only two years later in Śaka year 724 we find his brother Stambha issuing his Manne plates³ with his consent. Here we find for the first time the other draft describing the brilliant exploits of Gōvinda III,—his victory over twelve kings, the release and subsequent reimprisonment of the Ganga prince, the complete rout of the Gūrjara and the submission of the Mālava king, the presentation of the choicest heir looms to him by Mārāśarva, his stay at Śrībhavana during the rainy season and his subsequent march to the bank of the Tungabhadra, the despoilment of the fortune of the Pallavas, the humiliation of the lord of Vēngī and finally the submission of the enemy's feudatories. It is incredible that all these events or even a majority of them occurred during the brief period of two years from Śaka 722 to Śaka 724. We have, therefore, to suppose either that the Manne plates are spurious or that some of these events occurred even before Śaka 722, the date of the Añjanavatī plates. The first of these two alternatives will appear more plausible to the historian who knows the abundance of spurious records of this period in Mysore, to which Fleet has called attention⁴. Again, until recently the draft was not known to have been used in any record before Śaka 730, in which year we find it adopted in the Wani-Dindōri⁵ and Rādhapur plates. Besides, one of the events mentioned in that draft, viz, Gōvinda's victory over the Pallava king, seems to have occurred only a short time before Śaka 726 in which year he granted the British Museum plates while he was encamped on the bank of the Tungabhadra after levying tribute on the Pallava king. How then can that event be referred to in the Manne plates issued two years earlier²? To add to these suspicious circumstances, the date of the above mentioned Manne plates, though Sewell has declared it to be sound,⁶ appears to be irregular. The grant purports to have been made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, the asterism being Pushya in the expired Śaka year 724. Sewell takes this as equivalent to the 13th November A D 802. He, therefore, evidently takes the lunar eclipse to be that which occurred on the full moon day of Mārgaśīrsha. But the asterism on that *tithi* was Rōhinī and not Pushya. One is therefore naturally led to conclude that the plates are spurious. As stated above, until recently the draft was not known to have been used in any genuine record before Śaka 730. It was, of course, known from the British Museum plates that Gōvinda's victory over the Pallava king had occurred before Śaka 726, but as his other exploits have not been mentioned in any genuine record dated before Śaka 730, Dr Altekar in his history of the

¹ See e g, v 12 of the present grant

² I do not now hold the view which I previously advocated from the mention of Chākīrāja as *dūta* in the Añjanavatī plates that the revolt of Stambha must have taken place after Śaka 722 (or A D 800), see above, p 11

³ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol IX (Nelamangala), p 51

⁴ *Ind Ant*, Vol XXX, pp 204 and 212

⁵ The date of the Wani Dindōri plates is more likely to be the expired Śaka year 729 as shown above, p 205, n 2

⁶ 'These plates have a sound date, naming the eclipse of the moon on the day stated'—Sewell in *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (ed S K Aiyangar), p 33. My attention to this apparent irregularity was drawn by Dr. Altekar

words like *Māṅgaśūśha-paurṇamāsyām* are inadvertently omitted in the record ¹ As for the discrepancy of the *nal śhātā* Pushya not being current at the time of the eclipse as mentioned in the record, it can be explained by supposing that though the grant was made at the lunar eclipse the plates were actually issued four days later when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Pushya Analogous instances in justification of this explanation can be easily cited from the records of the period ² There are, thus, no insuperable difficulties in admitting the Manne plates of Śaka 724 to be genuine All the important conquests of Gōvinda III seem, therefore, to have been made during the first seven or eight years of his reign

It seems that soon after Gōvinda III's accession the twelve kings headed by Stambha rose in revolt against him Gōvinda released the Ganga prince apparently to create a rival in the Karnāṭaka to his rebellious brother, but as he seems to have joined Stambha and his allies, Gōvinda III defeated them all and put the Ganga prince into fetters again The ease and rapidity with which these victories were attained are graphically described in two stanzas included in all records of the second group ³ These operations could not have taken more than two years (Ś 716 and 717) after his accession The next four or five years seem to have been occupied by his campaigns in the Northern and Central India at the end of which ⁴ his son was born in *circa* Ś 721 In Āshādha of the next year we find him again at his capital Mayūrakhandī, issuing his Añjanavāṭī plates Engrossed in planning and fighting wars as he was during all these years, he had apparently no time to think of getting a new draft prepared for the plates which he issued in that year His expedition against the southern kings ⁵ may have occurred in Ś 722 and 723 At the end of it when his position was supreme both in the north and in the south, he seems to have caused a new draft descriptive of all his important conquests to be prepared which we find him adopting in all his later charters This draft is composed in an ornate *lāvya* style recalling, as Kielhorn has shown, ⁶ 'many expressions and poetical devices' used in the works of Bāna and Subandhu Noticing the king's predilection for it, his governors in the Karnāṭaka also seem to have adopted the same draft in their charters issued during his lifetime

If the chronological order of events in Gōvinda III's reign as stated above is correct, his son Amōghavarsha must have been a fairly grown up youth of about sixteen, when he ascended the throne in *circa* Śaka 736 In that case the statement in the Sanjān plates ⁷ that Gōvinda III went to heaven, because he felt sure that his son was able to bear the burden of the three worlds, need not be taken as exaggerated Amōghavarsha I, must, therefore, have been nearly eighty at the time of his death

¹ See the wording of the grant—'चतुर्विंशत्युत्तरिषु सप्तशतेषु शकवर्षेषु समतीतिव्यात्मन प्रवक्ष्यामि विजयविजयसिद्धिं विजयवत्सल्यवारे सोमग्रहणे पुष्यनक्षत्रे शुभलक्षणे'
मान्यपुरमभिवसति विजयवत्सल्यवारे सोमग्रहणे पुष्यनक्षत्रे शुभलक्षणे'

² As shown above, the present plates were issued a day after the solar eclipse [See note 1 on p 214 —Ed] We may also note that the date of the Manne plates (second set) द्वाविंशदुत्तरिष्वतीतिषु सप्तशतेषु शकवर्षेषु

दीपमासपौर्णमास्या सोमग्रहणे सोमवारे पुष्यनक्षत्रे According to S K Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* the lunar eclipse occurred on the *tithi* mentioned in the grant, but the week day was Saturday and the asterism Punarvasu It seems, therefore, that the plates were issued two days later on Monday when the asterism was Pushya as required

³ See *eg*, vv 12 and 13 of the present grant

⁴ See v 24 of the Sanjān plates, above, Vol XVIII, p 246

⁵ Two of these, the Pallava king and the lord of Vēṅgi are mentioned in the present record The kings of Kēraḷa, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and other countries are mentioned in verses 21-23 of the Nēsari and v 32 of the Sanjān plates

⁶ See notes to his translation of the Rādhanpur plates, above, Vol VI, pp 246-250,

⁷ V 25, above, Vol XVIII, p 246

As for the places mentioned in the present plates, Vēngī, Śrībhavana and Mayūra-khandī have already been noticed Lōhārā, the donated village may be modern Lōhārā about 8 miles to the west of Kārañjā in the Murtizāpur tālukā Murumba, the headquarters of the district in which it was situated, may be Murambi, 3 miles south east of Lōhārā Of the boundary villages only two can be traced at present Mudupa may be Māndav, 3 miles to the south and Pīpparikā modern Pimpalgāon 4 miles to the east of Lōhārā The other villages cannot be identified

TEXT¹

[Metres Vv 1, 19 22 *Anushtubh*, vv 2, 6 and 8 *Vasantatilakā*, vv 3 5, 7, 9 17 *Sardūlavikrīḍita*, v 18 *Āryā*, v 23 *Pushpitāgrā*]

First Plate

- 1 ओम्²[१^{*}] स बोव्यादेवसा धाम यनाभि³कमलं क्षतं(तम्) । हरश्च यस्य
कातेदुकलया कमलक्षतं(तम्) ।[१^{*}] भूपीभ-
- 2 वह(वृ)हदुरस्त्रलराजमानश्रोकौस्तुभायतकरैरूपभूढकाण्ड. [१^{*}] सत्यान्वितो विपुल-
चक्रविनिर्जि-
- 3 तारिचक्रोप्यक्षयचरिते(तो) भुवि क्षयराजः [१२^{*}] पञ्चदमयाश्रु(त्रि)ताखिलमहा-
भूष्टकुलभ्राजितात्⁴
- 4 दुर्लभ्यादपरैरनेकविभलभ्राजिष्णुरक्षान्वितात् [१^{*}] यस्यालुक्थकुलादयूगविबु(वु)धव्राता-
श्रयो
- 5 वारिधेः सखीं मंदरवत्सलीलसचिरादाक्षयवा(वान्) वक्षसः ।[१३^{*}] तस्याभूतनयः
प्रतापविसरै-
- 6 राक्षसादिद्वन्द्वलक्षणाशोः सदृशोप्यचण्डकरताप्रज्ञादितक्षातलः [१^{*}] धीरो धैर्यधनो
- 7 विपक्षवनितावक्रावु(वु)जश्रीहरो हारीक्षय यशो यदीयमनिशं दिक्षा[यिकाभिर्धृत⁵]
[१४^१][ज्ये]-
- 8 श्लेषघनजातयाप्यसलया लक्ष्म्या समेतोपि सन्धोभून्निर्मलमण्डल[स्थिति⁵]-
- 9 युतो दोषाकरो न क्वचित् [१^{*}] कर्णाधस्थितदानसततिभृतो यस्यान्ध[दानाधि⁵]-
- 10 क(क) दान वीक्ष्य सुलज्जिता ध्रुव दिशां प्राप्ति स्थिता दिग्गजाः [१५^{*}]
अथैर्न जातु
- 11 विजितु(त) गुरुभक्तिसारनाक्रान्तभूतलमनन्यसमानमानं(नम्)[१^{*}] येनेह व(व)[हमव-
लोक्य चिराय⁵]

¹ From the original plates The facsimiles accompanying this article are prepared from ink impressions kindly taken by Mr Natarajan, Superintendent, Government Press, Nāgpur

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Read यनाभि-

⁴ Read भ्राजिताद्

⁵ Only faint traces of some of the *aksharas* in the brackets can be seen on the plate

- 12 गग दूर खनिप्रहमियेव कलि प्रयातः ।[१६*] हेलाखीकृतगौडराज्यका ७ —
— — ७ — —¹
- 13 चिरात्² दुर्भार्गमरुमध्यमप्रतिव(व)लैर्यो वत्सराजं व(व)नै [१*] गौडोय शर — ७
— ७ ७ ७³
- 14 ल छनवय केवल तस्यान्नाहत तद्यशोपि ककुभां प्राते स्थित तत्क्षणात् ॥
[७] — — ७ —⁴ छ-
- 15 मचिराय कलि सुदूरमुत्सार्य शुद्धचरितैर्द्वैरणीतलस्य [१*] कृत्वा पुनः क्षतयुग(गा)-
श्रु(श्र)य-
- 16 मध्यशिपां(षं) चिन्न कथं निरुपम कलिवल्लभोभूत् ।[१८*] प्रामूढैर्यवतस्ततो
निरुपमा-

Second Plate, First Side

- 17 दिदुर्यथा वारिधेः शुद्धात्मा परमेश्वरोन्नतशिरःससक्तपादः सुतः । पद्मानन्दक-
- 18 र⁵प्रतापसहितो नित्योदयः सोन्नतेः पूर्वाद्रेरिव भातुमानभिमतो गोविदरा-
- 19 जः सता(ताम्) ।[१८*] यस्मि⁶ सर्वश्रुत्याश्रये जितिपतौ श्रीपादकूटान्वयो जाते
यादववश-
- 20 वन्मधुरिपावासीदलघ्यः परैः [१*] दृष्टाशावधयः कृतास्सुसदृशा दानेन येनो-
- 21 क्षता मुक्ताहाराविभूषिता स्फुटमिति प्रत्यर्त्थिनोप्यर्त्थिनां(नाम्) [११०*] यस्याकार-
ममानुष तृ(त्रि)-
- 22 भुवनव्यापत्तिरचोचित(त) क्षणस्येव निरोच्य यच्छति पितर्येकाधिपत्य भुव⁷ [१*]
आस्ता तात
- 23 तवैतदप्रतिहता दत्ता त्वया कण्डिका कि नाज्ञेव मया धृतेति पितरं युक्तं
वचो यो-
- 24 ७⁸धात् [१११*] तस्मि⁹ स्वर्गविभूषणाय जनके याते यशःशेषतामेकोभूय¹⁰ स-
- 25 मुद्यतान्वसुमती¹⁰ सङ्गारमाधिलया [१*] वित्ताया¹¹ सङ्गसा व्यधत्त नृपतीने-
- 26 कोपि यो द्वादश स्थातानप्यधिकप्रतापविसरैः[*] सर्वतर्को[र्का]निव¹² ॥ [१२*]
येनात्यंतदया-

¹ Restore °मलाभच प्रवेष्टा°

⁴ Restore लम्प्रति°

⁶ Read यस्मिन्

⁸ The lost letter is म्य

¹¹ Read विष्ठायान्

² Read °चिराद्

⁵ It would be better to read पद्मानन्दकर-

⁷ The anusvāra is superfluous

⁹ Read तस्मिन्

³ Restore °दिदुपादधव°

¹⁰ Read वसुमतीसङ्गार-

- 27 लुनाथ निगडक्लेशादपास्यायतात्सु^१ देश गमितोपि दर्पविसराद्य^२ प्रातिभूष्ये स्थि-
 28 तः [१*] यावंन^३ सुकुटी ललाटफलके यस्योनते लक्ष्यते विज्ञेपेण विजित्य तावदचि-
 29 राक्ष(व)हः स गंगः पुनः ।[११३*] संधायाणु शिलीमुखा(खान्) स्वसमयाद्वा(द्वा)-
 णासनस्थोपरि प्राप्त
 30 वद्धितव(व)धुजीवविभवं पद्माभिहृध्या(ध्या)न्वितं(तम्) [१*] सन्नचन्नमुदीक्ष्य यं गृह-
 [तुं प]जन्यव-
 31 नूर्जरी नष्ट(ष्टः) क्वापि भयात्तथा न समर स्वप्नेपि पश्येद्यथा ॥[१४*] नीत्वा
 श्रीभवने धनाधन-
 32 धनव्यासांव(व)रा प्राहप तस्मादागतवा(वान्) समं निजव(व)लेरातुंगमद्रातटं तन-
 स्थ[ः स्वक]र-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 33 स्थि[ता]मपि पुनर्निश्चेपमाकृतवा(वान्) विज्ञेपेरपि चिह्नमानतरिपुर्वः पल्लवानां श्रु-
 य(यियम्) ।[१५*]
 34 लेखाहारमुखोदितार्धवचसा यत्रेत्य वेगेश्वरो नित्य किंकरवद्वध्वादविरत कर्म
 35 स्वशर्सेच्छया [१*] वाद्यालीढतिरस्य येन रचिता व्योमाग्रलग्नारुचत्^४ रात्रौ मोक्ति-
 कमान-
 36 लिकाभिव धृता मूर्धस्थतारागणैः ।[१६*] सचाभात्यरचक्रराजकमगात्तत्पूर्वसेवावि-
 37 धि^५व्यावडांजलिशोभितेन गणं नाज्जा^६ यट^७हृदय(यम्) [१*] यद्यद्वत्तपरार्ध्यभूषण-
 गणै-
 38 नालकृतं तत्तथा ना भेदीरिति सत्यपालितयशस्थित्या यथा तद्विरा ॥[१७*]
 तेनेदम-
 39 निहविद्युच्चञ्चलभवलोक्त्य जीवितमसार(रम्) [१*] क्षितिदानपरमपुण्य प्रवर्तितो
 व्र(व्र)ह्म-
 40 दायोयं(यम्) ।[१८*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरत्रीधारा[व*]-
 41 र्देवपादाधुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरत्री-
 42 मत्प्रभूतवर्षपृष्ठवीवक्तभञ्जीवक्तभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशलो सर्वानेव यथा सव(व)-
 43 ध्यमानकान्नाद्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामभूटायुक्ताकानियुक्तकाधिकारिकामह-

^१ Read यावंन

^२ °गृह

^३ मौलिकमासिकेव विधृता See above, p 210, n 1

^४ Read विधिव्याचक्षा°.

^५ Read मूर्धा

^६ Read यदङ्गि

TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BERAR
B—LOHARA GRANT OF GOVINDA III, SAKA YEAR 734.

11a

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11b.

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- 44 त्तरादो(दीन्) समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं(तम्) । यथा मयूरखण्डोसमावासि-
तेन म-
45 या श्रीमहादेव्या ध्वा¹ विज्ञप्तिकया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकासुप्तिकापुण्ययशोभिषयै ॥²
46 [धा]राशिववास्तव्यत³त्रैविद्यसामान्यकाश्यपसगोत्रव(व)हृचसत्र(त्र)ह्यचारिणे भट्टभा[सो]-
पय-
47 सिषौ[त्रा]य अष्टमभट्टसुताय भट्टरिषिअप्पाय सुख(ख)विषयप्रतिव(व)वल्लोहारा-

Third Plate, First Side

- 48 ग्रामः कीलद्रङ्ग[क—रौ⁴]कसमन्वित⁵ तस्य चाघाटनानि पूर्वतः लघुलोहाराग्राम-
49 : दक्षिणतः सुदुपग्रामवय पश्चिम[त] पिप्परिकाग्रामः मारुतिकाग्रामश्च ।⁶
उत्त-
50 रतः सामरिपल्लग्रामखेडग्रामौ । एवमयं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितो ग्रामः रि-
51 षियप्तेनापि निवर्तनशतचतुष्टय(य)मात्मनिमि[त्तं] मान्यस्थित्या व(व)हृष्टत्वा(त्य)
माधवश्रीध-
52 रदो[धा]मअधकुटिदीक्षितप्रमुखाना षष्टिभागा[. ⁷] तथा लोकभट्टश्री[धर]दीक्षित-
मधुक-
53 द्विवेदिप्रथिविभट्टप्रमुखाना ष(ष)ष्टिभागाः एव विंशोत्तरशत(तं) महाजनस्याहरणीकतः
सोद्वंगः स-
54 परिकरः सदण्डदशापराधः समूतोपात्तप्रत्यायः सीत्यवमानविष्टिक सधान्यहिरण्या-
देयः अचाट-
55 भट्टप्रावेश्यः सर्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीय आचंद्रार्काण्यवक्षि-
56 तिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यः पूर्वप्रदत्तदेव-
57 ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मदायरहितोभ्यतरसिद्धा⁷ भूमिच्छिद्र⁸न्यायेन शकनृपकालातीतसवत्सरश-
58 तेषु सप्तसु चतुस्तुष्टदधिकेषु⁹ मार्गशिर[.]शुद्धप्रतिपदि सूर्यग्रहणमहापर्वणि व-
(व)लिच-
59 रुवैश्य(श्च)देवाग्निज्ञोक्षातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञक्रयो¹⁰त्सर्पणार्थं स्नात्वाद्योदकातिसर्गे-
60 ण प्रतिपादितः यतोऽस्योचितया ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायस्थित्या भुजतो भोजयतः क्षयतः

¹ This *alshara* is redundant

² These *dandas* are superfluous

³ Read तत्रैविद्य-

⁴ The *alsharas* in the brackets appear to be incised subsequently in place of the original ones

⁵ Here and in some places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed

⁶ This mark of punctuation is superfluous here

Read ⁷ सिद्धा

⁸ Read भूमिच्छिद्र

⁹ Read ऽदधिकेषु

¹⁰ Read त्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं

The record consists of a single sheet of copper, engraved on both sides and contains 28 lines of writing, of which the first 24 occur on the first side. The last line on the reverse has a peculiarity, the original record had left a considerable blank space between its 13th *akshara* (with which the text proper terminates) and the enumeration of the date in figures and words at the end, this space was afterwards filled out by another hand with 21 *aksharas* out of which the last two could not be accommodated therein and were consequently inscribed lower down.

The language is Sanskrit. The text is partly in verse, partly in prose. There are a few mistakes due, no doubt, to the scribe, but these are of minor importance. The alphabet agrees more or less closely with Tafel V, columns XX-XXIII, in Buhler's *Indische Palaeographie*.

The object of the document is to record the grant of a village called *Gambhārī*, by the *Mahāmāndalikā* *Udayarāja* whose overlord was the king *Indradhavalā*, jointly to the Brahmins, *Dhārēśvara* and *Mahāditya* in the proportion of three to two. The interpolated portion of line 28—*upādhyāya Dhārēśvarāya pañchahasya-bhūmīr=datā Chuchuddaṇṇā grāmē*—seems intended to specify the apportionment so far as concerned *Dhārēśvara*, if so, the village must have been alternatively designated *Chuchuddaṇṇā*. The document (except this interpolated portion) was caused to be written by the Thakkura śrī *Sujana*, the *Akshapatalika*.

The record opens with an invocation to Śiva (ll 1-2). It then proceeds to set out, with suitable eulogia, the lineage of king *Indradhavalā* the founder of his family was *Khadirapāla* in whose lineage was born king *Sādhava*, from whom was born king *Ranadhavalā*, whose son was the king *Pratāpadhavalā*, whose son was the king *Śrī-Sāhasa*, whose son was the king *Śrī-Vikrama*, whose brother was the great king (*mahānripati*) *Indradhavalā*. The next enumeration (ll 12-16) appertains to the family of *Udayarāja* his descent is traced back to the *Kadambas*, in whose lineage was born *Samarasimha*, whose son *Praharāja* became the Prime Minister (*pradhāna-sachiva*) to the (unnamed) king of the line of *Khadirapāla*, his son, *Udayarāja*, was a feudatory (*mahāmāndalikā*) under *Indradhavalā*.

It is stated (ll 15-16) that *Udayarāja* was left 'in charge' while his overlord, king *Indradhavalā*, was engaged in sports, surrounded by women. Possibly, *Indradhavalā* was, at the time, staying at *Udyanna*, which seems identifiable with the town *Bihār* (see *infra*, p 225), since there is a reference to the place (ll 9-10) in association with his ability for sport, albeit the sport of conquest (*Indradēvō nripa Udyannē [tri*] jagat-pratāpa samana-kṛidā garishtha dyutik*).

The grant was made (ll 16-18) at *Navanēra* (or *Navinara*?) *pattana*² (= mod. *Nabinagar*), after notifying, ordering and explaining to the assembled inhabitants of the village *Gambhārī* as well as to the king's officers beginning with the heir apparent (*yuvarāja*) and ending with the subordinate rulers and the military officers (*sāmanta-sēnādhipāṇika*). The rights conferred by the grant are enumerated in ll 18-19, they are the usual ones found in the records of the period. The date is given (ll 19-20) in words as *Śrīmad Vikramādityasya dvādaśa-śata samvatsarē chatuṣṭhī-pañchāsad-varṣādhikā Kārttika māsasya pūrnimāsyām(yām) tithau Soma dinē*, "in the year of *Śrīmad-Vikramāditya*, twelve centuries and fifty-four, on the full-moon day (*tithi*) of the *Kārttika* month, on Monday", and regularly corresponds to Monday, the 27th October, A D 1197.

In ll 20-22 are set out the genealogies of the two donees (1) *upādhyāya* śrī *Dhārēśvara*, of the *Brāhmaṇa* caste, and the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*, grandson of *pandita* śrī *Vāsu(su)dēva*, son of

¹ The metre requires a syllable like *tri*, in the record itself *tri* does not occur. [The reading is *dyā*, not *dya* and I suggest the restoration *udyann=ē[va*]* which is in keeping with the simile of the moon introduced in the verse. According to my reading there should be no reference to *Uddandapura* or *Bihār* —Ed.]

² [See below, p 229, n 2 —Ed.]

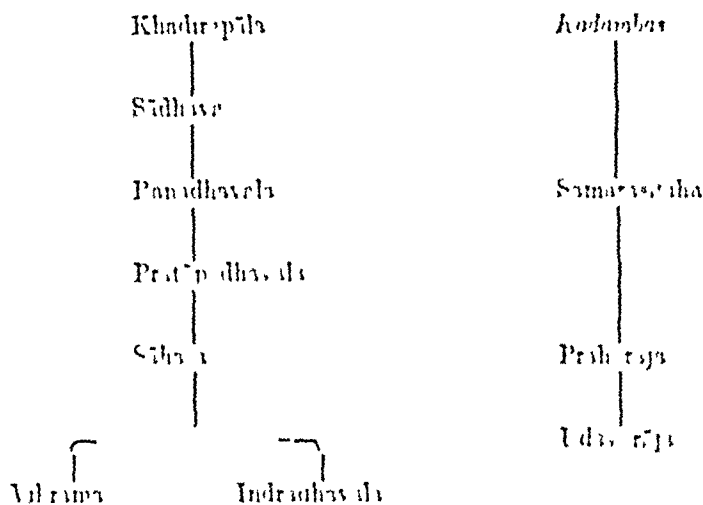
*āvasathī*¹ *sri Ri(Ri)sha*, and (2) *pandita sri Mahāditya*, of the *Brāhmaṇa* caste, and the *Kauśika* *gōtra*, grandson of *pandita sri Śrīdhara*, son of *pandita sri Kirttipāla*

In ll. 22-23 occur the statements that the grant was made by a copper plate with the usual auspicious ceremonies and the injunction that the customary rights should be given to the donees in obedience to the established custom.

Lines 23-27 contain the usual benedictive and imprecatory verse relating to land grants.

Lines 27-28 record that the document was caused to be written by the *Mahapatra*, *Jal Jura sri Sujana*, a son of the *Śrī Vātsyavajyā* *śāstra* community and the date is repeated in figures.

The historical value of this record is considerable. The following pedigree² of the ruling lines—one tracing itself back to *Khadirapāla*, another to *Samarasimha* of the *Kadamba* stock—are disclosed.



We already possess some knowledge about *Pratāp dhavala*. In his *Memoir on The Prince of Buzga* (1915), the late Mr. R. D. Banerji wrote—

"During the reign of *Lakṣmīnarsena* the western part of *Magadha* seems to have passed into the hands of the *Gūhadvāla* King of *Kanauj*. The local rulers practically acquired independence, as an example of which we may cite the name of the *Mahānāyaka Pratāp dhavala* of *Jāpala*. The earliest record of this generation is a short rock inscription near the *Tutrah Falls* in the *Sahabad District*, the date of which corresponds to 19th April, 1158 A.D. According to an unpublished inscription at *Rohtasgarh* the king set up some monuments on the 27th March, 1169 A.D. In the same district there is another rock inscription at *Tārāchandi* inscribed in the *Vikrama* era 1225 corresponding to 1169 A.D. According to another inscription at *Rohtasgarh*, the family to which this dynasty belonged is called *Khavāravāla Janaka*. The relation between this chief and the *Gūhadvāla* Kings of *Kanauj* has been made clear by the *Tārāchandi* inscription of the same prince. This inscription was edited by Dr. Fitz Edward Hall in 1860. According to this inscription, in *Samvat* 1225 on Wednesday, the 3rd day of the dark half of *Jyāishtha*, = 16th April,

¹ The reading *āvasathī* was first made out by Prof. Bose. It signifies a person keeping the sacred fire known as *āvasathya* which together with four other fires would be called *pañcāgnayah*. We are reminded of the tradition that five *pañcāgnī* *Prāhmans* were imported into Bengal by "Ācharya".

² Cf. the expression *śrīmay Japūya Chavāśika charana parakīja paryapāna para* applied to *Indradhavalā* in ll. 11-12 of our record. *Jāpala* is modern *Japla*.

1169 A D, Pratāpadhavalā announces that a certain copper plate recording the grant of the villages of Kalahandī and Badapilā has been obtained by several Brāhmanas by bribing one, Deu, the slave of King Vijayacandra of Kānyakubja. The inscription finally adds that the proprietary share of the rent should be collected yearly as before. This inscription shows very clearly that though Pratāpadhavalā was semi independent, he was obliged to recognize the suzerainty of the Gāhadavāla King of Kanauj. The villages stated above within his territories could be granted by the King of Kānyakubja to anybody he liked" (Memoirs A S B, Vol V, pp 107-8) ¹

The *Khayāravāla* of the Rohtasgadh inscription is evidently the *Khadirapāla* of our record. Reading between the lines the conventional eulogies attached to the princes descended from 'the great family' of Khadirapāla, we feel that it was Pratāpadhavalā who probably first attained an independent status by war. He is designated *Śaṅkara* and specially likened to Śiva in his aspect as the destroyer of the pride of Dakṣha. His son, Sāhasa, was doubtless an independent monarch, since he is described as being revered by kings once his enemies (*pranata-vairi narēndra mauḥi mānḥya lōkanada-pūṇṭa pāda pīṭhah*). I understand from Prof Bose that there is a place called Sāhasapura near the find spot of the record. It may have been named after Sāhasa. And it is interesting to observe the close resemblance, in style and phraseology, between our inscription and the copper plate land-grants of the Gāhadavāla kings the cessation of whose suzerainty over rulers of this region must have been a matter of recent history when the present record was issued.

King Vikrama, son of Sāhasa, is described in rather tame terms. His enemies are stated to have avoided facing a fight with him out of fear for the strength of his arms (v 7).

King Indradēva, also called Indradhavaladēva and Indradhavalā, was a brother of Vikrama. He seems to have considerably enlarged his kingdom by warfare. His titles, *parama Māhēśvara*, *sāi ṭlara vicḥāra Chaturānana* and *Mahānripati*, imply high status, the first two appear modelled on the styles *parama-Māhēśvara* and *Vāchaspati* of the Gāhadavālas. His other epithet, *samaranīksaṅkamaḥalla*, suggests connection with the Chālukyas, we may compare the epithet *Nīhsanka-sankara* applied to king Vallālasēna who married a Chālukya princess, Rāmadēvī, as proved by copper plate inscriptions of the Śīna kings ². In Ceylon, also, about this time, we come across a king called Kittinissanka, said to have belonged to the Kalinga race ³.

Indradhavaladēva, according to our inscription, was successful with his sword against his foes and is described as having shone in the sport of conquest at *Udyanna* or *Udyanna*. Udyanna or Udyanna seems to be identical with Tāranāth's *Ōtariapuri*, going back to some such form as *Uddiyana* or *Uddina* ⁴. Alberuni ⁵ gives the form *Udunpur*, in connection with his statement that the *Bhāikshukī lipi* ("script used by Buddhist monks") was current in that place situated in Pūrva dēśa.

The feudatory chief Udayarāja claims to belong to the *Kadamba kula* ⁶ and is styled *Mahā-māṇḍalika*. He seems to have been connected with the Kadambas of Goa. Our copper plate

¹ The ref. given by Banerji are *Ep Ind*, Vol. iv, p 311, *Ep Ind*, Vol v, App, pp 22, No 152, *J A O S*, Vol vi, p 547.

In Buchanan's *Shahabad Report* (Patna 1934), we are told of an inscription setting out the succession of these rulers (p 46), wherein Pratāpa, Vikrama and Sāhasa figure, but afterwards there are names which seem to indicate a change of dynasty. At p 48 of this Report there is mention of another inscription naming Pratāpa and Sāhasa, it is apparently identical with No 1759 of the "List of Inscriptions of Northern India" (above, Vol XX, App).

² Majumdar, *Inscr. of Bengal*, pp 58, 107, 118 etc.

³ *Cūlavamsa* (P T S ed.), ch 80.

⁴ [See above, p , n - Ed]

⁵ *India*, Vol 1, p 173 and Vol 2, p 314 (transl Sachau).

⁶ There is now a regular treatise on the Kadambas entitled *The Kadamba-Kula* by G M Moraes (Bombay, 1931) a copy of which was kindly placed at my disposal by Prof S K Chatterji.

begins with an invocation to Śiva as enemy of the demon Tripura, and we know that the family deity of the Goa Kadambas was Śiva in the same aspect (as *Sapta lōl īśvara*). The style *Mahā mūṇḍalīka*, known to have been affected also by Īśaṅgahōsha in the Ramgaj copper plate, seems to have been superior to the style *Mahāmāṇḍalīśvara* adopted by the feudatory families of the Kanarese districts including the Goa Kadambas. In a copper plate grant dated Śaka 1017¹, the Śilāhāra prince Anantadēva (or Anantapāla) calls himself *Mahāmāṇḍalīka* as well as *Mahāmāṇḍalīśvarādhipati*, so that we may perhaps presume that Udayarāja had *Mahāmāṇḍalīśvaras* under him. He may have been connected also with the Kadambas of Kalinga—a line of feudatory chiefs under the Ganga kings, his father's name, Praharāja, points in the same direction, since it is a family surname in Orissa, the surname occurs in Orissan records, e.g., in the Puri copper plate of Nṛsiṃhadēva IV, dated Śaka 1305, and the inscription of A.D. 1436 on the Javarājya doorway in the Temple of Jagannātha at Puri.²

Praharāja, father of Udayarāja, is stated to have been Prime Minister (*pradhāna sachiva*) to an unnamed prince of the family of Khadirapāla. This prince was in all probability Sāhasa. Some link between Praharāja and Sāhasa seems to be suggested by the circumstance that the words *sūta*, *varī*, *pranata* and *īrti* employed by the composer of our record in his description of Sāhasa are repeated by him in his description of Praharāja, and both descriptions are couched in the same metre, *Vasantatilālā*. Regarding Samarasimha, father of Praharāja, described in our copper plate as belonging to the Kadamba stock, it would be interesting to investigate data which might lead to his identity. In the *Prithvīrāja Vijaya*, a *Kādamba Vāsa* figures as Chief Adviser to Prithvīrāja who was victorious over the Muhammadans in 1192 A.D.³ In the *Prithvīrāja Rāsā*, a similar role is played by a *Sumar Sing Todā* who identifies him with the ruler of Chitor, says "The bard represents him as the Ulysses of the host, brave, cool, and skilful in the fight, prudent, wise, and eloquent in Council, pious and decorous on all occasions, beloved by his own chiefs, and revered by the vassals of the Chauhan." It seems possible that Prithvīrāja's Chief Adviser was remembered by his family designation *Kādamba Vāsa* (= *Kādamba-Vamsa*) in the tradition embodied in the *Prithvīrāja Vijaya*, while he was remembered by his personal name *Sumar Sing* in the tradition relied on by the author of the *Prithvīrāja Rāsā* and that the latter confounded him with a homonymous personage who ruled over Chitor long after Prithvīrāja. If so, we might perhaps think of identifying this *Kādamba Vāsa Sumar-Sing* with our *Kadambal ulvatamsa Samarasimha*.

Our inscription shows that Udayanna (Bihār) was, even at the end of October, A.D. 1197, not yet conquered by the Muhammadans. But its fall was not delayed. The event is usually assigned to the year A.D. 1197. It probably happened slightly later. There is every reason to believe that the capture of Nadiā took place in the cold season of A.D. 1199. The data given in the *Tabaqāt al-Aṣiri* seem to have the effect of placing the capture of the 'fortress of Bihār' less than one year before the fall of Nadiā. We are told⁴ that Muhammad ibn Bakhtiyār, after obtaining a fief in the Mirzāpur District, used to make occasional incursions into the territories of Monghyr ('Muner') and Bihār, and with the plunder thus secured, he organised an attack upon the fortified city called 'Bihār'. The attack succeeded, and the victor went with valuable booty to Quthub-ud-dīn who bestowed on him special favours. Meanwhile, astrologers at Nadiā announced their

¹ *Ind Ant* Vol IX, p. 35

² *J A S B*, Vol LXIV (1895), pp. 132, 134 and Vol LXII (1893), pp. 89, 92

³ *J R A S*, 1913, p. 277

⁴ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (Ed.—W. Crooke) Vol I, p. 301

⁵ [See above, p. 223, n. 1—Ed.]

⁶ *Tabaqāt al-Aṣiri*, transl. Raverty, (Bibl. Ind.), Vol 2, pp. 548ff

prediction that the man who had captured Bihār would invade Nadiā "next year", whereupon the king Rai Lakhmanīya (=Lakshmanasēna) permitted those who did not desire contact with the Muhammadans to leave his capital. We know from the *Adbhutasāgara* that the king was a believer in astrology, we may take it that he believed in the prophecy and was preparing to leave Nadiā, when Muhammad i Bakhtiyār, posing as a horse dealer, made his surprise attack on the palace. It would be reasonable to infer that the surprise attack was launched *before* the period assured by the prophecy, in other words, not more than about one year elapsed between the fall of the 'Bihār fortress' and the capture of Nadiā.

It appears from the *Tabaqāt i Nāsiri* account that the district of Monghyr ('Muner'), like Bihār, was at this period independent of Lakshmanasēna ('Rai Lakhmanīya'). Local tradition remembers it to have been under a Hindu king of Magadha called *Inderdaun* who is said to have succumbed to the Muhammadans led by Muhammad i Bakhtiyār. The stronghold of Inderdaun is reputed to have been at Jaynagar (near Kiul) where, the story goes, his treasury was located. According to O'Malley¹, the Jaynagar tradition affirms that Inderdaun had "a trusted warrior, whom he raised to the highest posts, until at last he asked for the hand of his master's daughter in marriage. The king was very angry, and had a cavern made in which he placed all his treasure. When all was safely stowed away, the king invited his general to see his treasury, and when he unsuspectingly went in, he let fall the trap door and sealed it with a magic seal. It was not long before he suffered for thus killing his best general, for the Muhammadans came down and drove him a fugitive from place to place, until he was obliged to fly to Orissa." According to Waddell² 'forts' ascribed to Inderdaun are pointed out by local people at Mt. Uran, 20 miles south-west of the town of Monghyr.

We may perhaps identify this *Inderdaun* with the Indradhavaladēva or Indradēva of our copper plate. The element *-dhavala* is found in the style Vikrama dhavala applied in a Kadamba record to a Chalukya king otherwise known as Vikramāditya³, our inscription also has a pun on *-dhavala* with reference to our *Vikramārka* (*dhavalita surāmārggē Vikramārkkasya rājā* II 89). The name *Inderdaun* is usually restored to Skt *Indradyumna*, where the element *dyumna* seems to correspond to the *dēva* in *Indradēva*. It is worth while enquiring if the 'trusted warrior' whom Inderdaun 'raised to the highest posts' was identical with our *mahāmāndālī* Udayarāja.

TEXT

[Metres v 1, *Śiagdhārā*, vv 2, 8, *Mālinī*, v 3, *Śikharim*, vv 4, 6, 9 and 14, *Śāndūlavikrīḍita*, vv 5, 7, 10 12, *Vasantatilakā*, v 13, *Indraṇṇṇā*, vv 15 20, *Anushtubh*, v 21, *Pushpitāgrā*]

Obverse

- 1 ॐ⁴ [॥*] क्षुभ्यत्समाख्यवानि खलदमरधुनो भातिकनिर्झराणि मस्यत्वोषोधराणि
प्रचलकचतलोत्तिसतारोत्तराणि ॥(1) मज्जद्मच्छलानि चसदसुरसुरोन्मुक्तोहाहा-
2 रवाणि चायन्ताम्बः समन्तात्तिपुरहरमहाताडवाडम्ब(स्व)राणि ॥[१॥*] महति खदिर-
पातस्थान्वये दुर्निवारप्रसरदसमसैन्यः साधवः समाधरोऽभूत(त्) ॥(1) यद-
सिद्धतस[म]-

¹ Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, *Monghyr*, Patna, 1926, pp. 218 9

² *J A S B*, 1892, pp 1ff

³ *Ind Ant*, Vol IV, pp 205 6

⁴ Expressed by a symbol

- 3 स्तारतिमत्तेभकुभस्थलविगलितमुक्तालंकाता भगरथीः ॥२॥^१ ततो जात, श्रीमान-
गणितगुणग्रामरुचिभिर्यशोभिस्तेजोभिस्त्रिजगद्वतीर्णाभुतभवः [१^{*}] स-
- 4 छात्रो वेरिपतिकेशिरःश्रेणिमणिभिः स्फुरत्पादोषान्तो रणवधननामा नितिपतिः
॥३॥^१ तत्पुत्रो भगवान्दीनकटकः सत्तृतिशोभाकरः अदाव(व)नुरवीरभद्रमद्वित,
सं[५॥]-
- 5 शक्तिदाम. ॥(१) नानादर्शनभोग्यभूर्त्तिमहिमाशयप्रचारो हृषप्रग्नानोऽतिव(व)लः प्रताप-
धवलो लोकेश्वरः शहरः ॥४॥^१ तस्यात्मजः प्रणतवरेनरेन्द्रमोनिमाणिप-
काकन[८५]-
- 6 जितपादपीठः [१^{*}] श्रीमादमो नगपतिः सुरसुन्दरीभिरुद्दीयमानभुजविक्रमविभ्र-
सयी ॥५॥^१ वैजयन्तीयकारप्रतिष्ठलउद्दीयकम्बु(स्)कान्तिच्छटागुष्टाकोभिन्दार
विक्रम[तथी य]-
- 7 स्त्रीर्त्तिविस्फूर्त्तिभिः [१^{*}] एता प्रस्फुरितोभिमेदुरचतु पाद्योविविच्छेदितच्छाचक्रो
करानिता गुसुगुमायन्ते ममन्तादिश. ॥६॥^१ तस्यात्मजश्चिभुवनप्रवरप्रवीर
श्री[वि]क्र-
- 8 सो नरपतिर्विजयी जगत्यां [१^{*}] यस्य प्रचण्डभुजदण्डपल्लवागवस्तारयो युधि
भृगु विमुखीभवन्ति ॥७॥^१ रिपुतिगिरनिजाय. सक्तभूमण्डलश्री. सरति गि-
रिदरीभ्योऽप्रणले स-
- 9 एलागे १. तरिपुजुमुदामे धामभिर्जामधारो धयनितसुरमार्गं विक्रमादेव राज्ञः
॥८॥^१ तद्भ्राता शितन्दरपणितरिपुश्रीरिन्देवो नृप उद्यमे जगत्ताप-
शमनक्री-
- 10 डागरिष्ठयुतिः । गोभिर्दिग्दपरान्यकारपटनमलव्य(व्य)पुत्रादय. साक्षाच्चन्द्र १. वापरी
विजयते भूमीशत्रुधामणिः ॥९॥^१ दुग्वाव्य(व्य)फेनरुचयो यदरिप्रिया-
णामप्यु]-
- 11 व्रतानि जहति स्तनमण्डलानि [१^{*}] नेत्रोत्पलादिगणदजगमित्रितानुसंपर्धमभवनाल-
लभिवेव हाराः ॥१०॥^१ सोऽग श्रीसक्तापिनीयवण्डिकाचरणपद्मेनपर्युपासन-
- 12 परपरभमाहेत्रसमरनि शक्तमभसारितविचारचतुराननमहापतिश्रीमदिन्द्रधवलदेवेन वि-
जयिना । श्रीमोत्कलो किल कदम्ब(स्)कुलावत न (तम)
- 13 स्फूर्ज्यशः समरसिंह इति प्रसिद्ध । तस्यात्मजः रुद्रिपालकुलप्रदीपच्छाप-
प्रधानसचिव प्रहराजनामा ॥११॥^१ वाचि स्त्रियः सुरगुरोः स समान-
बु(वु)दिः प्रख्यातकीर्त्तिरभ

^१ [See above, p. 223, n. 1 —Ed.]

Obverse

[illegible]

Reverse

26 28

- 14 वत्सलानुवासी । यस्य प्रतापदहनासमतापतप्ताः स्वर्गोपि शान्तिसुपयान्ति न
वैरिवीराः ॥[१२]*] तन्नन्दनो वन्दिजनाभिनन्दी वामेक्षणीवीक्षणीवल्लभः [१*] [श्री]-
- 15 भन्महोभाण्डलिका सजात^१[सुज्ञः] कलासुदयराजनाभा ॥[१३]*] यस्योदयसमग्र-
सङ्गरमिलप्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपतिप्रोद्गमेभयटामिपाटनपटौ दोर्दण्डयुग्मे
- 16 स्वय । साम्राज्य(ज्यं) सकलं निधाय विलसद्गमाजनैरावृतः स्वैर वीरनरेन्द्र
इन्द्रधवलः श्रीडारसं सेवते ॥[१४]*] स महाभाण्डलिकाश्रीउदयराजः ।
न[वने]रपत्तणा-
- 17 यां^२ । गम्भारीग्रामनिवासिलोकानुपगतानपि च राज्ञो युवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहितभाण्डा-
गारिकाचपटलिकप्रतीहारनैमित्तिकान्तःपुरिकदूतकारितुरगोद्व-
- 18 नौसाधनिवादण्डनायकासामन्तसेनाधिकारिकानाञ्चापयत्यादिशति वो(वो)धयति च विदि-
तमस्य भवता यथोपरिलिखितग्राम स्वशी(सी)मापर्यन्तं सजलस्थलं
- 19 सलोहलवणाकर सगर्तोषरः(रं) साम्रमधूजं वनवाटिकावृणजन्तुगोचरपर्यन्तं सोर्द्धाध्व-
तुराधाटिविशुद्ध ओमहिसमादित्यस्य द्वादशशतसम्पत्तरे
- 20 चतुःपचाशद्वर्ष(र्षा)धिक्षे कात्तिकमासस्य पूर्णिमास्या(यां) तिथौ सोमदिने ॥ भारद्वा-
जगोत्राय ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणजातीयपण्डितश्रीवाशु(सु)देवपौत्राय आवसथिश्रीरि(रि)प्रिपु-
त्राय उपा-
- 21 ध्यायश्रीधारेश्वराय अस्मै अग्रजय ३ तथा कौशिकगोत्राय ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणजा-
तीयपण्डितश्रीश्रीधरपौत्राय पण्डितश्रीकीर्तिपालपुत्राय पण्डितश्रीमहादित्याय
अस्मै अग्र-
- 22 इय २ विधिवत्(त्) ज्ञात्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिद्वये गोकार्ण-
कुशकुसुमकरतलोदकपूर्णं ज्ञात्वा चन्द्रार्कं यावत्ताम्रेणोदकपूर्णं शासनोक्त्य
- 23 प्रदापितवानिति मत्वा भागभोगादिक यथादीयमान पूर्वप्रवाहेनाज्ञाविधेयीभूय
दास्यथ [१*] तथा हि भवन्त्यत्र पौराणिकाः श्लोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिष्ठहति
- 24 यच्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [१*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ
॥[१५]*] व(व)हुभिर्व्यशु(सु)धा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिर्यस्य^३ यस्य प्रदा-
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-

Reverse

- 25 लम् ॥[१६]*] हिरण्यमणिसुक्तानि वस्त्राण्याभरणानि च [१*] तेन सर्वमिदं
दत्त येन दत्ता वशु(सु)न्धरा ॥[१७]*] पट्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति
भूमिदः [१*] आचक्षे चानुमत्ता(न्ता) च द्वये(व्ये)व नरकं व्रजेत(त्) ॥[१८]*]-

^१ Read सजात or स जात^२ [I would read पतलाया —Ed]^३ Read सगरादिभि । यस्य

- 26 तडागाना सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतेन च [1^{*}] गवां कीटिप्रदानेन भूमिहती न
सु(शु)ध्यति ॥[१८॥^{*}] गामिकां स्वर्गमिकां च भूमेरप्यर्चसङ्गुन [1^{*}] क्षत्र-
रक्षमायाति यावदाश्तस(स)ङ्गयम् ॥[२०॥^{*}] सकलसि-
- 27 दसुदाहन्तन्निभ(श)य्य स्मृतिविहित हितमात्मनो नरेन्द्रा. [1^{*}] सार्वतन्तरद्वभ-
विष्य स्वयमनुचित्व न कीर्तयो विनोप्या ॥[२१॥^{*}] निस्त्रापितमिद
त्रोधास्त्वकायस्यान्वयाच-
- 28 पटलिजटसुरत्रीसुजनेनेति ॥ 'उपाध्यायधारिभाराय पचद्वय भूमिर्दत्ता(त्ता) पुत्र-
ज्जवा ग्रामे' सम्वत् १२५४ कार्तिकशुदि १५ सोमे ॥

No. 35—SRINGI RISHI INSCRIPTION OF PRINCE MOKALA

By SAMPURN Pr. ARUNAVA KESAVA VAO, M.A., UDUMPI.

The inscription under consideration was noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Gannabharur Oghri in the *Indo-Iranian Rajaputana Museum*, 1st ser. 1924-25. He has also made full use of this record in his *Rajaputana kâ Itihâsa*.¹ But as the record is not yet published in full I edit it here for the first time at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

The place known as Srîngî-rîshi is situated in the heart of hills about a mile and a half west of the village Vikharani which is about four miles south-east of the town of Shri of Srî Chikmagalur and is rather difficult of access.

The inscription is fixed in a niche in the western wall of a small verandah below the temple whose plinth is about 1 ft. high from the level of the ground. It is of later construction and subsequent reconstruction of which is the main theme of the record.

Including *Srî* (*Srî*) *Itihâsa* *Mâtrâ* *etc.* on the top, there are in all thirty-one and a half lines of writing in the inscription which covers a space about 1' 10" broad by 1' 3" high. The record is engraved on a slab of black stone which has been damaged by two big cracks running almost parallel to each other. In addition to the cracks the slab is broken in three places thus destroying portions of the inscription.

With regard to the palaeography attention may be drawn to the representation of the medial vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* which are joined to the consonants both by *prâhîta* *etc.* and by *krô* *mâtrâs* side by side—for example *ofē* and *ō* *et purâvarē* (l. 8) and *krô* *Itihâsa* (l. 6) and for *ai* and *au* of *uttamâvarai* and *varnâdhikash* (l. 18) and *tâdai* (l. 17) and *prâhîta* (l. 9). This method of indicating the medial vowels may be due to the fact that though by this time Nāgarī characters had assumed almost a definite form, the representation of the medial vowel, particularly the diphthong *ai*, was still in a state of transition.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Of the few minor mistakes it shows, it may be pointed out that the dental nasal has been employed for the palatal one in *guhā gihān-pitā* (l. 5), *lasāhī-samāh* (l. 6) has been used for *lāhī samāh* and *śōyam prasthā* (l. 27, v. 28).

¹ This portion beginning with उपाध्याय is written in a different hand.

² The word यमि which the scribe could not fit into the space available was written below the line.

³ For quotations from this record, see *Rajaputana kâ Itihâsa*, 1st ser. II, foot notes on pp. 649-50.

for *s=ēyam praśastiḥ*. The word *gadha*¹ in *mandal āṣṭi gadhō*, (l 9) is evidently, a *dēśi* word. Besides, there are some mistakes of engraving which are noticed in dealing with the text.

Regarding orthography we find that the dental sibilant has once been employed for the palatal one in *Sambhur=akārūd=* (l 17). So, also *v* has once been used for *b* in *Śālē vāna-vasu-* (l 29). Consonant after *v* is occasionally reduplicated. The whole inscription is in verse except adorations to Viśva Mā[tā] (at the top) and Bhagavatī (l 1), as, well as portions of ll 28 and 32.²

The inscription belongs to the time of prince Mōkala of Mewār whose date of accession³ is not yet definitely known, and its object is to record the consecration of a small reservoir of water constructed by him at the hilly site known as Śringī-rīṣhi, thereby to achieve bliss in the other world for one of his wives, named Gaurāmbikā, who was apparently not living at the time. She came of the Bāghelā family, and was the daughter of some prince, only last three syllables of whose name, *iz nabhramā*⁴ are visible in the text now preserved. The ceremony took place on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvāṇa in the Vikrama year 1485 (= A D 1428). Mōkala accompanied by his other wife Māyāpurī worshipped the sage Rīṣhyaśringa and with the permission of his religious preceptor Trilōchana consecrated the reservoir.

The inscription is important inasmuch as it gives some historical information with regard to the four successive princes Hammīra, Kshētra, Laksha and Mōkala. It opens with an invocatory verse in praise of Bhārati, the goddess of learning, in the next verse the poet declares his intention of describing the princes born in the family of Bappa. Then begins the genealogy from Hammīra to Mōkala.

It has been said about Hammīra that he captured the city Chēla by name, and conquered by his might the notorious Bhīls who were his enemies. He went to Rānathambakā⁵ or Ranthambhor, and there killed Jatrēśvara who was inimical to him. He also reduced Palhanā-pura to ashes.

Chēla as mentioned here is the Chēlā-vāta of the Ēklingī inscription of V S 1545⁶ (= A D 1488) and the Jilwāda of modern times, situated on a high plateau on the north western border of Mewār, overlooking the territory of Gōdwār, a part of Mār wār. From the time of prince Rāi Mal (A D 1473-1509), this place has been in the possession of a Sōlankī Sardār as his *jāgīr*. Formerly this Sardār held authority over some portion of Gōdwār also, which was in all probability conquered by Hammīra together with Chēla. Before the time of Rāi Mal, the place might have been in the possession of the Chauhānas⁷. His victory over Bhīls means that Hammīra had also acquired the portion of Mewār now known as Bhōmata, almost fully occupied by the Bhil community, which evidently was not a part of Mewār at the time. Or, it may hint at

¹ See Hc̣machandra's *Dēśināmamālā*, p 99 (ed Bühler).

² Below this last half line of the record is clearly visible in the impression a line of writing too carelessly engraved to be legible. It appears to read *विष्णुपतिः* *विष्णुपतिः* and seems to be a later addition made by a mason engaged to repair the older structure of the verandah containing the inscription.

³ No record helpful in definitely determining either the date of the death of prince Laksha, the father of Mōkala, or the time of the latter's accession to the throne of Mewār has till now been discovered. But it is certain that Mōkala ascended the throne prior to V S 1478 (= A D 1421) as an inscription of his reign found in a ruined Jama temple at Jāwar is dated in that year.

⁴ It is not certain whether this is the concluding part of a personal or place name as the compound may be either *Karmadhāraya* or Genitive *Tatpurusha*.

⁵ The reading appears to be *Na[ratham]bālam* which, by metathesis, may stand for *Ranathambakam*=(Skt. *Ranastambhaka*), popularly known as Ranthambhor.

⁶ *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, pp 117-23.

⁷ *Rāj Itihās*, Fasc II, p 548, n 4.

the acquisition of the part of Mewār now known as Vāgada (Vatapadraka of inscriptions), which at present forms the territory of two different states, viz, Dūngarpur and Bānswārā¹ About the identification of Jaitrēśvara, who died at the hands of Hammīra, the present inscription does not give any clue But in v 25 of the Ēklingī inscription of V S 1545 mention has been made of a Jaitrakarna born in Ilāchala (Idar), sustaining the loss of life at the hands of Hammīra The *Ēkalīnga mākātmya* also mentions Jitakarna, the *Ilā durga-nāyaka* or 'the lord of the fort of Idar' as conquered by Hammīra Thus it is not difficult to ascertain that Jaitrēśvara of the present record was none else than Jaitrakarna of the inscription at Ēklingī and Jitakarna of the *Ēkalīnga mākātmya* He was, as is evident, the master of the fort of Idar, but when killed by Hammīra he seems to have been at Ranthambhor as known from this record There is absolutely no evidence to prove that Ranthambhor was a part of his dominions, but as it was at that time the centre of Rājput confederacy against the Pathān monarchy of Delhi, it seems quite probable that he might have gone there in connection with some such activity The last exploit of Hammīra as mentioned here is the reduction of Palhanāpura to ashes The latter is the phonetically decayed form of Prahlādanapura This city was founded by Prahlādana-dēva, the younger brother of Dhārāvarsha, the Paramāra ruler of Ābu Formerly it was a part of the Paramāra dominion, but now it is the capital of a separate state known as Pālanpur²

Hammīra was succeeded by his son Kshētra popularly known as Khētsī With regard to him it has been recorded here that he conquered Amī Śāha in battle, leaving alive not a single man of his army, and brought his entire treasury and numberless horses to his own capital He also demolished Māndalgarh which a monarch as mighty as Alā ud dīn had dared not touch

Though the present inscription is of little help in identifying Amī Śāha we are in a position to do so from other records Thus, this event has been mentioned in v 156 of the Princes' chapter of the *Ēkalīnga mākātmya*, as a bygone illustration to prince Kumbhā's victory over Mahamūd Khiljī of Mālwa, where Amī Śāha, conquered and killed by Kshētra, has been described as *Mālava pati* or the Sultān of Mālwa It is therefore clear that Amī Śāha whom prince Kshētra defeated, was the governor of Mālwa, and the scene of this battle was somewhere in the vicinity of the famous fort of Chitor as recorded in v 22³ of the unpublished inscription of V S 1517 (= A D 1460) located in the uppermost story of Kumbhā's Tower of Victory at Chitor Thus Amī Śāha was none else than Dilāvar Khān Ghūrī who was the first Sultān of Māndu (Mālwa) as known from the *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*⁴ He was contemporary to the Delhi Sultān Mahammad Tughlak Col Tod in his treatment of Kshētra says that 'he obtained a victory over the Delhi monarch Humāyūn at Bakrol'⁵ Here he has obviously been misled by the bardic chronicles wherein 'Amī' might have been identified with 'Humāyūn' on the meagre phonetic semblance between the two names, or the name of a well known monarch such as Humāyūn might have been inserted in place of that of one who was not so well-known, a practice that was not infrequent among the bards of Rājputānā Humāyūn ascended the throne in V S 1587 (= A D 1530), whereas Kshētra's accession had taken place in V S 1421 (= A D 1364) They, therefore, could not be contemporary to each other Rai Bahadur Ojha says that Col Tod had in his knowledge the dates of accession of both Kshētra and Humāyūn, but that the misstatement was due to not comparing them at the time of writing⁶

¹ *Raj Itihās*, Fasc II, p 549, n 1

² *Ibid*, p 549, n 2

³ *Ibid*, p 563, n 1

⁴ A Rogers' Eng Trans, Vol I, p 407

⁵ Tod's *Rajasthān*, Vol I, p 321 (W Crooke's ed.)

⁶ *Raj Itihās*, Fasc II, p 565, para 2.

Kshĕtra was succeeded by his son Laksha, about whom it has been stated in the present inscription that he was a prince of great religious ardour and that he freed Gayā of the barbarous tax levied by the Muhammadans, which all Hindu pilgrims had to pay. This tax was a source of great discomfort and torment to the Hindus and evidently prevented them to a great extent from undertaking any pilgrimages. Laksha, the pious Hindu prince, pacified the Muhammadan governor of Gayā with offers of gold and horses and got this tax totally abolished for the Hindus. This tax was in force not only at Gayā, but was, in fact, levied over *Tristhalī* or the three main Hindu religious centres, viz., Kāsī, Prayāga, and Gayā. Laksha got all these sacred places freed from the tax as known from v 207¹ of the Kumbhagarh inscription of V S 1517 (=A D 1460). This meritorious deed of Laksha also finds mention in v 38² of Rāi Mal's inscription of V S 1545 at Ēklingjī.

Mōkala, the son of Laksha, ascended the throne of Mewār after his father's death. According to this record he fought two battles, one with Fīrūz Khān and the other with Ahmad, wherein he utterly defeated both. This Fīrūz Khān was the son of Shams Khān Dandānī, the brother of Zafar Khān or Muzaffar Shāh I, whom Muhammad Tughluq II had appointed as the governor of Gujarāt in place of Furhut-ool moolk and who afterwards became an independent Sultān.³ When Tātār Khān, the son of Muzaffar Shāh, having deprived his father of his kingdom, himself seized the throne, he appointed Shams Khān, his uncle, as his minister. Shams Khān afterwards poisoned Tātār Khān at the instigation of Muzaffar Shāh,⁴ his brother, and the latter being pleased with this service had bestowed upon him the *qāqār* of Nāgor.⁵ When Shams Khān died, his son Fīrūz Khān became the owner of Nāgor. When he began to annoy Mōkala by his foul intentions, the latter attacked Nāgor and Fīrūz Khān fled from the field of battle and his army was utterly routed. This victory of Mōkala over Fīrūz Khān is recorded not only in this inscription, but also in v 51 of the Samiddhēśvara temple inscription⁶ at Chitor of the same year as the present one and in v 44 of the Ēklingjī inscription of V S 1545. The event is also described in Persian chronicles such as *Tibkhāt* & *Akbarī*, but there it is said that Rānā Mōkala was defeated by Fīrūz Khān and three thousand men of his army were killed in the battle.⁷ This discrepancy between the two records—epigraphical and historical,—has wrongly led the author of *Vīra-Vinōda* to think of two battles fought between Fīrūz Khān and Mōkala in one of which the latter was victorious and in the other defeated.⁸

Mōkala's second battle as known from this record was waged against Ahmad wherein also the latter was defeated. It is rather difficult to ascertain who this Ahmad was. In v 221⁹ of the Kumbhagarh inscription of V S 1517, Ahmad of our inscription has been confused with Mahammad whom Col. Tod has regarded as Nāsir ud-dīn Mahmūd, the grand-son of Fīrūz Tughluq, and the son of Muhammad Shāh, and whom he believes to have been defeated by Mōkala near Rāipur in Mewār, on his way to Gujarāt to which direction he was fleeing after his defeat at the hands of Tīmūr in the battlefield of Pāmpat.¹⁰ But this is not possible, for Tīmūr reached

¹ *Rāj. Itihās*, Fasc II, p 572, n 1

² *Bhāv. Inscr.*, p 111

³ *Rāj. Itihās*, Fasc II, p 584

⁴ Briggs, *Firishta*, Vol IV, p 9 and *Rāj. Itihās*, Fasc II, p 584

⁵ *Rāj. Itihās*, Fasc II, pp 584-85

⁶ Above, Vol II, p 417

⁷ Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, p 148, n 5

⁸ *Rāj. Itihās*, Fasc II, p 585, n 5

⁹ *Ibid.*, p 586, n 1

¹⁰ Tod's *Rajasthān*, Vol. I, p 331 (W. Crooke's ed.).

Delhi on December 18, A D 1398, a period much prior to the accession of Mōkala. Therefore Ahmad of our inscription seems to be Ahmad Shāh I of Gujarāt who was a contemporary of Mōkala and the latter might have defeated him in some battle. It also seems quite probable that the author of the Kumbhalgarh inscription might have inserted by mistake *Mahammad* in place of *Ahmad*, the two names being phonetically similar.¹ An attack of Ahmad Shāh I of Gujarāt directed against Jilwārā in the dominion of Rānā Mōkala, after extracting tribute from the ruler of Dūngarpur, has been referred to in *Tabkāt-i-Akbarī* and *Tārīkh-i-Ālfi*, but this event is said to have taken place in A H 836 (A D 1433) which is five years later than the time of our inscription.² This shows that the fight referred to in our inscription is quite different from that mentioned in the Persian chronicles. It is possible that Mōkala had to fight Ahmad Shāh twice.

Other historical information from the record with regard to Mōkala is that he erected a strong rampart with three gates round the famous shrine of Śrī Ēkalingajī. He weighed himself against gold, silver and other precious objects and gave them in charity as many as twenty-five times. He performed one of these ceremonies at the holy *Tīrtha* of Pushkar, on the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika.

The record was composed by one Yōgīśvara who had the epithets *Vānivilāsa* and *Kavirāja*. These epithets show that he was a very learned man and was held in high esteem at that time. Nothing else is directly known of him from this epigraph. The use of *ru* in place of the vowel *ri* in *Rushyasringa rushi* (l. 20), however, seems to suggest that he was a native of South India.

The mason (*sūtradhāra*) was **Phanā**, the son of Hādā. According to the inscription he was a famous figure and was held in high respect by others of his profession, and was fully conversant with works on literature and architecture.

The date of the inscription which is given both in numerals and in words is **Sunday, the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvana in Samvat 1485**. It seems to be irregular for it corresponds to Saturday, 17th July, 1428 A D.

TEXT³

श्रीः⁴विश्वमा[त्रे नमः]

1⁵ ॥०॥ श्रीभगवत्यै नमः । देवीं देवकिरीटवर्जनिकरासमोमिपादांबुजा वीणास्ताटि[क]
— — — — — [— — — —]⁶ — — — — —
— — — — —

2 [म]रती । नत्वा मोहहरां परा खजनीं मुक्तांसिद्धयुतां(णाम्) ॥१⁷ वीरान्व-
यजवशजान[धि] — — — [य]थावुद्धि तांका[श्वि] — — — — —
— — — [हंभीर]राजा[दि]-

¹ *Raj Itihāsa*, Fasc II, p. 586

² Bayley, *His of Guy*, p. 120, n. 4

³ From ink impressions and the original

⁴ Read *Śrī*

⁵ Each line generally ends with one or two *dandas* which are for the most part to be regarded either as ornamental or superfluous

⁶ Syllables within these brackets are only partially visible

⁷ Metre *Śardūlavatī-ṛīḍita*.

- 3 कान् । शश्वद्याचक्रवांछिताधिकेनसत्स्वर्णप्रदानोद्यतामंत्राभाहृतवैरिराजनिकरान्गौरी-
श[सिवाप]रान् ॥२^१ सीयं वप्पजवशमूषण[मणी रूपेण पु]ष्पायुधो हम्भी-
- 4 रो धरणीधरः [स]मभवहीर सुधीरो रणे । नित्या व्यासचराचरा विजयिनी
यस्येदुकुदो[ज्ज]ला कीर्ति[र्मूर्तिरि]वैश्वरी विजयते मान्या सदा भूमजा
(जाम्) ॥३^१ चेलात्थं पुरमग्रहीद-
- 5 रिगणान्मिस्तान्मुहागेहकान्जि(ञ्जित्वा) तानखिलान्निहत्य च व^२लात्स्थातासिना
संगरे । यो ग[त्वा] न[रथ]वकं समवधीज्जिनेश्वर वैरिणं यो दूरस्थित-
- 6 पत्तण्णापुरमपि क्रोधाकुलो दग्धवान् ॥४^१ एवं सर्वमकटकं समगमद्भूमडलं
भूपतिर्हमीरो लल[नास्तरः] सुरपदं सपात्य क(का)ञ्चित्तमाः^३ [I^४] सम्यग्-
महर तत. स्वतन-
- 7 [य] सुस्थाय राज्ञे निजे जेनं क्षत्रियवंशमडनमणि प्रत्यर्थिकालानल(लम्) ॥५^१
आजावभीसाहमसिप्रसोवोज्जित्वा च हत्वा यवनान्निशेधान् ॥(१) यः कोश-
जात तुरगानसंख्य[I]-
- 8 न्समानयत्स्वां किल राजधानीं(नीम्) ॥६^४ टिल्ली^५चारुपुरेश्वरेण बलिना सृष्टोपि
नो पाणिना राज्ञा श्रीमद[ला]वदीति विलसन्नान् [ग]जस्वामिना ।
सोपि जेनमहीभुजा
- 9 निजभुजप्रौढप्रभावादहो भग्नो विभ्रुतमडलाकतिगढो जित्वा समस्तानरीन् ॥७^१
इन्द्रेणासुरशकिना प्र^६म[ता स]प्रार्थितः शकारः सत्येते दशुजाः पद मम
बलादादातुकासा विभो ।
- 10 एव किं करवात्यथो वद हरः^७ श्रुत्वा वचः शशुना नीत[.४] जेनमही-
पतिनि(र्नि)जपदं दैत्यांतहेतोः स्वयं(यम्) ॥८^१ दिव्यागनाभूषि[तवास]भागे
दैत्याति(त)के जेनधराधिनाथे । स्वर्गस्थिते कल्पितदानदत्ते(क्षो)
- 11 लक्ष्मीभवदेवतर्षुधानां(नाम्) [I^४]८^८ येन कांचनतुलादिदानतस्त्रोषिता द्विजवरा । ✓
महीतले । येन दुर्जयसमस्तभूमजः संहृ[ता]ः सदसिधारया रणे ॥९^०
दत्वा(त्वा) [तुंगतु]रगहेमनिचयास्तस्मै गढ(या)-

^१ Metre *Sārdūlavāṛīḍita*

^२ The stroke in the body of this letter is too faint on the original to be visible in the impression

^३ The arrangement of words in this line is obscure *Samagamat* is to be connected with *sura padam* and *sampālya* with *bhū mamdalam*

^४ Metre *Upajati*

^५ The name of this well known capital of India begins either with *T* or *Dh* in most of the inscriptions of this period

^६ This syllable seems to have been engraved over an erasure

^७ Read *Hara*

^८ Metre *Indravajrā*

^९ Metre *Rathōddhatā*

- 12 [स्वा]भिने सुता येन हता गया कारभरावर्षाखनेकान्यतः । प्रीता स्वर्गता
वदति पितरस्त्वद्यापि सत्याशिषं तस्यासा[विति] लक्ष्मूललभुजो वशस्त्रि
नटनु ॥११¹ तस्मिन्प्रयाते त्रिदिव
- 13 — — लक्ष्मिर्पिसकल्पितकल्पहस्ते [।²] देवैकलिगार्चनव³क्षलक्षे विख्यातदुर्बोधनयैकदक्षे
॥१२³ तस्या⁴ क्ष्यापतिवदितात्रिकामलो [ल]क्षेश्वरस्यालजः श्रीभो(सा)च्योका
एष वशतिलका सपू⁵र्णचंद्रान-
- 14 [नः ।] — — [ग]हृतमत्रपावनजलैर्जाताभिषेकस्ततः स्व राज्य परिपालयत्यरि-
कुल सचासयन्सवेतः ॥१३¹ यस्याग्रे सभसूत्पलायनप[र]ः पेरीजपा(खा)ना⁵
स्वयं पात्वाहाह्वद⁵ दुःसहोपि समरे सत्यथ को-
- 15 — — [।] — — चाण्वशेन शुष्कवदनो सु[क्ता]नको १३-
वागश्वेनापि विवर्जितो गिरिशुहागिहात्रित साप्रत(तम्) ॥१४¹ यः पंचवि-
शति[तु]लाः ससदाद्विजै(जे)भ्यो हेनस्तथैव रजतस्य च फद्यकाना-
(नाम्) ।
- 16 — — — — — य विमुक्तिहेतो सोयं नृपो विजयते वरकीर्त्तिपूरः
॥१५⁶ येन स्फाटिकसछि(च्छि)तामय इव ख्यातो मञ्जी[स]डले प्राकारो
रचितः सुधाधवलितो देवैकलि-
- 17 — — — — — सत्पाटविलसद्वा(द्वा)रचयालगतः कैलास नु विहाय
स(शं)भुक्कारोद्यन्नाधिवासे मति(तिम्) ॥१६¹ कार्त्तिक्यामंथ पू[र्णि]मावरतिथौ
योदात्तुला काचनी शाखश्च प्रयस
- 18 — — — — — दिक् स द्विजैः । देवै पुष्करतीर्थसाधिवसुं नारायणं
शाखतं रुपेणादिवराहमुत्तमतरेः स्वर्णादिभ्यः पू[ज]यन् ॥१७¹ कान्धाधेनुधरा-
तुरगभरथत्रयादिदा-
- 19 — — — — — पुष्करेषु विदितो जेष्टा(ज्येष्ठा)[दि]षु अद्यया⁷ तेन
त्रस्तसभस्तभूपलनासगीतसत्कीर्त्तिना पु(खु)क्षाणान्वयशं[करे]ण सुधिया
विह्वलितेन चितौ ॥१८¹ पर्याये

¹ Metre *Sardulavirīta*

² The stroke in the body of this letter is too faint on the original to be visible in the impression

³ Metre *Indrajyā*

⁴ Pead *tasya*

⁵ The composer seems to have employed this foreign name without the case termination

⁶ Metre *Isantatīlakā*

⁷ The syllable *tam* seems to be carved over an erasure

SRINGI-RISHI INSCRIPTION OF PRINCE MOKALA

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32

SCALE TWO FIFTHS

- 20 . ७ — — ७ — परं(रम्) । रु(ऋ)व्यशृंगरु(ऋ)पिस्तो-
नव्याजमालव्य भूप[ति]ः ॥१८^१ किं वाच्यो महिमा गिरिरिह मया योगीश्व-
[रेण]मुना विख्यातस्य महीतले हिमवता
- 21 — — ७ — — ७ — । — — — ७ ७ — तरे निवसति श्रीशान्तया कातया
साक पुण्यनदीलसत्परिसरे साख्या(क्ष)द(ष्ट)पि[१८] शृंगिकः ॥२०^२ [यत्र]सौ
क्षणिकमेव वसतिः^३ श्रीमानृषी(षि)
- 22 [शृंगिकः पु]ण्याचारपरो विभाड[कस्तुतो योगी तपःसागरः । काले तत्र निरतरं
जलधरा वर्षत्यपारावु(भु)भिर्नैवाकालमृतिर्भवेन्न हि त[या वं]ध्या भवेयु ।
स्त्रियः ॥२१^२ बाधेलान्व-
- 23 यदीपिका वितरणप्रख्यातहस्ता च [या^४] णभ्रमभूमिपालतनया पुण्यायुध-
प्रेयसी(सीम्) [१८] या रूपेण निजेन ता समजयन्तीभाग्यसंशोभि[ता] या
सर्वत्र पतिप्रतागुणने सुख्यै-
- 24 व संकीर्त्यते ॥२२^२ तस्या[१८] सदिदीवरलो[चना]याः सपूर्णपीयूषकरानना[याः ।]
गुणान्विताया गुणतोषितायाः श्रीपार्वतीसेवनसादरा[या]ः ॥२३^४ गौराविकाया
निजवत्स-
- 25 भायाः सप्तोक्तसंप्राप्तिफलैकहेतोः [१८] एषा पुर[स्तस्य] विभाडस्तनोद्वा(व्वा)पी
निवद्धा किल मोकलेन ॥२४^५ बाध्या पुण्यसरिजलेन सतत संपूरितायाभिह
ज्ञान यः कुशते
- 26 द्विजः स हि भवेद्देवादिविद्याक्षती । राजन्यो यदि [कटकै]र्विरहितं प्राप्नोति
राज्यं चिर वैश्यो वैश्रवणाधिका श्रियमहो शूद्रोपि सौ[ष्ठ्यं प]रं(रम्) ॥२५^६ ✓
- १८ यः कुर्यादपिपचम्या
- 27 ज्ञान बाध्या प्रियान्वितः । ब्राह्मणो वा तथान्योपि स ल[भते]प्सित[फलं]
(लम्) ॥२६^१ योगेश्वरेण कविना रचिता मनोज्ञा सो(से)य प्रशस्तिरुचिता-
मृत[पूर्ण]वर्णा । आकर्ण्य या सुवि[बु]-
- 28 धाः सुखिनो भवति श्रीभार[ती]मिव कथा कलुषापहन्त्री(चीम्) ॥२७^७ [इति]
श्रीवाणीविलासकविराजयोगीश्वरविरचिता प्रशस्तिर्जयति ॥ मायापुरी[वल्ल]भया
समेतो विभाडस्त-

^१ Metre Anushtubh^२ Metre Śārdūlavakrīḍita^३ Read vasati^४ Metre Upajāti^५ Metre Indravajrā^६ Metre Vasantatilakā

- 29 न(नु) ¹परिपूजयस्त त्रिलोचनस्यात्मगुरोरनुज्ञा सप्राप्य चामीकरदान[दत्त][:]*
 ॥२८^२ शक्ते वा(वा)णवसुधुतिप्रविलसत्चं(चं)द्राकित(ति) धियुते पंचम्या
 शु(सु)तिथौ [र]वौ च नभसः पजे सिते
- 30 सग्मतिः [I]* श्री[मत्त]जनरेवरस्य तनयः श्रीमोकलो भूपतिर्विद्वद्वृन्द[विभूषितः]
 समकरोद्वापौप्रतिष्ठा(ठा)मिह ॥२९^३ उत्कीर्णपि(पि)लसुत्रधारगुरुणा से[यं]
 प्रशस्ति[:]* शुभा वि-
- 31 स्थाते[न] फनाभिधेन [सु]धिया द्वादामजेनामुना [I]* साहित्यादिकगि[त्वि]-
 शास्त्रविलसत्पा(त्पा)योधिना साधुना श्रीनारायणसेवकेन नृपतेः श्रीमोकल-
 स्वाज्ञया [॥३०*]^३
- 32 'सवत् १४८५ ययं आवण शुदि ५ रविदिन(ने) ॥ चिर(र) नंद[तु] ॥३१॥
 श्री. ।

TRANSLATION

[Obaisance to] the illustrious [Mother] of the universe Adoration to the illustrious Bhagavati

(Verse 1) Having paid obeisance to the illustrious goddess of learning, my supreme mother and the dispeller of delusion, with (*her*) lotus like feet (*lool'ing*) lovely with the gems on the crests of gods all round, holding a lyre and a crystal [rosary] . and wearing beautiful ornaments studded with pearls ,

(Verse 2) [I describe] to the best of my knowledge, the heroes such as prince Hammira, etc , the descendants of Bappa, who had been ever ready to offer shining gold more than desired by those in need, who had killed numbers of powerful enemies in battles and who had been devout worshippers of the Lord of Gauri (i e , Śiva)

(Verse 3) There came in being the well known ornamental gem to the family of the descendants of Bappa, the heroic prince Hammira, the very Cupid in form, resolute in battles and victorious, whose fame, like the body of Īśvara (i e , Śiva), permanent, all pervading, white as the moon and the jasmine flower and always respected by (*other*) princes reigns supreme

(Verse 4) (*It was he*) who captured the city of Chōla after having conquered and perforce killed in battle with (*his*) famous sword his enemies, the Bhils, residing in caves , who murdered the mimical Jaitrēśvara going himself to Narathambhaka (Ranthambhor) and also being agitated by anger, burnt down the distant city of Palhanāpura

(Verse 5) Hammira, the very god of love for damsels, having thus protected the earth for a certain number of years and having then established over his kingdom his son Kshōtra, (*who was*) an ornamental jewel of the Kshatriya race, the destructive fire to (*his*) enemies, and worthy well⁶ to take up responsibility, went to the abode of gods

¹ There is an *anusvara* over *pa* which is redundant

² Metre *Upajati*

³ Metre *Sāraūlavikrīḍita*

⁴ This half line begins from the middle of the slab

⁵ This is a topless *chha* and many people employ it even now particularly at the end of letters to denote auspiciousness

⁶ Lit well to wear armour सम्यग्बर्भर of the text echoes सम्यग्विनीतमयबर्भर कुमार of the *Raghuvamśa*, VIII, v 94.

(Verse 6) *(It was Kshētra)* who having conquered in battle **Amī Sāha** by the might of *(his)* sword and totally annihilated the **Yavanas**, verily brought the entire treasury and numberless steeds to his own capital

(Verse 7) Oh ! even that famous fort of **Mandala**,¹ which even the lord of the lovely city of Delhi, powerful and owning elephants, known by the shining name of **Alāvadī**, dared not touch with his hand, was shattered by prince Kshētra, after having conquered all the enemies with the impetuous might of his arms

(Verse 8) *(God)* Śankara was *(thus)* solicited by humble Indra in fear of demons, “ O Eternal Hara ! here are these demons aspiring to seize my position by force , O tell me, what should I do under such circumstances ? ” On hearing *(these)* words, prince Kshētra was taken away by Śambhu himself to his own abode, in order to destroy the demons

(Verse 9) Prince Kshētra, the death incarnate for demons, having *(thus)* settled down in heaven with heavenly damsels adorning *(his)* left side **Laksha**, expert in giving *(as much)* charities *(as could be)* imagined, came to be the desire-yielding tree for the learned

(Verse 10) *(It was he)* by whom best of the Brāhmanas on the surface of the earth were gratified by various charities, like gold weighed against himself, and by whom all *(other)* invincible princes were killed in battles with the sharp edge of *(his)* sword

(Verse 11) May the famous line of that prince Laksha ever rejoice *(in this world)* by whom **Gayā** *(the holy Tīrtha)* was freed from the burden of tax for a considerable number of years, by paying *(as ransom)* lofty horses and heaps of gold to the lord of Gayā, and for which *(whose)* ancestors gone to the upper world, gratified as they are, even now confer *(on him)* genuine benedictions

(Verse 12) That Laksha—who , who had assigned the desire-yielding tree to suppliants, who had *(his)* attention fixed upon the worship of God Ēkalanga and who had been the only expert in political matters which are avowed to be inscrutable—having gone to the upper world—,

(Verse 13) This illustrious **Mōkala**, the son of that lord Laksha, the holy forehead mark of the family, with face like the full moon and with lotus like feet revered by *(other)* princes, having been *(installed ling)* by bathing in water made holy by incantations *(and)* fetched from , protects his kingdom frightening the group of enemies all round

(Verse 14) *(It was he)* from whose presence **Pērōja Khānā** (**Fīrūz Khān**) himself had resorted to fleeing *(and)* Pātsāha **Ahmada**, although irresistible in battle . abandoning *(his)* has, at present, with face dried up, with hair dishevelled, with speech obstructed and bereft even of *(his)* horse, taken refuge in the habitation of a mountain cave in order to save .

(Verse 15) This well known prince, who weighed himself against gold, silver and *Phadyakas*² twenty five times and distributed them among *devīas* for the liberation of , and who is full of glorious fame, reigns supreme

(Verse 16) By him was erected a rampart, which was renowned all over the earth, which looked as if built of nice crystal slabs being whitewashed with lime and which was adorned with three beautiful gates having handsome panels, [round the site of] the God Ēkalanga, where Lord Śambhu had indeed made up his mind to reside, leaving aside Kailāsa

¹ Lit the circular fort, modern Māndalgarh

² This seems to be the name of a small silver coin whose value might have been worth two annas, for in some parts of Rājputānā a two anna piece is even now called a *Phadyā* or *Phadyaka* (*Rāj Itihās*, Fasc II, p 588, n 4)

(Verse 17) He who was conversant with the holy lore having first of all worshipped with high class gold, etc., the Eternal Nārāyaṇa with the (*external*) appearance of the Primeval Boar, at the holy site of Pushkara, [and having] in company of Brāhmanas—weighed himself against gold on the beautiful full-moon day of (*the month of*) Kārttika, and gave it away in charity

(Verse 18¹) By giving maidens, cows, pieces of land, horses, chariots, books, etc., in charity, looked upon in the land of Pushkara with reverence (*even*) among (*his*) seniors (?)

By him who was wise, dear to the learned on earth, conducive of felicity to the family of Khummāna and whose fame was sung by the frightened wives of all princes

(Verse 19) In turn Of the prince, resorting to the pretext of eulogising the sage Rishyaśringa

(Verse 20) How is to be described by me, this Yōgīśvara, the majesty of the mountain here, which is famous all over the earth and which with the Himālaya, and on which, in the beautiful vicinity of a holy river², resides (*the sage*) Rishyaśringa in person, with (*his*) beloved, the illustrious Śāntā

(Verse 21) Wherever this illustrious sage Śringika who is the son of Vibhāṇḍaka, who is an ocean of austerity, and solely given to meritorious deeds, puts up even for a moment, there the clouds pour inexhaustible waters at the proper time, untimely death never takes place and women do not remain barren

(Verse 22) (*For her*) who was illuminating to the family of Bāghclās, who had her hand renowned for charities, who was the daughter of prince nabhrama, who by virtue of her own beauty surpassed (*even*) Cupid's beloved (i.e., Ratī), who was graced with prosperity, (*and*) who in the enumeration of women true to their consorts is celebrated everywhere as the foremost—

(Verse 23) For her, whose eyes were like beautiful lotuses, whose face was like the full moon, who was possessed of merits, who could be pleased with merits (*and*) who took delight in attending upon the illustrious Pārvatī—

(Verse 24) For (*that*) Gaurāmbikā, his own beloved, this reservoir of water in front of that son of Vibhāṇḍa has been constructed by Mōkala with the sole view of her achieving (*a blissful situation in*) the other world

(Verse 25) Whosoever takes bath in (*this*) reservoir here, perpetually filled up with the waters of the holy river—(*if*) a Brāhmana, he verily becomes versed in (*branches of*) learning like Veda, etc., if a Kshatriya, (*he*) gains lasting royalty free of adversaries, (*if*) a Vaiśya, (*he obtains*) wealth more than that possessed by Kubūra, (*and if*) a Śūdra, (*he*) too gets a unique state of excellence

(Verse 26) Whosoever, a Brāhmana or anybody else, would bathe in (*this*) reservoir with (*his*) wife on (*the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada called*) Rishi Pāñchamī, (*he*) would gain his desired aim

(Verse 27) This well known charming panegyric—whose letters are appropriate and full of sweetness, (*and*) which the learned delight upon hearing as (*they do*) by (*hearing*) the illustrious story of the Mahābhārata, the dispeller of opacity—has been composed by the poet Yōgīśvara

(Line 28) Let there be victory to this panegyric composed by Yōgīśvara, the lord of poets (*lavirāja*), and who had the epithet Vānivilāsa (lit in whom moved gracefully the goddess of learning)

¹ Owing to their fragmentary nature it is difficult to understand correctly the sense of this and the next verse

² This really speaking is not a river but an ordinary mountain stream which flows in rainy season

(Verses 28 29) Prince Mōkala, son of the illustrious prince Laksha, of refined intellect and expert in giving charities of gold, after worshipping that son of Vibhānda, with his beloved Māyā-purī (and) having obtained the permission of his religious preceptor Trilōchana, consecrated the reservoir here attended by a host of learned people, on Sunday the auspicious fifth day of the bright half of Śrāvana in the happy year signified by the shining moon, the Vēdas, the Vasus and the arrows (=1485)

(Verse 30) This well known auspicious epigraph has been engraved by order of the illustrious prince Mōkala, by the famous and wise Phanā, who is the son of Hādā, who is foremost of all (other) masons, who is a glittering ocean of the lore of mechanics and literature, etc, and who is a devotee of the illustrious Nārāyaṇa

(Line 32) Sunday, the 5th of the bright half of Śrāvana in the year 1485 (of the Vikrama era) May (this) rejoice for long

NO 36 —A PALI COUNTERPART OF THE NALANDA TEXT OF PRATITYASAMUT-PADAVIBHANGA

BY BIMALA CHURN LAW, PH D, M A, B L, CALCUTTA

Dr N P Chakravarti has rendered a distinct service to Buddhist scholarship by editing from two brick inscriptions found at Nālandā¹ a Sanskrit text of what is presumably the *Pratītyasamutpāda vibhanga-sūtra*. This is found to be the same work as one on which Vasubandhu wrote a commentary, the title of which, as preserved in Tibetan, is *Pratītyasamutpāda vibhanga-nirdēśa*. Vasubandhu's commentary, only a few fragments of which have been published by Professor Tucci from a manuscript found in Nepal,² was popularly known as *Pratītyasamutpāda-vyākhyā*³. A Sanskrit text similar to that found at Nālandā was translated into Chinese by Yuan Chwang in 661 A D. The title of the Sanskrit original, as restored by Nanjo from the Chinese, is *Nīdāna sūtra*⁴. Now all that is wanted is a Pālī counterpart of the Nālandā text.

Though the actual title of the text is not recorded in any of the two brick inscriptions, there can be hardly any doubt that the text presented in them is a *Pratītyasamutpāda vibhanga sūtra*, a *Sūtra* of the *Vibhanga* or *Niddesa* class, of which several examples are to be found in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, particularly in its *Vibhanga-vagga*. As a *Sūtra*, the text bears all the main characteristics of a discourse, viz, an introduction, a statement of the subject matter, elucidation of the points raised, and a fitting conclusion.

Vibhanga is, of course, the same Buddhist term as *niddesa*, e g, *Sachcha niddesa*⁵=*Sachcha-vibhanga*⁶. The *Vibhanga suttas* developed and contained in the Five *Nikāyas*, i e, in the *Sutta-piṭaka*, represent the earlier stage or form of exegesis in the second book of the *Abhidhamma piṭaka*, called *Vibhanga*. The earlier or *Sutta* form of each *vibhanga* or exegesis has been distinguished in it as *Suttanta-bhāṇanīya* from *Abhidhamma bhāṇanīya*. In the *Suttanta bhāṇanīya* portion of each of the *vibhangas*, *Sachcha*, *Satipatthāna*, *Dhātu*, *Indriya*, and the rest, the unnecessary *Sūtra* characteristics have been done away with and only the relevant points have been concisely stated,

¹ Above, Vol XXI, pp 193 199

² J R A S, 1930, pp 611 623

³ Above, Vol XXI, p 200

⁴ Nanjo's Catalogue No 628

⁵ *Dīgha*, II, pp 304 313

⁶ *Majjhima*, III, pp 248 252

nothing of doctrinal importance being left out of consideration. The *Suttanta bhājanīyas* presuppose each a full text somewhere in the *Sutta pitāka*, but unfortunately all such texts cannot be traced in the extant Pāli Canon. The only reasonable inference to draw from this would be that the text of the Pāli Canon as it comes down to us is not complete in all respects, and accordingly it needs to be supplemented.

It is historically important to note that there is a Pāli counterpart of the Sanskrit *Pratītyasa mutpāda vibhanga sūtra*, which is contained in the *Suttanta bhājanīya* section of a *vibhanga*, called *Patichhasamuppāda vibhanga*. The title adopted in the P. T. S. edition of the *Abhidhamma* text is *Pachchayākāra vibhanga*.¹ But *Patichhasamuppāda vibhanga* is precisely the title under which the chapter was known to Buddhaghosa.² Besides the correspondence between the titles in Sanskrit and Pāli, there are other points in which the two texts show an agreement. First, in both, only the *anulōma* mode of formulation of the Law of Causal Genesis has been adopted to explain the *samudaya*, *ūchaya* or *prabhava* aspect of *dukkha*. Secondly, in both, the *uddēsa* or *dēsanā* is followed by a *vibhanga* or exegesis. Comparing the two texts, item by item, one may notice only slight differences here and there. But, upon the whole, there is nothing in excess and of importance in the Sanskrit version of the *Vibhanga sūtra* which is not included either in the Pāli *Patichhasamuppāda vibhanga* or in the text of the *Vibhanga* as a whole. Further, the *Abhidhamma* chapter has a purely *Abhidhamma* section without its counterpart in the Sanskrit text. One has to regret the loss of the full text of the Pāli *Patichhasamuppāda vibhanga sūtra* which is presupposed by the *Suttanta bhājanīya* in the *Abhidhamma* treatise.

NO. 37—A NOTE ON THE BARAH COPPER PLATE OF BHOGADEVA

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARIU, B.A., MADRAS

In his article on the above inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp. 15 ff.) Dr. Hirananda Sastri has wrongly understood two expressions and suggested interpretations which do not appear to be correct.

Dr. Sastri says (*ibid.*, p. 16) that the Maukharī King Śarvavarman is called *Paramēśvara* in the Aśīrgadh Seal inscription. But it is not so. Both this and the Nālandā Seal inscriptions³ call him *Paramamūhēśvara*. On the other hand it is the Dīū Baranārka inscription of Jīvitagupta II that refers, among previous kings, to *Paramēśvara Śarvarman*⁴ whom Fleet identifies with the Śarvavarman of the Aśīrgadh seal.⁵

Again, Dr. Sastri asserts that 'the fact that he is described as a *Paramēśvara* would show that he was a 'subordinate prince' (*loc. cit.*, p. 15). Here again the doctor is unfortunately misled, for the title in question denotes 'paramount sovereignty' (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 332), and not a subordinate position. It must be noted in this connection that this title was of such special significance that a conquering monarch took great pride in assuming it after he vanquished a mighty

¹ *Vibhanga*, pp. 135 ff.

² *Sammoha vinodanī*, p. 130. *Idam*
Lharatī ādinā nayena tantī nikkhitta

³ *C. I. I.* Vol. III, p. 220 and above, Vol. XXI, p. 74.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 216, text l. 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

Patichhasamuppāda vibhange yū ayarā aryyāpachchayā sañ

for The Western Chālukya king Satyāśraya acquired the surname *Paramēśvara* (*labdha Paramēśvar-āpara nāmadhēya*) by the conquest of Harshavardhana, the 'lord of the entire Northern Country'¹

In the matter of identifying *Paramēśvara* Śārvavarman with *Mahārāja* Śārva, of the Sañjān plates, who in his own words was a 'petty ruler', Dr Sastri, has, I think, fallen into an error in interpreting the significance not only of the surname *Paramēśvara* as pointed above, but also of the expression *anumatī*

The points to be considered in this connection are (1) whether "the petty ruler" Śārva of a kingdom at the foot of the Vindhya hills could or should have had any hand in the gift of a village lying in the Kānyakubja *bhukti*, which, from the nature of the circumstances, must have been directly under the king (*i.e.*, overlord) Nāgabhatta himself, whose capital was Kānyakubja and (2) whether the expression *anumatī* here connotes, the *sanction of an overlord to a gift made by his subordinate*. In fact the question of a suzerain's sanction does not arise here for the reason given in the foregoing clause, but it implies the confirmation and maintenance by a later king of the grant made by a predecessor. For example, we find that grants made by previous monarchs, of the same village to the same deity, were re-affirmed by the subsequent kings, in their respective times. A very good example of this is found in the Dēō Baranārka inscription of Jīvitagupta II (*C I I*, Vol III, p 216, text, lines 12 ff). From a careful study of this grant, it will be seen that the expression *śāsana* is applied to the original grant or later affirmation made by the overlord, the king (*ibid*, lines 13 and 16). The subsequent affirmations are made in accordance with the original gift (*cf* *pūrva dattakam=avalambya* of line 15 of the grant). The expression *anumatī* of the Barah copper plate must be construed in the sense of *anu[mō]dita* of line 17 of this grant. The issue, therefore, reduces itself to this, *viz.*, the grant made originally by (the Maukharī)² *Paramēśvara* Śārvavarman and confirmed later by (the Pratihāra) *Mahārāja* Nāgabhatta was restored by *Mahārāja* Bhōjadēva, after suspension (*of it*) for some time in the reign of Rāmabhadradēva.

The village granted as *agrahāra*, namely, Valākā is evidently Barah, where the plates were discovered.

Dr Sastri's readings and interpretations of two other important expressions in this inscription also appear to me to need correction.

In line 10 of the text (p 18) he reads *एङ्गा भोगञ्च सहाराजञ्च* *किञ्चित्कालम्विहतं* and translates it (p 19) as 'finding that the allotment was for the time being obstructed'. The original, I think, correctly reads *एङ्गा भोगञ्च* which would give the natural sense that 'the enjoyment was for some time obstructed'. There is no relevancy in supposing a reference here to *bhāga* while the plate actually reads '*bhōga*'.

A similar mistake is committed by the editor in his reading *प्राग्भोगक्रमेणैव* in line 13 of the text and translating it as 'in accordance with the same old apportionment'. Here also the plate actually reads *प्राग्भोगक्रमेणैव* which means 'in accordance with the original or previous enjoyment'. Here too there is no necessity or relevancy in assuming a reference to *bhāga*, *i.e.*, apportionment³.

¹ Above, Vol IX, p 100 and Vol X, p 102

² [Prof Bhandarkar is also inclined to identify Śārvavarman of the Barah Plate with the Maukharī prince of that name. See his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p 6, n 1.—Ed.]

³ [While this article was in the press, a note discussing some of the points noticed here, appeared in *I H Q*, Vol XIII No 3, pp 503 ff.—Ed.]

No. 38—A NOTE ON THE RAJAPURA COPPER PLATES OF MADHURĀNTAKADĪVA SAMVAT 987

By KHAN SAHIB S. R. DAVID

At the end of his explanatory note on these copper plates¹ Dr. Hirahol advances a theory that Bhramarakōṭya was possibly an alternative name of Chakralōṭya, on the ground that the name of Chakralōṭya seems to survive in Ghumara, which he believes to be a name given to the falls of the river Indrāvati at Chitrakōṭa. This theory is incorrect for the reason given below—

(i) *Ghumara* is not a proper name and it is not applicable only to the falls of the Indrāvati at Chitrakōṭa, it is a word used in Bṛhat meaning "waterfall".

(ii) In his introductory note Dr. Hirahol has stated "though styled 'Lord of Bhōṣavati the best of cities' Madhurāntakadīva appears to have been a *Maṇḍala* (feudatory chief) as the verse in ll. 24-25 shows that his rājya was limited to Bhramarakōṭya which is described as a *mandala* in l. 15". On the second plate in lines 15 and 16 it is stated that the village of Rājapura is situated in Bhramarakōṭya *mandala* (province). Again on the third plate in lines 28-29 names of witnesses from Chakralōṭya *mandala* are given. The grant was made in A. D. 1065 and Bhramarakōṭya *mandala* and Chakralōṭya *mandala* are mentioned in it as two separate units of administrative territories. Madhurāntakadīva was not only the feudatory chief of Bhramarakōṭya *mandala*, but appears to have been a relative of the ruling line, as his *barādāsa* are the same as those of the Nāṣayama line. We know from the Bṛhat inscription of the time of Jagadīśabhūṣana² that King Dhīravarha was alive in A. D. 1060 (i.e., 5 years before the grant of Rājapura was made by Madhurāntakadīva). At this time one Chakradīva, as the feudatory chief in South Bṛhat and it seems that Madhurāntakadīva was holding a similar position in Bhramarakōṭya *mandala*.

(iii) From the Kuruppal Tanjore inscription³ it is clear that King Dhīravarha's son Sōmavaradīva was the ruler of Chakralōṭya in A. D. 1069. We can say that much that King Dhīravarha's death took place between A. D. 1060 and 1069 and during this period (perhaps a period of minority administration) Madhurāntakadīva, although a *Maṇḍala*, became more powerful and perhaps made attempts to oust the rightful person from the throne. The Kuruppal stone inscription⁴ tells us that Sōmavaradīva finally defeated and killed Madhurāntakadīva.

Thus it will be seen that Bhramarakōṭya was not an alternative name of Chakralōṭya, as suggested by Dr. Hirahol. I would place Bhramarakōṭya *mandala* on the right bank of the river Narangī as it is stated in the copper plates that Rājapura is situated in the Bhramarakōṭya *mandala*.

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 179.

² *Ibid.*, p. 178.

³ Hirahol, *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.) No. 269.

⁴ Above, Vol. X, pp. 32 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 25 ff.

No 39 —ALLAHABAD MUSEUM INSCRIPTIONS OF THE YEAR 87

BY STEN KONOW, OSLO

The Government Epigraphist has sent me estampages of two inscriptions on stone slabs, now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum 'No particulars about their findspot', he says, 'are available but like the two inscriptions already published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XVIII, pp 159 160 these also have undoubtedly come from Kosam¹'

The two records mentioned by him were published by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahnū One, No II, belongs to the reign of the *Mahārāja Śivamēgha*, the other, No III, is, according to the editor, dated in the year 88, probably of the Gupta era, during the reign of the *Mahārāja Bhadramēgha* The latter, which I shall henceforth simply call **III**, is of special interest in the present connexion

According to Mr Sahnū it was secured from the village of Hasanābād, close to the ancient remains of Kosam It was lying near a well and would appear to have been used for sharpening tools and other utilitarian purposes The slab is rounded at the top and a portion of it is broken off at the bottom Its present dimensions are 2' 10' in height and the same in width, the thickness being only 3" Only four lines of the inscription now remain in the upper round portion of the stone, but that originally the record covered some more space of the slab is obvious from the traces of *aksharas* which have survived in the rest of the defaced surface His reading of the remaining portion is —

- 1 Mahārājasya śrī Bhadram[ēghasya]
- 2 [Samvatsa]rē 80 8 varsha paksha 3 divasa 5
- 3 sya Śamarasya (?) puttra Him[ī]ngana
- 4 ayayādāvadāra

The two inscriptions sent to me I shall distinguish as **a** and **b** respectively The slab containing **a** seems to be almost identical in shape with that described by the Rai Bahadur It is rounded at the top, and the inscription, in five lines, covers a space 2' 4" wide and 1' high The other slab is rectangular, and the record **b** is 1' 9" long, the height being 1' 4" There are seven lines, the seventh only containing two *aksharas* The contents of the two epigraphs are practically the same I shall therefore deal with them together and also discuss their bearing on the reading and interpretation of **III**

The **alphabet** is early Gupta or pre Gupta of the Eastern variety We find *la* with the downward turn of the left limb, *eg*, in *Mādgālī* b 4, and the characteristic eastern *ha*, *eg*, in *Mahārājasya* l 1, *sha*, on the other hand, has not the round eastern base stroke attached to the central bar as a loop

With regard to **individual letters** we may note the rounded *ē* in *saptāśītē* l 2, *putrēhi* l 4, *Shandhakēna* b l 5, etc, which looks like *ε* (the regular form is seen in *mēgha* b l 1), the *ri* in *bhrātrihī* b l 4 but regular in *tritiya* l 2, the different shapes of *llā* in *paḷāna* l 3, where the **a** form is calculated to raise doubt about the correctness of the reading I have therefore asked one of our leading authorities in Gupta palaeography, Dr Else Luiders, how she would read the *akshara*, without telling her how I read and explained it Without any hesitation she read *llā*, and this reading must be considered to be absolutely certain The final *m* with the

¹ [Mr B M Vyas, the Executive Officer, Allahābād Municipality, informs me that the inscriptions were found in a village adjacent to the Fort of Kauśāmbī in Manjhanpur Tahsil of the Allahābād District —Ed]

virāma stroke above is found in *siddham* in a l 1. The numeral symbols for 3, 5, 7, and 80 are used both in a and in b.

The execution and preservation of the inscriptions are, on the whole, very good. The sixth to eighth *akṣaras* of l 1, and the seventh and eighth of l 5 of a are defaced, and so are the final letters of ll 3 5 of b. There are, further, several superfluous and accidental strokes and dots, e.g., in a above l 1, above the *ra* of *saṃatīarē* l 2, across and above the *tā* of *ilāyam* and *īā* of *puruvāyam* l 3, before the *ra* mātrā of the second *putrēhi* l 4, after *Śaṃk[ā]ya* l 4, where the three strokes are perhaps meant to be a sign of division, across the right leg of *ga* in *bhagara-* l 4, in b after the *bha* and above the *gha* of *Bhadrāmēghasya* l 1, above the *ya* of *tritīya* l 2, above the *īyyā* of *saudāryyēhi* l 4, etc. The apparent *ra* mātrā above the *ē* of *ilāyam* a l 3 has perhaps been cancelled, and the same may be the case with the *ra* above *shk* in *pushkariṇyām* b l 5. The *ā* stroke is absent or defaced in several places, e.g., *Mahār[ā]jasya* a l 1, *sap[ā]sītē* a l 2, *il[ā]yam* b l 3, *pallānak[ā]jasya* l 3, *Śaṃk[ā]ya* a l 4, *bhagavat[ā] a(ā)ryyāya* a l 4 5, *sh[ā]p[ā]l[ā]* a l 5, the same is the case with the *ra* of *d[ra]śa* a l 3, the *ē* of *Bhadrām[ē]* at the end of a l 1 (and of III l 1) and of *Sandhak[ē]na* a l 4 and *sa[m]vatsar[ē]* b l 1, the *anuvāsa* in *punya[m]* a l 5, *sa[m]vatsar[ē]* b l 1, *il[ā]yam puruvāya[m]* b l 3, the *tā* in *sap[tā]-sītē* b l 2, etc.

The orthography is fairly consistent. But we find *vandhatu* a l 5, *varddhatu* b l 7, *Sandhak[ē]na* a l 4 for *Shandhakēna* b l 5. The writing *pratishehāpitā* for *pratiśthāpitā* b l 6 is a mere slip. Instead of *bhagara* a l 4 the engraver seems to have begun to write *bhagra*.

The language is mixed Sanskrit, and the dual has, as usual, been replaced by the plural. We may note the use of the plural dual of the words *putra* and *bhātṛi* for 'son and daughter', 'brother and sister', respectively, in accordance with Pāṇini I ii 68 (*bhrātṛiputrau śvasiḍuḥt-riḥyām*). The word *pallāna* for Sanskrit *paryāna* 'saddle', cannot in any way prove eastern affinities, on account of its *l*. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen* para 285, gives *pallāna* from Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, and it is a well known fact that such words are often widely distributed outside the territory where they have developed in accordance with the phonetical laws of an individual language or dialect, cf. the common *pallāna*, Sanskrit *paryanka*.

As already stated, the contents of the two records are almost identical, though some details are found only in a and others only in b. They record the setting up of two slabs as a seat (*āsa napallā*), at a pond (*pushkariṇyām*, only in b), for the Holy Noble Dēvī (*bhagavat[ā] a(ā)ryyāya dū[ā]ya*), only in a), by the son and daughter (*putrēhi*) of the saddler (*pallānak[ā]ra-*) Śap[h]ara, the brother and sister born from the same womb (*saudāryyēhi bhātṛihi*, only in b), the son and daughter of Mādgali (*Mādgali-putrēhi*), Śaṃkā and Shandhaka.

The two slabs were accordingly intended to form a seat for an image of Dēvī. It is then evident that the slab with the rounded top was to be placed vertically behind the image, and the rectangular one below it. In such circumstances we must evidently take a as the first record and this inference is further strengthened through the fact that a begins with *siddham*.

It is further evident that there can never have been more than two such slabs in the *āsana*, and this makes it necessary to say something about the slab containing inscription III, published by Mr. Sahni.

A look at the plate published with his paper will show at once that the slab containing III has the same shape as that on which a is engraved. And a close examination of the facsimile will show that the text is the same as that of a, with some minor differences.

It is easy to see that the defaced *akṣaras* in the beginning are, as in a, *siddham*. Then the first line contains *mahār[ā]jasya śī-Bhadrāma*, just as a, even with the same omission of the final

ē In the opening of l 2 we can still distinguish the first *akshara*, viz, *gha*, so that we must read *ghasya*. After this *a* runs *sa[m]vatsarē sapt[ā]sitē 80 7*, but there is not room enough for so many *aksharas* in **III**. Mr Sahni read the defaced letters which can still be traced at the end of the passage as *rē 80 8*, but that reading seems to me to be impossible. What he read as 8 looks like *da*, and what he took to be 80 can hardly be that numeral figure, which has a straight upright within a circle. Before the apparent *da* (Mr Sahni's 8) I can see a distinct *tī*¹. It almost has the appearance that the engraver had misread his draft. Then follows, as in **a**, *varshapaksha*, but instead of *a*'s *tritiya 3 drasa 5*, which runs into l 3, we find *3 drasa 5* as the end of l 2. The beginning of l 3 is effaced, and about ten or eleven *aksharas* are missing. What follows after the gap is clearly *sya Śapharasya putīhī Mādgal[i]*, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that the gap must be filled by the help of *a* as *[ētāyam pururāyam pallānakāra]sya putīhī Mādgalī [putīhī]*. Including the three letters of *putīhī* fifteen or sixteen *aksharas* are absolutely defaced at the beginning of **III** l 4, and as the end of the line can be read *vatyā āryā dēv a*, I have no doubt that we must restore the missing portion from **a** as *Śamkāya Shandhakēna chabhaga a*.

We thus arrive at the conclusion that **III** is practically identical with **a**, and we must try to explain this state of things. Now the traces of *aksharas* which Mr Sahni mentions, are hardly visible in the plate of **III** below l 4, and it is *a priori* not unlikely that the inscription was never completed, that the engraver, for some reason, did not proceed beyond l 4. And if I am right in my explanation of l 2, the reason was evidently that he had made some serious mistakes in copying his draft. In other words, the slab containing **III** was meant to form the back of the Dēvi throne, but was discarded when the engraver's slips were discovered, and the slab containing **a** was dressed and provided with a new and corrected legend in its stead.

In such circumstances it would be permissible to make use of **III** for settling the reading of **a**, because the engraver may have made some mistakes even there. And I think that such must have been the case in the name of the *pallānakāra*. In **a** it is clearly *Ś[ā]para*, while the second *akshara* in **b** is entirely defaced. Now **III** almost certainly has *Śaphara*, and I have little doubt that the actual form of the name was *Śāphara*.

Our records are dated in the year 87, in the third paksha of the Rains and on the 5th day. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni thought of the Gupta era, so that the corresponding Christian date would be in the summer of A D 406. The *Mahārāja Bhadramēgha* is not known from other sources, but we must apparently assume that he held sway in Kausāmbī. Little as we know about the history of Kausāmbī in early times, we cannot do more than to note the names of this *Mahārāja* and of the *Mahārāja Śivamēgha* of Mr Sahni's Inscription II. The latter is probably identical with the ruler known from a Bhītā seal, which Sir John Marshall² refers to the 2nd or 3rd Century, while the late Jyāswal³ thought of the 4th Century A D. If Sir John is right, the era of our record must be the Kanishka reckoning, and the date correspond to A D 215-6, while the Kalachuri era would take us to 335-6. Sir John's dating is perhaps, after all, the most probable one. The two rulers mentioned above evidently belong to one and the same dynasty, but we have no means of ascertaining who is the older of them.

TEXT

a

1. Siddham Mahār[ā]jasya sri-Bhadram[ē]-

2 ghasya sa[m]vatsarē sapt[ā]sitē 80 7 varsha-paksha tritī-

¹ [From the impression Mr Sahni's reading appears to be correct.—Ed.]

² *AS I, An Rep* 1911 12, p 61

³ *J B O R S*, Vol XIX, p 299

3 ya 3 d[ɪ]vasa 5 ē[tā]yam puruvāyam pallānak[ā]rasya Ś[ā]pa(pha)
 4 rasya putrēhi [Mādgali] putrēhi Śamk[ā]ya Sandhak[ē]na cha bha[ga]va-
 5 ty[i] a(i)vyāya d[ē]vī[yā] ś[ā]sanapattā sth[ā]pit[ā] [i'] Punya[m] vardhatu [||*]

b

1 Mahār[ī]asya śrī-Bhadremēghasya¹ sa[m]vatsar[ē] sa-
 2 p[tā]sitē 80 7 varsha-paksha tritīya 3 divasa [pa]-
 3 ſchama 5 ē[tā]yam puruvāya[m] pallānak[ā]rasya Śapa(Śāpha)
 4 rasya putrēhi saudāryyēhi bhrāt[r]hi Mādgali[pu]trē
 5 hi Śamkāya Shandhakēna cha pushki(shka)riyām ā[sa]-
 6 napattā pratishchā(shthā)pitā [i'] Priyatām dharmma Punyam va-
 7 rddhatu [||*]

TRANSLATION ²

[Hail]-Of the *Mahārāja śrī-Bhadramēgha*, in the eighty-seventh-87-year, the third-3-paksha of the Rains, (the fifth)-5-day, at this date, by the son and daughter of the saddler Śāphara, (the brother and sister from the same womb), the son and daughter of Mādgali, Śamkā and Shandhaka, slabs for a seat [for the Holy Noble Dēvi] were put up (at her pond May Dharma be pleased) May merit increase

No 40 —SONEPUR PLATES OF MAHA BHAVAGUPTA(II)-JANAMEJAYA , THE YEAR 17

By B CH CHHABRA, M A , M O L , P H D (LUGD), OOTACAMUND

These plates were first inspected by me at Sonepur Raj, the headquarters of the Sonepur State in Orissa in November 1936 when I was on tour in that part. Regarding their discovery I have been told that some three years prior to my visit certain workmen, while digging foundations on a plot of land opposite the modern Khambāsvarai temple at **Sonepur Raj**, lighted upon a massive stone coffer which was forthwith made over to the State authorities. It was this box that contained the present plates. This along with its contents had since been kept intact at the Sonepur Police Station where it was shown to me. It is oblong in shape and measures 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ " long, 12" broad and 13' high. It has a shipping lid on it and was evidently designed specially for the safe deposit of the *tāmrāsāna*. It was not possible then to examine the writing on the plates, because they had been preserved just as they were found, stuck together with crust and verdigris.

Later, in April 1937, the plates were obtained on loan from the Sonepur Durbar by the Government Epigraphist for India, who got them properly cleaned by the Archaeological Chemist in India and had their impressions taken. This afforded me an opportunity of studying the record from the original as well as from its inked estampages.

The document consists of **three copper leaves**, held together by a ring of the same metal. Each leaf is slightly narrower in the middle and measures about 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ' long by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high at either end. The ring is 4' in diameter. Its ends are secured under a circular seal (diameter 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ") The seal is completely defaced so that it cannot be ascertained whether it originally contained any legend. It shows, however, some very faint traces of the Gajalakshmi symbol in the centre. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 202 *tolas*. The first plate is inscribed only on one face, while the remaining two bear writing on both the sides. There are altogether 51 lines of writing,

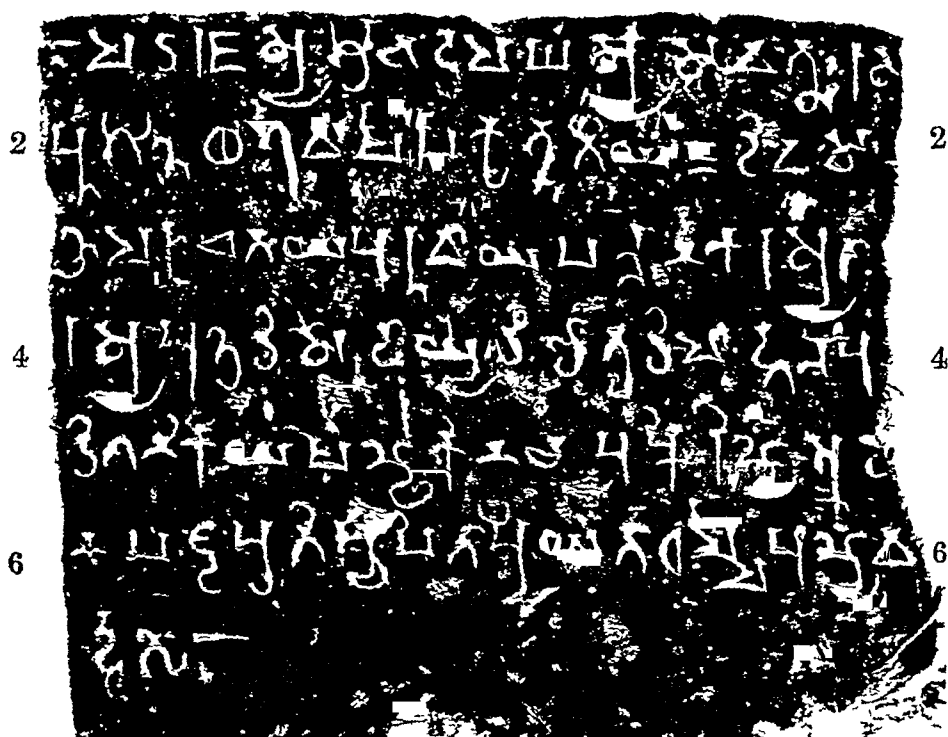
¹ [The name in question decidedly ends in *magha* as found in other inscriptions including those recently discovered. The stroke above *m* in this record may be accidental.—Ed.]

² Brackets = in **a** only, parentheses = in **b** only

A



B



of which 11 are on the first face, 12 on the second, 13 on each of the third and the fourth and only 2 on the fifth

The alphabet is of the same northern type as is usually found in the records of Sōmavamsī rulers of Kōśala. The language is Sanskrit. The record is composed in prose, except that twelve of the customary verses and a eulogistic one occur at the end. Of orthography the following points may be noted: (1) As a rule, *s* is used for *ś*, *śudhyati* (l 33) and *sula*^o (l 37) being exceptions. However, *s* is correctly used in those conjunct consonants where it appears as the first member, e.g., *śrī*, *śva*, *ścha*, etc. (2) *B* is invariably represented by the sign for *v*. (3) The consonant after *i* is doubled in most cases. (4) An *anusvāra* takes the place of a final *m*. (5) The sign for *avagraha* is employed twice (l 21 and l 45). (6) *Sandhi* is not observed in a few cases. Besides, the inscription contains various mistakes, such as wrong spelling, incorrect grammar, omission of letters and words, etc. They, too, have been pointed out partly in the text and partly in the notes below.

The inscription belongs to the Sōmakulī *P M P* Mahā-Bhavaguptarājadēva(II)-Janamējayadēva, the successor of the *P M P* Śivaguptadēva. It records the donation of a village, called Gōttaikēlā, included in the Luputurā-khanda in Kōśalā. While the king himself is the donor, the donee is *Kamalarāna vanik-sthāna*, by which term possibly a merchants' association is meant. This *vanik sthāna* is described to have migrated from Khadirapadra and to be resident in Suvarṇapura. It is further stated that the Kamalarāna Merchants' Association transferred the same gift, as a registered grant, to *Śrī Kēsava bhattāraka dēvakula* and *Śrī-Ādityabhattāraka dēvakula* (i.e., two temples, one of Vishnu and the other of Sūrya) for defraying the costs of offerings to the deities and of repairs to the shrines.

The charter was issued from Ārāma on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshādhā in the 17th year of the king Janamējayadēva's reign. It was written by Kailāsa's son, Alava, the *Māhākshapatalin* (attached to) the *Mahāsandhivigrahin Rānaka* Malladatta, and engraved by Haradāsa, son of Sivullī. The writer Alava is undoubtedly identical with Kailāsa's son, Allava, the *Kāyastha*, who wrote the Nāgpur Museum Plates of the 8th year, in which he is explicitly mentioned to be connected (*pratibaddha*) with the *Mahāsandhivigrahin Rānaka*, Malladatta, son of Dhārādatta¹. This Malladatta appears to have served for a long time as Minister of War and Peace under Mahā Bhavagupta(II)-Janamējaya, for he figures in his Pātnā Plates of the 6th year² on the one extreme and in his three Katak Grants of the 31st year³ on the other. As may appear from the above references, several copper plate grants of Mahā-Bhavagupta(II)-Janamējaya have already been published, from which we know the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 13th and 31st years of his reign⁴. The record under discussion now adds the 17th year to that list.

The king had a minister, named Sādhārana, who is highly extolled in a stanza towards the close of the present inscription. He is described there to be a profound scholar and an able administrator, in whom the king reposed great reliance. The same person acted as *Dūtaka* in the Nāgpur Museum Plates referred to above, wherein his father's name is stated to be Śōbhana and he himself is styled *Mahāmahattama Bhata(tta)*, but is not mentioned as *Mantrin*. Probably he was raised to ministership sometime subsequent to the 8th year of the king's reign. Evidently he, too, remained long in service, enjoying royal favours all along. He received a munificent gift of four villages from his master in the latter's 31st regnal year, as is recorded in the

¹ Above, Vol VIII, p 143, Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No 1560

² *J P A S B*, Vol I (1905), p 13, Bhandarkar's *List*, No 1558

³ Above, Vol III p 350 and note 5, Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos 1562-64

⁴ Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos 1557-1564

aforementioned three Katak Grants. From these records we learn that Sādhārana was 'in immigrant from Takārī, a resident of Turvunā in Kōśala, belonging to the Bharadvāja gōtra' ¹

Of the localities mentioned in the record, **Suvarnapura** is the same as the modern town of Sonpur, situated at the confluence of the Teṭi and the Mahanadi ². **Ārāma**, from where the charter was issued is described to be a prosperous city with palatial buildings, temples, gardens, tanks and what not. On the other hand, we know that the three Katak Grants of the 31st year were issued from the same Ārāma, but that in those records it appears as a mere site of the royal camp (*kataka*) ³. Besides, a part of the description of Ārāma in the present plates is practically identical⁴ with the account of Murasīman (another camping place from where some of Mahā Bhavagupta(II) Janamājaya's grants have been issued) in the Nāgpur Museum Plates of the 8th year. It follows, therefore, that the present description of Ārāma is only conventional and may not be depended upon as an exact portrayal of the locality. In view of these considerations it is safer to assume that Ārāma was a place, perhaps not far from the town of Sonpur,⁵ where the royal camp was often pitched. **Luputurāḥanda**, wherein the donated village was included is mentioned also in an earlier grant of the same donor where the word is spelt as *Luputurī* ⁶. According to Rai Bahadur Hira Lal⁷ this *Luputurāḥanda* is probably the same as *Lapatungā* of the Pīṭnī Plates of the 6th year⁸ which he was inclined to identify with *Lepta*, six miles south-east of Bolingū in the Pīṭnī State. B. C. Mazumdar⁹ has, on the other hand, pointed out *Nuptara* and *Nupir-singa* within the Sonpur State one of which he thought, must be identical with *Luputurā*. I agree with the latter view and opine that *Nuptara* must be the village after which *Luputurī-ḥanda* was named. As for **Gōttaikēlā** the donated village Mr. Sirkar, the Secretary of the Sonpur State, kindly informs me that it is now known as *Gotirkela* and is about three miles from the town of Sonpur.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 ॐ¹¹ स्वस्वमल्लमणिःकुट्टिममदनच(व)लयन¹-कवरवार¹विलासिनोज
- 2 नचर¹¹नृपुररवचक्र(स्त)पाराप(व)तकुलपचस्वनव(व)धिरितदगदि¹¹नाना-

¹ Above, Vol. III, p. 359. The reading seems to be *Luricula* rather than *Turicula*. See also below p. 253, n. 7.
 - We have *Teṭi Mahanadi anjama imala jala paitrikrita* *pittana Suvarnapur atisla*
srīmad vijaya kataka in the 14-ungī Durgā Plates of Mahā Bhavagupta(II) Dated 1541 B. O. P. S. Vol. II, p. 52. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1556.

² *Śrīmad Īrama samasasīnah śrīmatā vijaya kataka*. It may be pointed out here that I lect. who has edited these grants, has explained *Īrama* as 'pleasure garden' and taken *kataka* for (the city of) *Kataka*, identifying it with the modern Cuttack. Some other scholars have correctly taken this word in the sense of 'camp'. See above, Vol. XI, pp. 188f.

³ See below n. 14.

⁴ Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1558-60.

⁵ We may even take *Īrama* to mean 'a pleasure garden' with a palace where the king occasionally resided.

⁶ Above, Vol. XI, p. 94. It has been read as *Lupattara* but the correct reading is *Luputurā*.

⁷ Above, Vol. XI, p. 201.

⁸ Above, Vol. III, p. 344.

⁹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 101.

¹⁰ Expressed by a symbol.

¹¹ This *alshara* looks more like *ne*. The *ī* stroke is parted into two at the end, whereby perhaps *ai* is meant. The proper sign for *ai* *matrā* is, however, seen below in *nai* of *naiḥadya* l. 23.

¹² The letter *ra* is clear on the plate, though the impression shows a curve against the horizontal stroke of it.

¹³ Read *da a diṣṭa nana*. With this description we may compare *anika tara vilasini charana nūpū(nupu) ra rai ṣḍbhraṇta malla parurata lalata(t) sakala diṣ antar ugata vandi jana vistarita lirtle rīmatō Murasī(ṣī)-manah* of the Nāgpur Museum Plates of the 8th year (above, Volume VIII, p. 141).

- 3 देसा(शा)न्तरादागतवन्दिजनविस्तारितकि(की)र्त्तैर्विविधविद्यालंकृतविद्वज्जन-
 4 नितकाव्यालापस्तुतधनपतिविभवस्था¹र्क्षितरचितविचित्रप्रासादाद्या-
 5 लिकादेवकुलोद्यानवापीकूपतडागोपसो(शो)भाजितसुरपुरम्-
 6 हिम्नः ।² प्रचण्डदोर्दण्डमण्डलाग्रतुण्डस्वण्डितारातिमत्त-
 7 मातङ्गविमुक्तसुक्ताफलप्रसाधितासे(शे)षमहीमण्डल³
 8 सकलभूपालमौलिमालाविलग्नभाणिक्यमयु(यू)खप्रातामिरञ्जि-
 9 तक्रमकमलयुगलात्⁴ श्रीमदाराभात् परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
 10 धिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीसि(शि)वगुप्तदेवपादानुध्या-
 11 तपरममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-

Second Plate , First Side

- 12 सोमकुलतिलकचिकलिलङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमन्मवगुप्तराजदेवः कुस(श)-
 13 ली कोसलायां⁵ गुपुतुराखण्डप्रतिव(व)क्ष्णोत्तङ्कलाग्रामे ।² ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् सपु(पू)-
 14 ज्य तद्विष-
 15 यौयथाकालाध्यासिनः समार्हृतसन्निधातुदाण्डपासि(शि)कपिसु(शु)नवेतुका-⁶
 16 वरोधजनराजवत्समादौन् सर्वान् समाज्ञापयति । विदितमस्तु भवता ।² य-
 17 थास्मामिरथं ग्रामः सनिधिं सोपनिधिं सर्ववा(वा)धाविवर्जितः सर्वोपरिक-
 18 रकरादानसमेतः साम्र(स्त्र)मधुक' सगर्तोपरश्चतु[.]²सीमाप-
 19 र्यन्तः सजलस्थलसहितः ।² खदिरपट्टविनिग्गताय सुवर्ण-
 20 पुरवास्तुव्याय श्रीकमलवनवर्णिक्योनाय सलिलधारापुरःसरमाच-
 21 न्दतार'कार्काक्षितिसमकालोपभोगार्थं मातृ(ता)पित्रोरत्ननक्ष पुण्यसो(शो)-
 22 ऽमिहृष्ये ताम्र(स्त्र)सा(शा)सनेनावारौक्त्य प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत्य समुचित-

¹ Probably the intended reading is *vibhava sparaddhinō rachita*

² This *danda* is unnecessary

³ Read *prasadhita uscsha rana mahi mandalah* This and the following compound qualify *Maha Bhavaguptharajadeva* and not *Arāma* These two attributes of the king occur also in his Katak Plates of the 31st year (above, Vol III, p 349, text II 34 37)

⁴ Read *yuṣṭalāh* and see the foregoing note

⁵ The word *Kōśalayām*, which was evidently first omitted by inadvertence and later supplied, is engraved in smaller characters on the space above the ring hole opposite l 17 and is to be read after *kusalī* in l 13, as indicated by a *kālapada* sign after each of the two words

⁶ Read *vairūḥ a°*

The letter *ra* appears below the line Evidently it was first omitted and was later supplied

- 22 भोगभागकरहिरण्यादिभिर्भवंति सुखेन प्रतिवस्तुष्वर्थं (व्यम्) । अनेनापि प्रा-
 23 सं(स)सा(शा)सनेन सुवर्णपुगेयथोकमलवनवगिक्स्थानेन व(व)लिचरनेवेद्य-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 24 खण्डस्फुटितप्रतिकरणार्थं (य 01 र्थ) श्रीकेस(श)वर्थाआदित्यभट्टारकाभ्या । टंक्कुलो(ला)-
 25 भ्या सा(शा)सनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः¹ । भाविभिद्य भूपति भिर्दत्तत्रिय(य)मम्मटोया धर्मगा-
 26 रवाद्भट्टपुगेहा(धा)ञ्च स्वदत्तिरिया(वा)नुपालनीया । तथा चात्त धर्मभा(शा)स्ने ।
 27 व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः मगरादिभिर्व्य(भि) । यन्म [यम्²] यदा भूमि-
 स्तस्य तस्य तदा
 28 फल(लम्) ॥[11॥³] सा भृष्टफलस'का(गस्ता) व' परदत्तेति पार्थिवा । स्वदानात्फ-
 ल[मा⁴]नन्त्व प-
 29 रदत्तानुपालने ॥[12॥⁵] पट्टिर्षमस्तमाणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद [1']
 30 आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो वक्ष्यन्ति पितामहा. [1'] भूमिदाता कुले जा-
 31 तः स नन्ताता भविष्यति ॥[13॥⁶] भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णा(स्ता)ति यद्य भूमि प्रथ-
 च्छति । उर्भा
 32 तौ पुण्यकर्माणि नियतं स्वर्गर्गा(गा)सिन्ना ॥[15॥⁷] तडागाना मन्त्राणि(स्त्रिण)
 वाजपेयस(श)-
 33 तानि(तेन) च । गवा कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिर्त्ता न शुध्यति ॥[16॥⁸] स्वर्णमेक
 गामेका भूमे-
 34 रप्यर्धमहुलं(लम्) । हरन(न्न)रकमायाति यावदाहतसंज्ञव' ॥[17॥⁹] अन्यायेन
 हता भूमि-
 35 रन्यायेन तु हारिता । हरतो हारयतर्धैव स हन्यात्सप्तमं कुल(लम्) ॥[18॥¹⁰]

¹ This is clearly a mistake for *hirany aridam upar any aridam*
² This *danda* is unnecessary
³ The impression shows a superfluous scratch attached to it giving it the appearance of *tri* but on the plate it is plain *ti*

⁴ The small vertical stroke seen after *sa* on the impression does not appear on the plate
⁵ The second half of this stanza has been left out through mistake We may add it thus *akshepya cl=*
anumanla cha tany-cha naracl taset 3

⁶ Read *sutaryanam* or the *pada* will be too short of a syllable
⁷ The *anusvara* over *la*, which is clear on the plate, has not come out on the impression
⁸ Read *harayata=cha* or the quarter will have a syllable in excess

36 त्तां स्वा(वा) ।¹ यो हरेच्च वसुन्धरां(राम्) [।²] स विष्ठाया कृमिभूमि³त्वा
पच्यते पितृभिः सह ।[।9*॥] आ-

Third Plate, First Side

37 दिल्यो वरुणो विष्णुप्र(व्रै)ह्मा सोमो हुतास(श)नः । शु(शू)लपाणिस्तु भगवान् ।⁴
अभिन-

38 न्दन्ति भूमिदं(दम्) ।[।10॥⁵] सामान्योय धर्मसेतुनृ(नृ)पाणा काले काले पालनीयो
भवज्ञिः [।⁶]

39 रिति⁷ सर्वानितान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः[।⁸] ।[।11॥⁹]
इति-

40 कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(वि)न्दुलोला ।¹ श्री(श्री)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुयजि(जी)वितं च [।²]
सकलमिदमु-

41 दाहृत च बुद्धा³(बुद्धा) ।¹ नहि पुरषैः परकि(की)र्तयौ विलोप्याः ।[।12॥⁴] परम-
महारकमहाराजाधि-

42 राजपरमेश्वरसोमकुलतिलकत्रिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्री[म-]ज्जन-

43 मेजयदेवस्य विजयराज्ये सम्ब(संव)त्सरे सप्तदसमे⁵ आषाढ-

44 माससितपक्षपञ्चम्या । यत्राहृत⁶ ।¹ सम्ब(संव)त् १७ आषाढशुदि ५ । ज्ञेया-

45 ऽग्नेपार्थसा(शा)चमृतिविम[ल⁷]धिया वेदवेदाङ्गविद्या ।¹ सी(शि)क्षाकल्पेतिहास⁸प्र-

46 कटसुरगुरुप्राप्तभूयिष्ठधान्ता । नाम्ना साधारणेन द्विजवरतनुना स-

47 न्निष्णा यस्य राज्य निर्वू(व्यू)ढं सोयमुच्चैस्तृ(त्रि)जगति विदितो देवजनमेजय-

48 श्रीः⁹ ।[।13॥*]² " स सुत ।

49 व सुत त्वा हरद . . .

¹ This *danda* is unnecessary

² This *m* is superfluous, read *kṛimur-bhūtvā*

³ The two syllables *riti* are superfluous

⁴ The portion *vuddhā* occurs below the line

⁵ Read *saptadasē*

⁶ The impression shows a small stroke attached to *sa*, which does not exist on the plate

⁷ Instead of *Śrī Janamējayaśrīh*, the writer has used *dēva Janamējaya śrīh* evidently to conform to the metrical scheme, which purpose still remains partly unfulfilled unless we read *Janmējaya* for *Janamejaya*. The corresponding reading in the Katak Plates of the 31st year is *dharmma Kandarpadevaś*. The Katak Plates have two verses in praise of Śīdhārana, one of which is the same as occurs here (Above, Vol III, p 349, text 1 37 42)

⁸ Metre *Sragdhara*

⁹ It appears that the matter engraved after *śrīh* in this line and the next has intentionally been scored out by the original engraver himself, probably because some objectionable mistakes might have crept in. In spite of his attempt to erase the engraving of this part, certain letters can still be made out, which indicate that the contents of this portion mentioned the names of the writer, the engraver and so forth. If so, nothing of the original charter has been lost, as those names appear in the two lines on the reverse of this plate

Third Plate, Second Side

- 50 'लोखीतमीट तास्त्रसासनं सहसन्धीवीयही राणकघीममदत्त' ॥ मन्नाचपट-
 51 लीना कौलाससुतेन श्रीअलवेन ॥ उत्कीर्णश्च सीवृष्णासुतेन चरटामर्नते ॥०॥

TRANSLATION

(Ll 1 13) *Om* ! Hail !

From the prosperous **Āiāma**, which has (*all*) the ten quarters deafened by the fluttering noise of the flocks of pigeons frightened by the jungle of the anklets (*vara*) on the feet of the numerous excellent courtesans (*mooring*) within the enclosures of mansions having floors (*studded*) with bright jewels, which has its fame spread by minstrels hailing from different countries which (*prize* (*in opulence*) with) the wealth of Kubēra (lit. lord of riches) exalted in poetic narrations produced by scholars endowed with various learning, (*and*) which has eclipsed the grandeur of *Amrāvati* (lit. city of gods) by the splendour of its array of magnificent palaces, lofty buildings, temples, gardens, step wells, wells and tanks,

the illustrious *Paramabhattachārāla Mahārājādhirāja Paramāvara Mahā-Bhavaṅguptarāja dēva*, the overlord of *Trikalīnga*, in ornament of the *Sōma-kula*, (*and*) a devout worshipper of Mahīśvara, who has meditated on the feet of the illustrious *P. V. P. Śivaguptadēva*, a devout worshipper of Mahīśvara who (*i.e.*, Mahī Bhavagupta) has the entire circle of the [*battle*] field decorated by the pearls loosened from the (*temples of the*) enemies' rutting elephants' rout a under with the point of the scimitar (*unyielded*) by his cudgel-like impetuous arm (*and*) who has the pair of his lotus-like feet tinted by the collection of rays (*emulating*) from the precious stones attached to the wreaths over the coronets of all the princes being in good health,

(Ll 13 15) having paid homage to the Brāhmanas in the *Gōttakōḷī* village included in the *Luputurā khanda* in *Kōsalī*, issues a command to all (*his officials*) of that district (*persons*) who may at any time be holding office, (*namely*) *Samāhartṛ*, *Sannadhātṛ*, *Pāṇḍajāśaka*, *Pisūna*, *Vatṛila*, *Avāṇḍhajana*, *Rājavalabha*² and so forth —

(Ll 15 21) "Be it known to you that by (*this*) copper charter We have for the accretion of merit and fame to (*Our*) parents as well as to *Our* elf, donated this (*Gōttakōḷī*) village with libations of water, having made (*it*) tax free, exempt from all hindrance extending up to (*its*) four

¹ Mistakes of spelling in this and the next line are too many and too obvious to need correction.

As surmised in the foregoing note, these two lines seem to contain the same matter in its revised form as was written and cancelled in ll 48 49. It may, however, be observed that the writing of ll 50 51 is not by the same hand to which the engraving of nearly the entire grant is due and differs from the rest in several respects: its mistakes of spelling are more numerous, its characters are bigger in size and some of them are quite different in shape, e.g. *v* and medial *u*. This rouses a suspicion as to whether it was the original engraver himself who is responsible for effacing the writing of ll 48 49 and adding that in ll 50 51 or whether it was somebody else who some time later tampered with that portion of the charter. If latter is the case the motive of the tamperer is not clear. Any way, no material harm has been done to the original grant by altering or substituting the last lines in question.

² Not all of these designations have been satisfactorily explained. *Samāhartṛ* literally 'one who collects', probably answers to 'a collector of revenue'. *Sannadhātṛ* means 'one who approaches or ushers' and perhaps signifies 'an usher'. These two terms occur also in *Kautilya's Arthashastra* where they have been rendered respectively as 'collector general' and 'chamberlain' by Dr. R. Shamasastry in his translation of that work (second edition, pp. 63 and 60). *Dandopasita* denotes 'one who holds rod and rope and may stand for 'an officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals' (See N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Benāḷ*, Vol. III, p. 185). *Pisūna* may correspond to 'a spy'. *Vatṛila*, 'one who holds a cane', may be the same as 'a door-keeper'. *Avāṇḍhajana* can here mean either 'royal ladies' or 'a warden of ladies' apartment' or simply 'a watchman'. What exactly the function of a *Rajavalabha*, literally 'king's favourite', was is difficult to explain.

boundaries, along with (*its*) hidden treasures and deposits, mango and *Bassia latifolia* trees, pits and barren plots, water and land, with (*the privilege of*) collecting toll and revenue, to the illustrious Kamalavana Merchants' Association, immigrant from Khadirapadra (*and*) resident in Suvarnapura, to be enjoyed as long as the sun, the moon, the stars and the earth (*endure*)

(Ll 21-22) "Being aware of this, you should dwell in happiness, offering (*to it its*) customary share of income, rent, (*tribute of*) gold, and so forth

(Ll 22 25) "Being in possession of the charter, this illustrious Kamalavana Merchants' Association has, in its turn, bestowed (*the same village*), having registered it as a deed, on the two temples, (*one*) of the lord Kṛṣṇa (*and the other*) of the lord Āditya, for charity, oblation and offerings as well as for repairing wear and tear (*in the temples*)

(Ll 25 26) "And, future kings should, through respect for the *dharma* and out of regard for Us, protect this Our grant as their own grant For, it is declared in the *Dharmasāstra* —"

(Ll 27 41) [Here follow twelve of the customary verses]

(Ll 41 44) (*This charter has been issued*) during the victorious reign of the illustrious P M P Janamējayadēva, the overlord of Trikalunga, an ornament of the Sōma-kula, in the seventeenth year on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshādha, where in figures (*it is*) Anno 17 Āshādha *śudi* 5

(Ll 44 18) Highly renowned in (*all*) the three worlds is this very illustrious Janamējayadēva, the administration of whose kingdom has been carried on by his minister, Sādhārana by name, an eminent Dvija (*lit* twice born) by birth, whose intellect is clear owing to (*his knowledge of*) all the lore of polity and law worth knowing, who is manifestly a very Brihaspati (*lit* preceptor of gods) in (*expounding*) the Vēdas and the Vēdāṅga *vidyās* (*such as*) Śikṣhā, Kalpa, Itihāsa (*and so forth*) (*and*) who is (*on account of all that*) possessed of supreme glory

(Ll 50 51) This *tāmrasāsana* has been composed by Kailāsa's son, the illustrious Alava, the *Mahākṣhapatalin*¹ (*attached to*) the illustrious Mahāsāndhivigraha Rānaka Malladatta, and engraved by Haradāsa, son of Sivarillā

No 41 --KARITALAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LAKSHMANARAJA [KALACHURI] SAMVAT 593

By Prof V V Mirashi, M A, NAGPUR

Kāritālāi is now a small village twenty nine miles North by East of Murwārā, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Jubbulpore District The place seems to be of great antiquity, for an inscription in shell characters² and another of the Gupta period³ have been discovered there There are several old temples at Kāritālāi, from one of which, probably dedicated to the Boar incarnation of Vishnu, a fragmentary inscription of the reign of the Kalachuri king Lakshmanarāja, the son of Yuvarājādēva I Kāvūravarsha was brought over to Nāgpur⁴ and is

¹ This designation denotes 'the high officer in charge of the *akṣhapatala* office' The latter term has been variously rendered by 'Record Office', 'Court of Rolls', 'Court of Justice', 'Archive' and 'Accountant General's Office' The word *mahākṣhapatalin* has been discussed by Prof J Ph Vogel in his *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Pt I, p 133 Dr Shamasastri translates the term *akṣhapatala* as 'accountants' office' in Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* (p 66)

² Hiralal Inscriptions in C P and Berar (Second Ed.), p 45

³ C I I, Vol III, pp 117ff

⁴ Cunningham has described the ruins at Kāritālāi in A S R, Vol IX, pp 78 He mentions a huge statue of the Boar 8' long, 7' high and 2' 9" broad The Kāritālāi stone inscription was probably put up at a temple of the Boar incarnation, see cv 27 and 35 of it, above, Vol II, pp 178 9

at present preserved in the Central Museum, Nāgpur. The present inscription seems to have been discovered by the late R. B. Hualal in 1928 when he visited the place on his way to the Śilahārī caves which are situated not very far from Kārītalāi.¹ A short notice of it appears in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, but the record has not been published so far. I edit it here from excellent estampages kindly supplied by the Director General of Archaeology in India.

From the account given by R. B. Hualal the inscription seems now to be affixed to the temple of Dēvī Madhva at Kārītalāi. It is fragmentary. The preserved portion measures 10½" in breadth and 1' 10½" in height. Originally there were fourteen lines only, of which thirteen were inscribed breadthwise. Each of these now contains on an average fourteen *alsharas*. The fourteenth line runs along the margin on the left. In addition to these, there is one more line incised recently to record the date (Vikrama) Samvat 1981, which runs parallel to the original marginal line. As said before, the inscription is fragmentary. Nothing is, of course, lost at the top, the bottom and the left hand side, but on the right hand, sixty to seventy *alsharas* have been lost in each line. The record, when entire, must have occupied a space of 1' 6" in breadth. Of this only about one fifth portion on the left has been preserved and the remaining four fifths broken away and lost.

The characters belong to the North Indian alphabet. They have been deeply and beautifully cut. The strokes of the medial vowels have, here and there, been ornamentally treated. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of *n*, one in *Ialshmanarāja* (l. 11) and the other in *Druhina* (l. 2), etc., and to those of *gh* in *Imoghavarsha* (l. 12) and *Ghatānaya-* (l. 11). The form of *g* is in many places closely similar to that of *rā* compare *g* in *ṣagat* and *dīṅg=ṣia*, both in l. 2, *Nāgabhatā* in l. 9 etc., with *rā* in *ṣar-āsantatā* in l. 6, *th* has not yet developed a vertical stroke at the top, see *parihantā* (l. 4). Similarly *th* is still circular and not flattened on the right side, see *prithunī* (l. 4). The medial *u* has been generally denoted by a serif, (see *pāyāsū-*, l. 3, *nag āmulā-*, l. 11, etc.), but in some cases by a curve turned to the left as in *lshānōu* (l. 2). The *mātrās* for medial diphthongs generally appear above the line (see *namō*, and *Upēndia*, l. 1), but in two cases viz. *Rudrābhya* (l. 1) and *śī Ialshmanarājadev* (l. 11) the medial *ē* is obtained by continuing the top stroke of the consonant to the left to end in a small curve, while in two others we see fully developed *prishtha mātrās* also (see *īdhō* l. 3 and *pāda-* l. 12). The characters thus show a transitional stage of the Nāgarī alphabet and may be referred to the ninth century A. D.

The language is Sanskrit. Except the introductory observance and the marginal line recording the date, etc., the whole record is metrically composed. It seems to have originally consisted of thirteen verses. As regards orthography we may note that the consonant preceding and following *v* has in certain cases been doubled as in *chātuvaiannyam* (l. 1) and *mātrām* (l. 2), *v* has been used for *b* in *cala* (l. 7) and the guttural nasal for *anusāra* in *lshānānasō* (l. 6).

Owing to the unfortunate loss of a major portion of the record it is not possible to give a complete description of its contents. After the introductory observance to Druhina (Brahman) Upēndra (Vishnu) and Rudra (Śiva) come three verses invoking the blessings of the three deities. Ll. 6 and 7 seem to eulogize some persons possessed of strength, wealth, gaiety, liberality and courtesy. The next line refers to some personage who was to great kings what the fall of a thunderbolt is to high mountains. The ninth line mentions the rout of Nāgabhata, while the eleventh refers to some saintly person whose mind was devoted to the observance of the rules of conduct laid down

¹ The second edition of his *Inscriptions in the C. P.*, etc. (1932) mentions it, while the first edition of it (1916) contained no reference to it. In 1928 R. B. Hualal was accompanied by the Government Epigraphist (see *Inscriptions*, etc., p. 45, n. 1), but there is no mention of this record in his report for 1927-8. Perhaps it was not considered as of sufficient importance.

in the Śruti and Smṛti. From the twelfth line we learn that the illustrious king Amōghavarsha bowed to the feet of some one who was probably identical with the saintly person mentioned above. The thirteenth line speaks of the erection by him of a structure resembling a hill. Finally the marginal line states that the record was composed by Prasannāditya of the Ghata family in the year 593 (expressed in numerical figures only) during the reign of the illustrious king Lakshmanarājadēva.

The late R. B. Bahadur Hiralal who first noticed this inscription read the date as 693 and as it evidently refers to the Kalachuri Chēdi era which was current at least from the ninth to the twelfth century A. D. in Bāghcīkband, he took it as equivalent to A. D. 941,¹ obviously identifying Lakshmanarāja mentioned in it with the king of the same name, of whose reign we have another fragmentary inscription from Kārītālāi itself. As Yuvarājādēva I Kēyūvarsha, the father of Lakshmanarāja, was the father in law of the Rāshtrakūta king Baddiga Amōghavarsha III, it is clear that he flourished in the beginning of the tenth and his son Lakshmanarāja about the middle of the same century. The mention of Amōghavarsha may be adduced to support this view. In A. D. 941, which, according to R. B. Hiralal, is the date of this record, Amōghavarsha III was no doubt dead, for his son Krishna III succeeded him towards the end of A. D. 939.² But this presents no difficulty, for the record does not state that Amōghavarsha was living in A. D. 941. It refers to him incidentally in connection with the holy person who constructed the temple at which the inscription was originally put up. Besides, from the Sudī inscription³ we learn that Amōghavarsha III was staying for some time at Tripurī where he celebrated the marriage of his daughter with Permīdi Butuga II. That inscription is no doubt taken to be spurious, but we need not for that reason reject all historical information in it, unless it is contradicted by other incontrovertible evidence. As there was no other Lakshmanarāja in the family of the Kalachuris of Tripurī known till then, R. B. Hiralal seems to have felt amply justified in reading the date as above.

But the reading is probably incorrect. The first figure closely resembles that of the *tithi* in the Chandrēhī inscription of Prabōdhasīva and the latter was read as five by Dr. Kielhorn.⁴ The late Mr. R. D. Banerjee first read it as 6, but it appears as 5 in his article on the Chandrēhī inscription.⁵ Other instances in which the figure stands for 5 can also be cited.⁶ So the date of the present inscription is 593 and this being referred to the Kalachuri era corresponds to A. D. 841.^{2, 8} The mention of Amōghavarsha in this record does not also preclude this reading, for this Amōghavarsha would be the first Rāshtrakūta king of that name who ruled from A. D. 814 to 880. We know that the royal families of the Rāshtrakūtas and the Kalachuris were

¹ See his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, (second ed.) p. 45.

² For Amōghavarsha III we have the dates 937 and 939 (see *L. C.*, Vol. XI, pp. 29 and 30). His son Krishna III's Deoli plates were issued in A. D. 940.

³ Above, Vol. III, p. 179.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85; above, Vol. I, p. 354.

⁵ *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 23, p. 119.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 148. There is a similar difference of opinion about the reading of the year in 11 67 of the Śīradā inscription from Hund, above, Vol. XXII, p. 98 and n. 3.

⁷ See for instance the figures of the year and the *tithi* of the Balāra plates of the Chaulukya Mūlarāja, above, Vol. X, plate facing p. 78, the figure of the year in the Khajurāho inscription of Kokkala, Cunningham's *4 S. R.*, Vol. XXI, pl. XIX and that of the *tithi* in the Palanpur plates of Bhūmadēva, above, Vol. XXI, pl. facing p. 172.

⁸ The evidence of palaeography is also in favour of this earlier date. I would particularly draw attention to the formation of the medial diphthongs by lengthening the top line to the left to end in a small curve (l 14) and the round form of *th*. In the later Kārītālāi stone inscription of the reign of Lakshmanarāja (circa 950 A. D.) the medial diphthongs are in all cases denoted either by strokes on the top or by *prishtha matrās* and *th* is flattened on the right side.

matrimonially connected in the ninth century also, for Amoghavarsha I's son Kṛṣṇa II was married to Kōkalla I's daughter¹, though this marriage may not have taken place before A. D. 812². Besides, Amoghavarsha was of a spiritual temperament. He was a fervent devotee, at least in the early part of his life, of Hindu deities. The Sanjān plates tell us that he had cut off a finger of his left hand and offered it to Mahā Lakṣmī to ward off a public calamity³. It is not therefore, unlikely that Amoghavarsha had gone to the Chōḍi country to pay his respects to the holy person who put up the present inscription. The mention of Nāgabhatta's defeat in l. 9 may also be adduced in support of the above mentioned date. This Nāgabhatta is evidently Nāgabhatta II of the Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty, who was completely routed by Amoghavarsha's father Gōvinda III⁴. Nāgabhatta was not living in A. D. 812 the date of the present inscription, for according to the Jui work *Prabhūvala charita*⁵ he died in A. S. 890 (A. D. 837-1), nor is Amoghavarsha known to have raided North India like his father and grandfather. The defeat of Nāgabhatta II mentioned in this inscription must be that inflicted on him by Gōvinda III before A. D. 800. The personage who in the preceding line is described as a destroyer of great kings as a thunder bolt is of high mountains, is therefore probably Gōvinda III. The name of the king whom he destroyed (*samjāhṛ*) is lost at the end of that line. It is not known in what connection the defeat of Nāgabhatta is mentioned in l. 9, but as the name of Amoghavarsha occurs only after two lines, it is clear that the event must have happened not long before the reign of Amoghavarsha. The latter must consequently be the first king of that name, for, otherwise, there would be a long gap of more than one hundred and thirty years between the two events, if the king is identified with Baddiga Amoghavarsha III.

If my reading of the date is accepted the Lakṣmanarāja mentioned in the present inscription becomes the earliest known king of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri. He was the predecessor and may have been the father of Kōkalla I⁶ who stands at the head of the genealogical lists in the Bilhāri stone inscription⁷ and the Benare plate of Karkā⁸. The Sanjān plates of Amoghavarsha state that after his victorious campaign in North India Gōvinda III returned to the bank of the Narmadā and conquering Kōśala, Kalinga, Vāṅgi, Dāhila, Ōdraka and Mālava made his servants govern them⁹. This seems to mean that Gōvinda raided the six countries and either exacted tributes from the ruling princes or deposing them placed his own nominees in charge of their countries. That he did so in one case at least is known from other records. The Baroda plates of Karkā, dated Śaka 734, state that Karkā was made a door bolt to protect the king of Mālwa from the Gurjara king who had become puffed up by conquering the lords of Gauda and Vāṅgi¹⁰. In some other records of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭas we find references to battles fought

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 263-70.

² As I have shown elsewhere (above p. 217) Amoghavarsha I was born about A. D. 799. He was therefore, forty-two years old at the time of the present inscription, but it is not likely that in A. D. 812 his son Kṛṣṇa II was already married to Lakṣmanarāja's granddaughter, for he is known to have reigned till about 914 A. D. Perhaps Amoghavarsha had gone to Tripuri to seek the Kalachuri king's help when he was deposed in the early part of his reign.

³ Above Vol. XVIII, p. 246.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁵ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 179, n. 3.

⁶ This Kōkalla was a contemporary of Bhūja I of Kanauj who flourished from circa A. D. 835 to 885. His son-in-law Kṛṣṇa II reigned from about A. D. 880 to 914. Kōkalla may have therefore flourished from about A. D. 850 to 885.

⁷ Above Vol. I, pp. 254ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 305ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 245.

¹⁰ See lines 26-27 of the Baroda plates of Karkā, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160.

by them with the Gurjara Pratihāras in Ujjayini¹ Mīlwī was, therefore, made a protectorate and a subordinate branch of the Rāshtrakūtas established in Gujārāt to check the advance of the Pratihāras. The same may have happened in the case of Dāhala also². As Lakshmanarāja is the earliest known prince of the Kalachuri dynasty of Dāhala, it is not unlikely that the present record in its lost portion mentioned the establishment of the Kalachuri family in Dāhala after the defeat of Nāgabhata. Subsequently the Rāshtrakūtas made many matrimonial alliances with the Kalachuris³ and thus made the Kalachuri kingdom a bulwark on the north of the Narmadā against any possible invasion of their territory by the Gurjara Pratihāras.

It would not be out of place to discuss here the relation of this Lakshmanarāja with other princes of the same name known from two other records discovered in North India. The Kahlā plates of Sōdhadēva⁴ mention a Kalachuri prince Lakshmanarāja in whose family was born the prince Rājaputra whose descendant in the eleventh generation named Sōdhadēva made a grant in V S 1134 (A D 1077). The date of this Rājaputra is approximately settled by the statement in the record that Gunāmbhōdhidēva I, his descendant in the third generation, helped Bhōja in his wars against a Gūda king. This Bhōja can be no other than the Gurjara Pratihāra Bhōja whose known dates range from A D 836 to 882. Gunāmbhōdhidēva I may therefore have flourished about A D 850. His third lineal ancestor Rājaputra can consequently be placed in *circa* A D 775. The indefinite manner in which the relationship of Rājaputra to Lakshmanarāja is mentioned in the Kahlā plates makes it difficult to conjecture the date of the latter, but that he did not flourish later than the beginning of the eighth century A D seems certain. He cannot, therefore, be identified with Lakshmanarāja of the present inscription.

There are three other kings named Lakshmanarāja known from a stone inscription found at Kasīā⁵ in the Gōrakhpur District, U P. Rai Bahadur D R Sahu has assigned this inscription to the 11th or 12th century A D, but on palaeographic evidence it appears to belong to a period not later than the tenth century A D⁶. The princes mentioned in this inscription were ruling over a territory contiguous to the kingdom of the Kalachuris of the Kahlā plates. One would, therefore, expect to find some links connecting the two families in the genealogical lists of the two inscriptions, but none have been noticed so far. A careful comparison of the two lists would show, however, that there are two names common to them, *viz*, Rājaputra and his son Śivarāja. The former name is evidently a *brūda* and we find it actually stated in the Kasīā inscription that the real name of the prince was Lakshmana and that he was called *Rājaputra* because of his virtues. The *Rājaputra* of the Kahlā plates flourished about A D 775 which is, therefore, the date of Lakshmanarāja II of the Kasīā inscription. Lakshmanarāja I, his great grandfather, and

¹ See *c g*, *Ind Ant*, Vol XIII, p 67

² So far as one can judge from the present fragmentary record, it seems to have contained glorification of the Rāshtrakūtas rather than of the Kalachuris. It is noteworthy that the line containing the name of the reigning king is added in the margin.

³ See *c g*, the Kardā plates of Karka III, II 16 25, *Ind Ant*, Vol XII, p 265

⁴ Above, Vol VII, p 89

⁵ *Ibid*, Vol XVIII, pp 128ff

⁶ It may be noted here that in the Kasīā inscription, (1) the medial diphthongs are denoted by small curves added to the left of the top line, (2) the medial *u* appears as a small serif at the bottom of the vertical, (3) the left limbs of *dh* and *lh*, the tail of *h* and the vertical of *th* have not yet developed as in the Nāgarī alphabet of the eleventh or twelfth century A D. Its *th* has, however, developed a vertical stroke on the right. I would, therefore, assign the inscription to the tenth century A D. The record seems to mention two successors of Lakshmanarāja III and the names of one or two more may have been lost in the mutilated portion. As I have placed Lakshmanarāja III of the Kasīā inscription in *circa* A D 850, the last Kalachuri prince mentioned in the record must have reigned some time during the tenth century A D. This date is corroborated by the palaeographic evidence detailed above.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 वमा ३ कर्मात्परावर्द्धिताः २
 तद्वेत्तुं प्रसङ्गपायात्मक्यं ३ म र ना ३
 कयश्चैतन्नियमितं ४ ती यश्च ३ म ३
 न क मः य र मिति म्मा च ५ क्ता म्मा ० ५
 लो ला द्वा मां ज्ञि रे यै रा म त्ति म्मा ६
 कृत्ति न व त वि न व वि ता म आ रा म ७
 म ता द्वा सि न द्वा या ता मां ज्ञि रे ८
 म य सा रा न द्वा रा म र म ना म ९
 क म ण व र त्ता व रा द्वा रा म १०
 ति म्मा रा रा प व ल वि म ल ११ य १२
 शी म र म्मा य व र्म म्मा ति १३ य १४
 वा य र १५ म्मा रा म्मा रा म्मा रा म्मा १६

No 42 —FOUR GANGA COPPER PLATE GRANTS

By S N CHAKRAVARTI, M A , CALCUTTA

The four sets of copper plate grants belonging to the Ganga kings of Kalinga were acquired through Mr S Rajaguru, Municipal Councillor, Parlakimedī, Ganjām. They have been found, as Mr Rajaguru was told by the owner of the plates, in some villages of Northern Ganjām, and were purchased by Mr N G Majumdar, M A , Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India. They are now deposited in the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. I edit the charters by the kind permission of Mr Majumdar.

A —Plates of Mahārāja Jayavarmadēva

The copper plates which bear the subjoined inscription are **three** in number and measure about $5\frac{1}{2}$ " by $3\frac{1}{8}$ ". Their rims are not raised. Each plate is inscribed on both sides. The inscription is damaged in several places. But practically the whole of it can be made out quite satisfactorily. The ring on which the plates were strung is about 3" in diameter. The small oval seal, below which the ends of the ring are secured, measures about $\frac{3}{4}$ " by $\frac{1}{2}$ ". It is damaged and the emblem on it is no more visible. The weight of the three plates, with ring and seal, is about 70 *tolas*.

The **alphabet** of the inscription resembles that of the Dhanantara Plates of Sāmantaravarman,¹ and may be assigned to the 7th Century A D. The **language** is Sanskrit. Except three of the customary verses in lines 28-35 the inscription is in prose. As regards **orthography** the following peculiarities call for remark — *v* and *b* are not distinguished, both being indicated by the sign for *v*. A consonant after *r* is doubled only in a few instances, e.g., *Gōkarnnēśvara* (l 5), and *ka(ki)ttayō* (l 35). The letter *t* preceding *r* is doubled in *śakṛt traya-* (l 9), etc. *Viśaṅga* has been wrongly used in *bhagavataś=charā āchara-* (ll 12), *pitṛih-* (l 11), and *vēhubhīhī=vasudhā* (l 28), and wrongly dropped in *Sagar ādibhī* (l 29). The sign for final *t* has been used twice, though wrongly, in *-ādhiśthānāt=bhagavatah* (l 1) and *sa karanāt* (l 14).

The inscription is of the **Ganga King of Kalinga, Mahārāja Jayavarmadēva**, who was a devout worshipper of the lord Gōkarnnēśvara, residing on the summit of the Mahēndra mountain. From his residence at **Śvētaka** the king by this document informs his officials and the inhabitants concerned in the **Ndadāsringa**⁽²⁾ *viśhaya*, that he gave the village of **Bhusundā** in the said province to **Ravisarman**, a Brāhmana of the Kāśyapa *gōtṛa*, the Vājasaneyā *charana* and the Kāṇva-*sākhā*, who was a resident of the Pratiśthāna *viśhaya* of the *bhattāraka* Guṇēśvara². The *dūtaka* was the *Mahāsāmanta* Pūrṇadēva who had the title of *Pañchamahāśabda*. The grant was written by Khanda, the son of the *Mahāsandhivigrahin* Śrīsāmanta³ and engraved by Vichitra-hasta.

I am inclined to identify Jayavarman of the present grant with Jayavarman, brother of Anantavarman of the Parlakimedī plates⁴, which record the gift of the village Tālatthērē in the district of Krōśhtukavarttanī by Anantavarman, son of Dēvēndravarmān, at the request of his brother Jayavarman, to Viśhnusōmāchārya, a Brāhmana of the Parāsara *gōtṛa*, who was an inhabitant of the village of Śrangātikā in the district of Kāmarūpa or Assam.

¹ Above, Vol XV, pp 275 ff² [See p 262, nn 8 and 12 below —Ed.]³ [This may be only a title in which case the name of the official has not been given —Ed.]⁴ *Annual Report of the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for the year 1920-21*, pp 15, 93; R D Bannerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol I, pp 232-33, J A H R S, Vol II, pp 273 ff

TEXT¹*First Plate, First Side*

- 1 Ōm² svasti [[*] Svōtak ādhusthānāt³ bhagavatah⁴
 2 ś=char āchara-gō śakala 'aśinka s' hara
 3 [dha]ra[sya*] sthity utpatti pralaya kāra
 4 [na hē]tōh Mahēndr āchala śikhara nivā
 5 nah śrīmad Gōkarṇāśvara bhātārakah⁵ chara

First Plate, Second Side

- 6 na kamal ārādhanād-avāpti punya m
 7 chasō Gīng āmala kul ambar⁶ tnduh sva blu
 8 ja va(ba)la parākram ākrānta dala ka-
 9 lung idhurīya[h*] tal ti ttayah⁷ pral
 10 rsh ānurājūt āh⁸śsha sāmant ch para
 11 mamāhēsarō mītī pitīh⁹ pūd ān[u]

Second Plate, First Side

- 12 dhyātō mahārīja śrī Jayavarmnadōva[h*] luśa
 13 li Ndadāsringa¹⁰ vi[sha*]yē vatha kāl ādhyā
 14 nō vī(vya)ahārmah i karanāt(n) vrā(brī)hmīna
 15 purōg īdi rāj maha rājaputtra pra[dhā]
 16 nu(na)purusha rītrakuta¹¹ dāndanāvaka bhō
 17 ga bhōginā¹² nivāsi jupadī[us*] jchītra bhata v
 18 lī(la)bhī jītīyā]

Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 ns=cha(ms=cha) vath ārham pu(pū)javaty-ījñāpavati cha [*]
 20 Vīditam=istu bhavati m tīd vishva samya
 21 ndha¹³ Bhūsundā grīmō-vim chatur-imn(īm) ōpal
 22 kshatah bhātī(tī)rika Gunśvara Pratiśthā¹⁴
 23 vām vishaya vīstava vrī(brā)hmīna Ravīśa[r*]mma[nō*] Kā
 24 śyapa gōttrīya Vājīvam(nē)va charana va
 25 Kānvah¹⁵ śikhmī alila dhīrā purīshar

¹ From the original plates and impressions.² Expressed by a symbol.³ The sign for *l* is superfluous. Read 'aśinka s' hara.⁴ The *usarga* is superfluous.Read *gurōh*.⁶ Read *bhaffarakasya*.⁷ Read *kul ambar*.⁸ [The reading may be *īśdal(gata) rāga* — I'd.]⁹ Read *rūchīrakūṭa*.¹⁰ Read *bhōgi bhōga mīna*.¹¹ Read *sambaddha*.¹² Read *Pratiśthāna vishaya* [It is more probable that the grant was made on the occasion of the consecration of the image of Gunśvara (Śiva) and that the name of the *vishaya* or district to which the donee belonged has been omitted by the scribe through oversight — I'd.]

FOUR GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS
A.—PLATES OF MAHARAJA JAYAVARMADEVA.

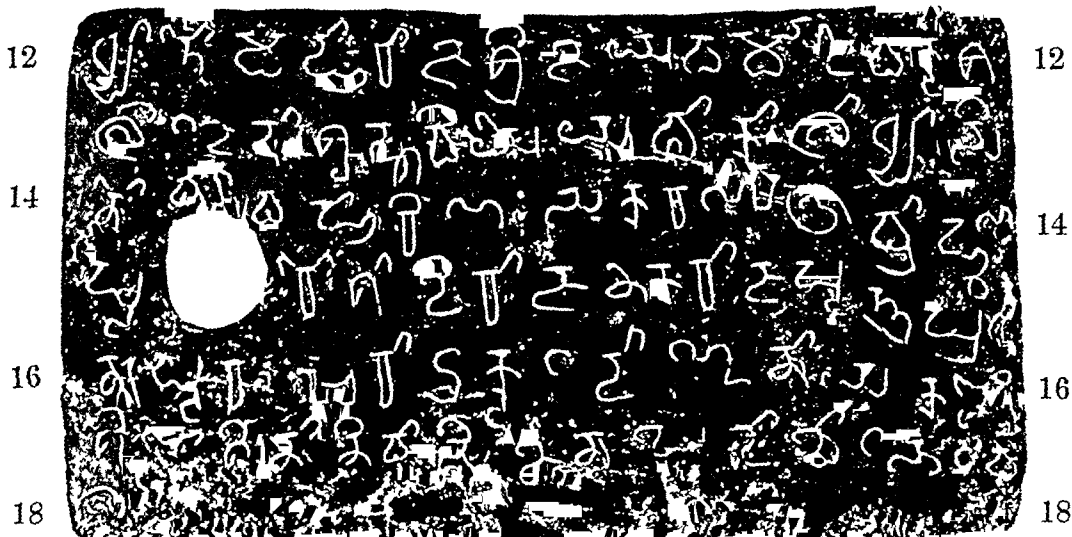
va.

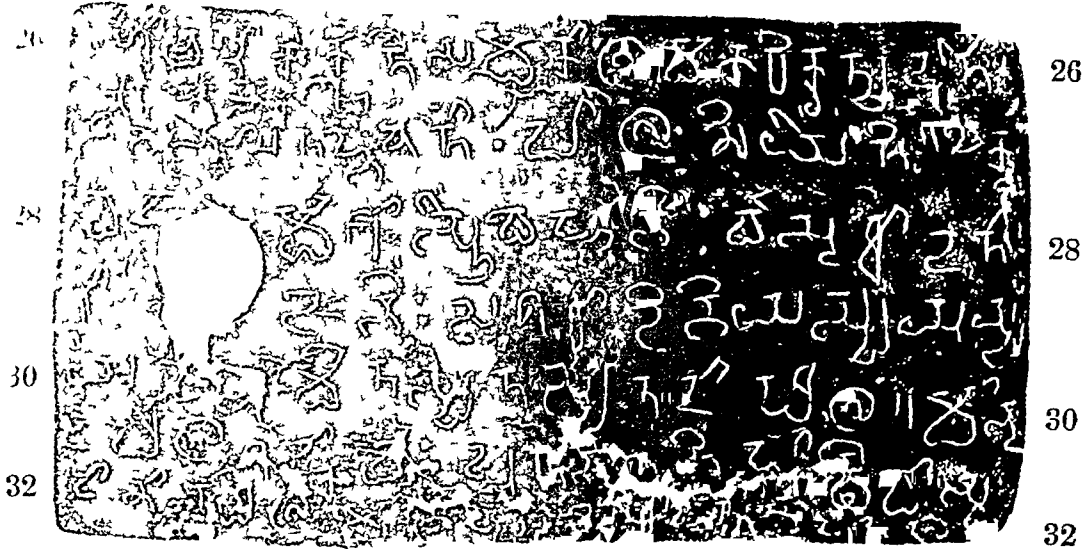
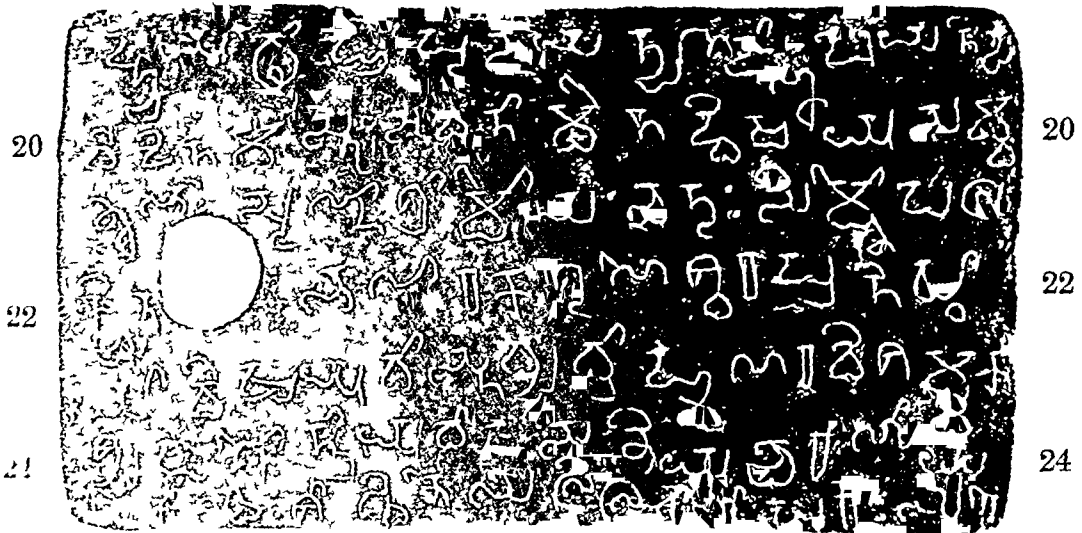


ib



va





Third Plate, First Side

- 26 n=ā-chandr-ārka-kṣhiti sama-kālam=akarī(rī)kritya datō(ttō)=
 27 smābhī[h [*] Ētad=bhavatāh pālanīyēti¹ || Uktam
 28 cha dharma śāstrē [i*] Vē(Ba)hubhīh²r=vasudhā datā(ttā)
 29 rājābhīh Sagar ādībhī(bhīh) [*] yasya yasya
 30 yadā bhu(bhū)mita(s=ta)sya tasya tadā phalam(līm) ||³ Mā bhu(bhū)
 31 d=aphala-śankā vah para da(tt=ē)ti pārthivā[h⁴] sva-
 32 dānāt=phalam=ā[nantyam] para-datt=ānupāla

Third Plate, Second Side

- 33 nam(nam) ||⁵ Iti kamala dal ā=dal*-āmvu(bu) vi(bi)ndu lōlām śrīya-
 34 m=anuchintya manushya ji(jī)vitam cha | sakalam=idam=udā-
 35 hritāñ=cha vu(bu)dhvā(ddhvā) na hi purushaiḥ para ki(kī)rttayō vilōpya(pyāh) [||*]⁶
 36 Iti [dūta*]kō=dh[i*]krīta prāpta pañcha-mahā śavda(bda) śrī-ma-
 37 hāsāmanta [Pūrṇa]dēva[h [*] Likhitam mahāsandhivī
 38 [gra]hī Śrīsāmanta-[sū]nuna(nā) Khandēna [i*] Utki(tkī)rnām śrī Vi
 39 chittrahastēna [i*] Vyā(vya)vahārīnō dēva [pra]tīhā-
 40 [rīnah ||*]

B —Plates of Dānārṇnavadēva

The inscription is incised on three copper-plates, each measuring about 5½" long by 3¼" broad. The plates are strung on a copper ring about 3" in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered below a circular seal, which measures about 1¼" in diameter. The seal is much damaged and broken on one side. It bears in relief on countersunk surface the figures of a crescent at the top, a seated bull in the centre and an indistinct emblem at the bottom. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 118 *tolas*. The first and the third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second plate has inscription on both the sides. There are altogether thirty four lines of writing. Though the plates have no raised rims, the writing on them is well preserved. The engraving has been carelessly done. Wrong spelling and omission of syllables are common mistakes.

The record is **not dated** but on palaeographic grounds may be assigned to the 10th century A D. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of five of the customary stanzas in lines 23-31, the record is written in prose. In respect of **orthography** we may note the following points. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*. The consonant after *r* is, as a rule, doubled, e.g., *chandr-ārka* (l 18), *svaigga*- (l 27), but *m* has not been doubled in *-hētōr*=*Mahēndī āchala* (l 2). *Anusvāra* has been used instead of the dental *n* in *vimdu* (ll 29-30). The dental *s* represents the palatal *ś* in some cases, e.g., *sasānka* (ll 1-2), *śikhara*- (ll 2-3). The sign for *avagraha* has been used in *-grāmō*=*'yam* (l 15) and *pratīpādīkā*=*'smābhīh* (l 21). The final *t* has been used in *anyat* (l 14).

The inscription is of **Prithivīvarman's** son, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the *Paramēśvara* *Paramabhāttāraka* *Mahārājādhirāja*, the ornament of the spotless family of the Gangas, the *Rānaka* *Dānārṇnavadēva*, who had obtained a store of merit by worshipping the lotus feet of the holy lord Gōkarnnēśvara, dwelling on the summit of Mount Mahēndra and who

¹ Read *ēlad=bhavādībhīh pālanīyam=ati*

² The *visarga* is superfluous

³ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁴ The two syllables *dalā* have been wrongly repeated

⁵ Metre *Pushpitagā*

by the excellence of his threefold power had endeared himself to all his vassals, and had acquired by the strength of his own arms the overlordship of the entire Kalunga country. From his residence at *Śvēta*, evidently the same as *Śvētaka*, the king informs his officials and the inhabitants concerned, that on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun he gave the village *Kāsiddā*, situated in the *Jayadā* *viśhaya* to *bhatta* Bōdhana's son *bhatta* *Durggakhandika*, (a Brāhmana) of the Vatsa *gōtra*, who was a student of the Chhāndōga *charana*, and had the fivefold *pravara* and *anuparava*. The inscription was written by the *Samdhivigrahin* Dhanadatta and engraved by Dāmōdara.

Dānārnnava, by whom this charter was issued, cannot at present be identified. He is evidently distinct from and later than another Dānārnnava, who was the father of Indravarmān of the Purle¹ and Tekkal² plates, which are written in much earlier characters and are dated in the Ganga years 137³ and 154 respectively, roughly corresponding to A.D. 631 and 648.

TEXT ⁴

First Plate

- 1 Ōm⁵ svasti [||*] *Śvēt* ādhishthānād=bhagavataś=char āchara gurōssa(ś=śa)kala sa(śa)sā(śā)-
- 2 nka śekhara dha[rasya*] sthity utpatti⁶ pralaya kārana-bhōtor=Mahēndr-āchala si(śi)-
- 3 khara nivāsinaḥ śrīmad Gōkarnnēśvara-bhattārakasya chara-
- 4 na kamal-ārādhana āvāpti(pta) punyamichaya[h*] śakti traya prakarsh ā
- 5 nurañjī(ñj) t āśēsha ssā(sā)manta chakra[h*] sva-bhuja va(ba)la parā-
- 6 kram ākrānta sakala Kala(l)ng ādhirājyē(jyah) [?paramamā
- 7 hēśvarō mātā pitrī pād ānudhyātah paramēśvara paramabha
- 8 ttā[rā*]kō mahārājī[dbi*]rāja Gang āmala-kula-tilaka-Rīnaka sri Dā
- 9 nārnnavadēvah Prithivīvarmma sutah kuśalī [? Jayadā-viśhayā

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 yathā kāl ādhyāsi(sī) śrīsāmanta mahāsāmanta rājanaka-rāja-
- 11 putra-kumārāmāty ōpari[ka*] dāndanīyaka-viśhayapati grīma-
- 12 pati-dandapāsi(śi)[ka*] chāttrī(ta) bhata vallabha-jātīyīna(n) bhōgī(gi)[ka*]-jana-
- 13 padān⁸ [?yath-ārham mānayatī [? vō(bō)dhayatī [? samājñāpayatī cha
- 14 sarvataḥ śivam=asmākam=anyat [? viditam=astu bhava-
- 15 tām [? ētad-viśhayam(y) shatīvaddha⁹-Kāsi[ddā] grāmō=yam sa-ja-
- 16 la sthala sa-padr-iranya¹⁰ sātavi¹¹ vitapa-samanvita(taś=)chatus si-
- 17 m ōpalakshitah [? ih=aiva sūrya grahanē mātā pitrōr=ātmanah¹²
- 18 puny ābhivṛddhayē sa-sahdhārāspuraskṛitā¹³ chandra-ārka kalam=a-

¹ Above Vol. XIV, pp. 360 ff

² *Ibid*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 307 ff

³ *Ibid*, p. 308. Originally this date was read as 149

⁴ From impressions and the original plates

⁵ Expressed by a symbol

⁶ The conjunct *tpa* appears as *pē*. The left limb of *ta* is elongated downwards, so much so that it looks like the *ē* *matrā*

⁷ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

⁸ Note that the *halanta* mark is expressed by the omission of the top line. The right hand short downward stroke with a bend at about the middle is a constituent of the dental *na*

⁹ Read *pratibaddha*

¹⁰ Read *āranayak*

¹¹ Read *s utavikah*

¹² Read *ātmanas=cha*

¹³ Read *salila dhārā puraskṛitam=ā-*

20
22
24
26

[illegible]

Second Plate, Second Side

19 karikītya bhātta-Vōdhūna¹ -sutāya Chchhīndōga charanīya Vachchha²-gōtrā
 20 ya pañchīrishaya³-pravarīya pañch-inupravaiāya bhātta **Durggākha-**
 21 **ndikāya** tāmva(mra) śīsanēna pratipīdikā(tō)=smābhīh [||*] śāsa-
 22 na darśanād=dharmma gauravāch=cha na kēn=āpī panī⁴ paripanthinā
 23 bhavitavya(vyam) | Tathā cha pathyatē dharmma-śāstrē [||*] Va(Ba)hubhīr=vva-
 24 sudhā datā(ttā) rājabhīh Sagar ādībhīr(bhīh) [||*] yasya yasya ya
 25 dī bhūmī=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [||*] Sva dānāt=phalam=ānantya
 26 m=para datt ānupālānē⁵ [||*] Bhūmīm yah pratigrihnā(hnā)ti yās=cha bhūmī-
 27 m=prayachchhatī [||*] ubhau tau punya karmmanau na(ni)yatau svargga ga(gā)mī

Third Plate

28 nau [||*] Sva datām(ttām) paia dattām=vā yō harēd=vasundharām⁶ | sa viśthāyām kri-
 29 mīr=bhūtva(tvā) pītribhīh=saha pachyatē | [||*] Iti kamala dal āmvu(mbu) vim-
 30 du(bindu) lōlīm śrīyam=anuchintya manushya jīvi[ta*]ñ=cha | sakalam=idam=u-
 31 dāhritāñ=cha vudhīā(buddhvā) na hī purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ [||*]⁷ iti [||*]
 32 Likhī[ta*]ñ=cha sakala-karana-viditēna samti(dhī)vīgrahī(hī)-
 33 srī-Dhanadata(ttēna) | mahādēvī | yuchha(yuva)rīja | mahā-ā[ma*]nta|
 34 dharmma(rmmī)dhika[ra*]na | mahā(ha)ta(tta)ra | prathāra | Utkīrṇa(rnna) Dāmō-
 darēna [||*]

C—Plates of Bhūpēndravarmadēva

The inscription is on **three copper plates**, each measuring about 5" in breadth and 2½" in height. The plates are held together by a ring, about 2½" in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured by an oval seal, which contains the figure of a seated bull. Above this bull is a crescent, and below it a lotus, of which five petals are visible. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 54 *tolas*. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second plate has inscription on both the sides. There are altogether thirty six lines of writing, each side having nine lines. The plates have slightly raised rims in order to protect the writing, which is well preserved.

The **characters** are of what Dr. Burnell named the South Indian Nāgarī type, and may be assigned to the 10th century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit. Excepting the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 26-34, the inscription is in prose. In respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted: *b* and *v* are not distinguished, *s* is used for *ś*, as in -śāsālā- (l. 2), and for *sh*, as in *manusya-* (l. 32), *sh* is used for *s*, in *vasumdhārām* (l. 29), the *visarga* has been wrongly dropped in many instances, e.g., *gurō* (l. 2), *nivāsina* (l. 4), -*nichaya* (l. 5), and the *anusvāra* has been used instead of the class nasal, as in *Kalīnga* (l. 7), *pancha* (l. 19), -*sāmanta-* (ll. 6, 12).

The inscription is of the time of the *Mahāāyādhuāja Paramēśvara Paramabhattachāraka, srī-Bhūpēndravarmadēva*, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who was the ornament of the spotless family of the Gangas, who had accumulated a store of merit by worshipping the lotus

¹ Read *bhātta Bōdhana*. Note the close topped *dh*. But the open topped form of the letter is the commonest.

² Read *Vatsa*.

³ Read *pañch arshī* or *pañch arshēya*.

⁴ This *panī* is intended to be *parī* and is superfluous.

⁵ The first half of this verse has been omitted, which is *Mā bhūd=aphala śānlā vah para datt=eti pārthuvāḥ*.

⁶ Read *harita vasundharam*.

⁷ Metre *Pushpitagra*.

feet of the god, Gōkarnāśvara (Śiva), situated on the summit of the Mahēndra mountain, and who had acquired the overlordship of the entire Kalinga country. The grant was issued from the capital city of Śvētika (Śvētaka), and seems to record the donation of a plot of land, the boundaries of which are given in lines 15-19, in the Vādōdō village of the Khalugalkhanda vishaya, to bhattaputra Mānikadōva, (a Brāhmaṇa) of the Vatsa gōtra, who had the sixfold pravara, by the Rānaka Ganga Kaviśa (Ganga Kailāsa ?).¹ According to ll. 10-11 the charter seems to have been issued by his son whose name is not given. The inscription was written by the Samudhugrahaṇa Aśōkadanta, engraved by the brazier Vimalachandra and registered by the chief queen.

TEXT.

First Plate

- 1 Ōm² svasti[|*] Śvētik ādhishthānād-bhagavatas-char āchāra
- 2 gurō[|*] śākalā śasāka(sāka) śākhara dharasva śatru u
- 3 tpatī(tti)-pralaya-kārana-hētōr Mahēndrāśha(r ācha)la śi(śi)khā
- 4 ra nī śī(śi)na[|*] śrīmed Gōkarnā(rnā)śva(śva)ra bhattārakasva śharana la-
- 5 mal ārādhan āvāpta puṇyā(ny i) nichaya[|*] śhatkī(śakti) traya pra
- 6 karsī ānurāṇī(rāṇī)t āsvī(śvī)śha śīmanāta(manta)chakra[|*] śva bhūya śa(ba)la pa
- 7 rīkram ākrānta śā(śa)kalā Kaling(ling) ādhurījī(śvāh) parama mā
- 8 hēśva(śva)rō mātā putrī pīd ānudhyātō Gang āmalā
- 9 [ku]la tīrka mahārījādūhīja paramā[|*]vara

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 paramabhitta(tī)rika śrī Bhu(Bhū)pēndravarmadōva[|*] l uśh(śvā)h [|*] Ganga
- (Ganga)
- 11 kavīśa śu(su)talh Khalugalkhanda vishavī yathā kīl ā
- 12 dhyaśinō mā(ma)hāśīmanāta(manta) śrīśīmanāta(manta) grāmapatī vrā(brā)hma
- 13 na pu[rō*]hīta rāshthakutta kutumbina⁴ chūta bhāttā(bhāta) śala(la)bhā jātī(jīti)
- 14 yī[n*] yath īrī(rīham) mūṇavati samādīś(śa)ti [chī*] viditama
- 15 stu bhava[tīm] śtrī-vishava⁵ samyamdhā(baddhī) Vādōdō grīmasva madhī(dhī)ś
- 16 khanda kshētra(tram) pu(pū)śva dīśā(śī) varē śpita maira ah śu(śi)mā śī(śvā)
- 17 ndhī[|*] [a]g[n*]śvā dīśā(śā) varē mīśīmanāgāda parīchh(śchh)īdā[|*] parīchh(śchh)ī mā dī
- 18 śī(śū)-varē maira ah [|*] uta(tī)śva dīśī(śī) varē tath-āśva cha[|*] f

Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 ta[ch*]=chātuh śi(śi)m āpalakshitam cha | Vachha(Vatsa) gōtrīva paramhū
- 20 vishaya⁷ pravaraśva bhāttaputra mūhātra⁸ Mānikadōvā
- 21 ya śva⁹ Gangakavī[|*] rānakāna datam(ttam) mātā putrō

¹ As the expression Ganga Kaviśa śulā comes after *l u śhī* it does not seem to have any connection with *Bhū-pēndravarmadōva*.

² From impressions and the original plate.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read *rashtral ūfa kutumbinaś*.

⁵ Read *śām=śad vishaya*.

⁶ Read *Āgneya*. I believe that the word intended is *dal śhīga*, for the already incomplete *a* in *amēya* seems to have been altered into *da*.

⁷ Read *pañch arshī* or *pañch arshīya*.

⁸ Read *mahātara*.

⁹ The intended reading seems to be *śdīśya=śva*.

2

2 4 6 8

20 22 24 26

200

10 12 14 16 18

111

10 28 12 30 14 32 16 34 18 36

28 30 32 34 36

- 22 r=ātmī(tma)naś=cha punyāpivindha¹ śa(śa)hī dhārī pura[h*]śaiṇa(na)
 23 chandrārka kṣhīti śama kālam=akari(rī)kritya pratipā
 24 dātō=smābhūr=yatam(tāh) [i*] sāsana darśha(īśa)nā[d*]=dharma gauravād=a
 25 smā(sma)d gauravā[eh*]=chī na kōnachit=paripamthū(panthū)nā bhavītavjyam [i*] Ta-
 26 thā cha pāthvāt dharmā śīstrī [i*] Va(Ba)hubhūr-vashu(su)dhī datā(ttī) rājāna(jabhūh)
 27 Śa(Sa)gar ādībhū[h*] jasya yasya yādū bhūmī² tasya ta

Third Plate

- 28 sya tadū phalam [i*] Mā bhū(bhū)[dha](d=a)phala sakā(sankā) va[h*] para da[tt=ṭ*]tī
 pārthū
 29 vī[h*]³ Svī datām(ttīm) para datām(ttām) vā yō harṭī(ta) vashumdha(sundha)rā[m
 [*] sa vīshthā
 30 vīm krimir=bhū(bhū)tvī pītribhū[h*] saha pāchyatī [i*] Sashthūm(Shashthim) varsha sa
 31 hāsrīm sagam(svargī) mōdatī bhū(bhū)mīdah [i*] Itī kamala dalā
 32 mīu(mbu)-vīmdū(bīndu) lōlā(līm) śrī(śrī)vam-ānuchīmtī ā(chīntya) manusya(shya)-
 jī(jī)vītam
 33 cha [*] sakalīm=īdam=udārha(hī)rtam [cha*] vū(bu)dhā(dhī) na hī purusai(śarīh)
 parī kī(kī)rtavō
 34 vīlōpyī[h*]⁴ Lakshū(khū)rtam=īdam śāndhīvīgrahī Asō(śō)kādāmītīnā [i*]
 35 Utkīrnam⁵ cha kam=īrī-kulaputrakī Vimalachandrīna(na) | Lamchhīrā⁶
 36 cha śrī Mī(Mī)hīdīvī [i*] Unyī(ūnī)ksharam=adhīk īksharam vū tat=sarva(rvam)
 prāmānam=itī [i*]

D —Plates of Rānaka Jayavarmadēva

The inscription is on three copper-plates, each measuring about 6½" in breadth and 3" in height. The plates are held together by a ring, about ½" in diameter. To this ring is affixed a circular seal, about 1" in diameter. The seal which is broken on one side, bears the figure of a seated bull. Above this bull is a crescent and below it a lotus, of which five petals are visible. The three plates, with ring and seal weigh 104 *tolas*. The first plate is inscribed on one side only and the second and third plates on both the sides. There are altogether 37 lines of writing, which are distributed as follows: the first plate has 8 lines, the second, 7 lines on each side, and the third, 8 lines on the first side and 7 lines on the second side. The plates have rims slightly raised for the protection of writing, which is in a good state of preservation almost throughout.

The characters are of the South Indian Nāgarī type and probably are not much later than the 10th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit. Words like *darashana* (l. 23) and *varisha-* (l. 28), which are found in the text are evidently due to Prākṛit influence. Excepting the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 25-33, the record is in prose. In respect of orthography the following points call for notice: *b* and *v* are not distinguished, *s* is often used for *ś*

¹ Read *punyābhīriddhāyī*

² Read *pratipīditam=asma*

³ Read *bhūmī=tasya*

⁴ The second half of this verse has been omitted, which is *śa danat=phalam=anantyam para dāt=ānupalanē*

⁵ The second half of this verse has been omitted, which is *ulshēpta ch=anumanta cha lauy=ēva narake vaśē*

⁶ Metre *Pushpitāgṛa*

Read *utkīrnam*

⁷ Read *lauchhīrtam*

FOUR GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS
D — PLATES OF RANAKA JAYAVARMADEVA

2

2
4
6
8

8

ra

10
12
14

14

rb

16
18
20
22

22

24 26 28 30

32

34

36

32

31

36

Second Plate, Second Side

16 pariḥkṛtam purva-kōṇēna gādari dhruvam tasya thītō dakhī-
 17 n ābhimukhēna gātam dakhinēna tu vakrā vvakrēna gāta | pachhi
 18 mī mukham gātam grāmatah Tēmtura g[r*]āmā vāndhi thītō utar ābhimukhē cha
 19 utarēna patha paryānta ēta chatu sim ṣpalikhitañ=cha Vachha-gō-
 20 trāyah pañch āśhaṣa-pravarāyah Kanva sākhyā | bhata(tta)putra Padma mī
 21 hatrayah iha va Viśuva-sakrāntyā datam || mītī pitrōr=ātmanā
 22 ś=cha puny-āpividhhaē sahila dhā[rī*]-puraḥsarēna chandr ārka thiti-sama

Third Plate, First Side

23 kāla akṛikṛitya pratipīditō=smībhīr=yatam sāsana darashana
 24 dharma gauravād=asmād-gauravā cha na kēnachit=paripathinī bhavi
 25 tavya tathī cha pathyatē dharma sīstra [|*] Vahubhīr=vasudhā datī rājīna [Sa⁴]ga-
 26 r ādibhih [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhumi tasya tasya tadī phalam [|] Svā datā para da-
 27 tām=vā yō harētī vashumdharā [*] sha viśthīyā krimi bhutvā pitribhi
 28 saha pachyatēh [|*] Shasthim varisha saśrānī svarga mōdatī bhūmida [|*] achhi-
 29 ptā ch=ānumatyā dvā ēva naraka vrajyēta || Sa dānāt=phalam kuryī para da
 30 t ānupālanam [|*] ubhan tō punya karmānau niyatau sarga gāminau [|*]

Third Plate, Second Side

31 Iti kamala-dal āmvu vindu lōlā sīm=anuchintya manu[shya]
 32 jivitañ=cha sakalam=idam=udāhṛtam vu[dhvā] na hi purashai pa[ra]-
 33 kṛtayō vilōpyā || Utkirṇāñ=cha Vima[la*]chāndrē[na*] h Sāmā[ntē]
 34 na lañchhṛtam cha śrī Trī-Kalī(1)nga-mā(ma)hādēvyā prā
 35 varddhmāna vijaya rājyē samvachharē sa[tē] amkēn=āpi varsha 100 [*]
 36 Uny-āksharam=adhik ākshara yā tat sarvvaṃ pramānam=i-
 37 ti ||

No 43—SIX SILAHARA INSCRIPTIONS IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM

By H D SANKALIA, M A, LL B, PH D (LOND), AND S C UPADHYAYA, M A, LL B

The following six inscriptions of the Silāhāra dynasty lying in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, are collectively published here from the stones themselves as well as with the help of the ink impressions and photographs. Though their contents have been briefly referred to at some places,¹ their regular publication now enables us to correct many conjectural readings of dates and names. We take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, for kindly allowing us to edit these inscriptions and also to Mr Acharya, Curator of the Archaeological Section, for giving considerable help at every stage of the work.

All the inscriptions have been found, as noted in detail under each inscription, in the vicinity of Bombay and they refer to lands donated therein. Hence the epithet 'the Silāhāras of Northern Konkan' as applied to the kings of these inscriptions² seems to be correct, though it

¹ *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, pp 19-21, Vol VIII, Pt II, p 426, Vol XIV, Appendix A, pp 385, 386, also Altekar, *Indian Culture*, Vol II, pp 430-31

² *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, pp 19-21 and 538, also Altekar, *op cit*, p 401

must be noted that the inscriptions give no pedigree, even the dynastic title 'Śilāhāra' is not found except in inscriptions B and C. The relationship of the Kings mentioned in these inscriptions, which are arranged below in chronological order, therefore, remains undetermined. These records extend over a period of about 125 years from the time of Aparāditya (I), Śaka 1060 to that of Sōmāśvara, Śaka 1182.

The find spots of these inscriptions and the places mentioned therein indicate that the sway of the Northern Śilāhāra extended at least over the modern Panvel, Bascin, Bhivandi, Thina and perhaps Kalyān Tīlukās of the Bombay Presidency.

One peculiarity of these inscriptions may be noted. Below every inscription there is a sculpture of an ass covering a woman, and this is a representation of the curse in old Marāṭhi which can be partly read only in C.¹

The curse and the sculpture are also found in an inscription, (now in the P. W. M.) of the Yādava Rāmachandra of Śaka 1222 which is published below. We are unable to trace back at present, the existence and use of the curse and its representation, but it seems to have become popular after the 10th century.²

The script is Devanāgarī with a few traces of the earlier Nāgarī letters seen, for example, in *ra*, *ja*, and in the use of *mātrās*.

The language is corrupt Sanskrit and the text is usually in prose except for ll. 12 and 17-18 in I, containing a prayer to Gaṇapati and the usual imprecatory verse about the violation of the grant.

As regards orthography may be noted the use of (i) the dental *ra* for the palatal *ṛa*, (ii) the anusvara for the nasal *ṛa*, *mandala* for *vaṇḍala*, (iii) *ṛa* for *ṛa*, *surja* for *śūra* and (iv) *clha* for *stha*.

Prākṛit formations are found usually in the names of ministers and other officers in those of villages and in the grant portion. In the 1st may be noted the words *hl* *dehṛa* (D. 1-11), *bhatāra* (L. 1-10) *thāraṇī* (I, 1-11). *Dehṛa* seems to be the old Marāṭhī form of *ayāra*, *bhatāra*, if the reading is correct, is perhaps a local dialectical formation and the generic formation with *chī* in *thāraṇī* is even now common in modern Marāṭhi.³

A word may be said about the method of punctuation in these inscriptions. In inscriptions A, B and F either one or two dot (which at first may be mistaken for a *visarga*) are placed as stops instead of *dandas*. Inscription L has no stop at all, whereas in inscriptions C and D the usual *dandas* are found.

A --Chānje Inscription of Aparādityadēva (I) Śaka 1060

This inscription was found from the village Chānje near Uran in 1831. The stone on which it is inscribed is 2' 9½" × 1' 2½" and the inscribed portion which contains 17 lines of writing is 1' 1½" × 1' 2½". The average size of letters is ¾". At the top of the stone are

¹ Also in an Inscription of Aparāditya (II), I. B. R. I. 4 S. Vol. XII, p. 331.

² Its echoes are still heard in the language of the masses.

³ Bhagwanlal Indraji notes (I. B. R. I. 4 S. Vol. XII, p. 331) that inscriptions with such sculptures were seen by him in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār and at some places on the Coromandel coast. [Such representations are also found outside the Bombay Presidency e.g. at Gooty fort in the Madras Presidency there is an inscription with similar depiction. See also copper plate from Rājapura in Bastar State, I. S. A. (Above, Vol. IX, plate facing p. 179) —Ed.]

⁴ I am obliged to Profs. Bhagavat and Shembayekar, of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, for this information. —H. D. S.

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 19, n. 2.

figured in low relief, on the left, the Sun, and on the right, the Moon. Below the inscribed portion is cut out a square 9" × 9" and this contains a representation of the curse mentioned above.

It is dated in Śaka 1060, Māgha Śuddha 1, both in words and in numerals. This is equivalent to Thursday, 13th January, A D 1138, when the Southern cyclic year (which is not mentioned in the inscription) was Pingala.¹

This inscription records the grant of a mango (?) field in Nāguma village to one Śrīdhara for the welfare of the king's mother Līlādēvī and also the grant of some land² in Chadiya village by the King Aparādityadēva himself. The latter grant, it appears, was made separately on a solar eclipse.

The King styles himself as a *Mahāmandalēśvarādhipati* and the administration was carried on by the *Mahāmātya* śrī Sōdha (?) Nāyaku,³ the *Mahāsāmdhivigrahika* śrī-Amuka, the *Mahāpradhāna* śrī Lakshmanāyaprabhu in charge of the *śrīkarana* and *bhāndāgāra*, in the first instance, and in the second, Sēna Amuka, etc.

King Aparādityadēva⁴ is to be identified with the ruler of the same name mentioned in the Vadavalī plates⁵, (also called Aparājita), as the son of Anantapāla of the Silāra family. According to these plates he was the ruler of the whole of Kōnkan, though the title he claims there is that of a *Mahāmandalēśvara* only. Aparāditya of our inscription is further identified with Aparāditya, King of Kunkana who sent an ambassador called Tējakantha⁶ to Kashmīr.

However, Aparāditya of this inscription is different from the one mentioned in D, whose minister Lakshmananāyaka gave some land to god Sōmanātha of Surāshtra. That king, as it has been pointed out below, is Aparāditya II.⁸

This is the first stone inscription of Aparāditya I⁹ published so far, if we include the Vadavalī plates, it would be his second inscription.

The villages Nāguma and Chadiya may be identified, as already suggested,¹⁰ respectively with the modern Nagaon, which is about 2 miles¹⁰ S W and Chānje, which is about 2 miles W of Uran in the Panvel Tālukā of the Bombay Presidency.

¹ Cf S K Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol III, p 278.

² According to *Bomb Gaz*, *op cit*, p 19, n 2, "of a garden."

³ There are stops indicated in the original by a dot placed on the right hand top corner of the letter. That this interpretation is correct is shown by referring to the copper plate of Anantadēva of Śaka 1016 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol IX, p 33), where the divisions are clearly indicated by vertical bars. See also *J B B R A S*, Vol XII, p 333.

⁴ Altekar calls him Aparārī (I), *op cit*, p 411, and attributes the Vadavalī plates to him. These plates, however, mention this ruler as Aparāditya (also Aparājita) and not as Aparārka.

⁵ *J B B R A S*, Vol XXI, p 508, l 30.

⁶ According to Mankha's *Śrīkanthacharita*, *sarga* 25, *śloka* 108—111, first cited in *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 19, n 2.

⁷ Sōmēśvaradēva had a minister called Tanjaprabhu. See E below.

⁸ Altekar, *op cit*, p 411, who identifies him with Aparāditya I, is wrong. For he bases his argument on an inscription of Aparāditya (in *A B O R I*, Vol V, p 169) of (V S) 1176. The reading of the date, as has been pointed out below, is wrong for in V S 1176 the cyclic year was not Visvāvasu as mentioned in the inscription. [See below p 277 n 2—Ed.]

⁹ Another inscription of Śaka 1051 is cited from *Festgabe der Hermann Jacobi* by Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol I, p 333 and by Altekar, *The Silaharas of Western India* (*Ind. Cul*, Vol II, p 411, and n 5). [This stone inscription is now preserved at Cintra, near Lisbon, in Penha Verde (Green Rock) which had been the country seat of Dom João de Castro, the Portuguese Viceroy in India. The date of the record as given by Hultzsch, the editor, is Śaka samvatu [1]059 Pingala samvatsarē Chaitra śuddha 12 and not Śaka 1051 as stated by Kane—Ed.]

¹⁰ *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt I, p 19, n 2 and Vol XIII, Pt II, p 426 give 4 miles but referring to the modern Tālukā map (1924) the distance seems to be 2 miles only.

TEXT

- 1 'मन्ति जयस्वा(सा)भ्युदयस्य शक्रवृषकाणातीतमयस
- 2 [र*]म(श)तपु दशसु पट्टि(ष्टी)ल्यधिकस्य यथांकतोपि यक्रमयत १०४०
- 3 साद्य सध १ पाप)येमसस्वरात्रायनीविराजिनसमामुनेम(ग)रा-
- 4 धिपतिश्रीमदपरादिलदेवकायाणयिजयरात्रे तथतत्तमाटा-
- 5 'त्' ममस्तमन्त्रचिताभा[र] मसु[?]ति । सङ्गामात्वयामोददना*]-
- 6 यकु^६ सप्तमाविपियदीकृष्टी श्रीमक^७ श्रीकरणे भाडागा[र*]
- 7 प्रथमन्ते(स्ते) पाटो सप्तमयानचोलभागेमयसो द्वितीयचं(स्ते)
- 8 [पा]न्य सन श्रीपसुक इत्यादि श्रीकरणे मत्वेनमि याने प्रथ-
- 9 [र्त्त]माने त्रामदपरादिलदेवेन राकोगपरियदे [शान्तयेयोर्त्त]
- 10 नागुमसध्रे(व्य)वर्ति श्रावत्तेन सप्तममातृ[?] श्रीलीलादेया[?] ये-
- 11 [यो*]य श्रीवरकमपिदारासुभिमिना ना]दायादस्य च आराम[क*]-
- 12 मभ्यतरीकल मयुजमाताकुल[?] मयुजकाटोदकायितः* स[मा*]-
- 13 स(मा)पयत । पयत [पट] दधिपत^८ यवडा पयिम पयारा । उत्तरगे^९
- 14 [मा*]र्ग ।^{१०} उदकानिमर्गेण प्रदत्त । तथा श्रीमदपरादिलदेवेने(न) सु-
- 15 र्थपर्वणि । [सुकानिगे ॥ पाद — — विविधेभ्य चट्टिस्थामात्
- 16 ^{११}—मक उदकानिमर्गेण धम(से)स्य प्रत्ता(त्ता) प्रदत्त(न) इ[त्यस्य यो]-
- 17 न्यथा करोति तस्य पु(प)वपुस्य एक यिजति — — 'क रोस्य सु'

* The small circle is a half of a letter and is placed before the letter.

* Read *ad 9*

The small circle is a stop.

* A broken letter can be seen at the end of the line and at the end of the line.

* Whether this word should be *gajya* (gajya) or *gajya* (gajya) is not clear. In the *Paramara* of *Alu V S 1194*, no. in the *Alu V S 1194* (Alu V S 1194) the word is *gajya* in the same context as above —H. D. S.

* Read *pāṭya*

* Read *śaman*

* Read *pūṣṭatā*

* Apparently a place name.

* Read *dal chinalak*

* Read *uttaratah*

* The *śarṅga* should precede the stop.

* Two letters illegible. [Reading seems to be *śarṅga* (śarṅga) (śarṅga) (śarṅga) —Ed.]

* This letter is broken.

* The initial *s* can be clearly seen on the stone. The rest of the line is illegible.

* Letters illegible. [Reading is *śarṅga* (śarṅga) (śarṅga) —Ed.]

* The following letter and the next line have partly peeled off.

B — Agāshi Stone Inscription of Haripāladēva Śaka 1072

This inscription was found near Agāshi in 1881¹. It is inscribed on a stone which is 2' 8½" by 1' 4½". The inscribed portion measures 14" × 16½" and contains 16 lines. The last line is not complete and it appears that the inscription contained a line or two more which are now peeled off. The average size of letters is ¾". Below the inscribed portion is a sculpture similar to that in A, cut in a rectangle 12" × 3½". At the top are the Sun on the left and the Moon on the right and between them a *lalasa*.

It is dated Śaka 1072, Pramōda Samvatsara, Mārgasīrsha suddha 1, which corresponds to Wednesday, 22nd November, A.D. 1150².

The inscription records that in the reign of Śilīhāra Haripāladēva, Āhavamalladēva, who was in the enjoyment of the Vattāra village in Sūrppāraka, granted something (?)³ for the (worship of) Śiva of Ānēvadi in charge of Patakila Rājānaka to Upādhyāyas Brahmadēva-bhatta, Divākara-bhatta and Gōvardha[na]bhatta⁴, on the Uttarāyana samkrānti day. The witnesses to the grant were the headmen of the Vattāra village, to wit, Rasi Mahattara and also Nāguji Mahattara, Anamtanāyaka and Chāmgadēva Mahattara. The king styles himself as a *Mahāmāndalesvarādhipati* and the administration was carried on by śrī Vēsupadavala, the *Mahāpradhāna* śrī-Lakṣmaṇaprabhu, the *Mahāpradhāna* śrī Padmasīva Rāula, and the *Pradhāna* Vāsugi Nāyaka.

This is the first inscription of King Haripāladēva so far published. On the strength of his other dated unpublished inscriptions,⁵ he may be regarded as the successor of Aparāditya I and the predecessor of Mallikārjuna (A.D. 1155—1170). But it must be noted that he is not mentioned in the subsequent inscriptions of the dynasty. Perhaps his relation with his predecessor is shown by the name of his minister the *Mahāpradhāna* Lakṣmaṇaprabhu, the same name figures among the ministers of Aparāditya I.

Sūrppāraka is the modern Nala Sopara and Vattāra is to be identified with Vatar, a village about 6 miles N.W. of Nala Sopara, and 4 miles S.W. of Agāshi. All the villages are in the Bassem Tālukā of the Bombay Presidency.

TEXT

- 1 श्री^०। स्वस्ति जयचाम्युदय^१ स(श)कचुपकालातीतसंवत्सर[र]शतेषु दस(श)सु
 2 द्विसप्तसत्यधिकेषु यत्राकतोपि सवतु(त्) १०७२ प्रमोदसंवत्सरा-
 3 न्तर्गतमार्गसि(शि)र सुध^० १ पूर्वक अद्यैव समधिगता(ता)शेषपच[म^{*}]हाश-
 व्द(ब्द)-

¹ *Bomb Gaz.*, Vol I, Pt II, p 19, n 3 also noticed by Altelaar, *Ind Cul.*, II, p 431, No 14

² Cf Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol III, p 303

³ According to Bhagwanlal Indraji, "the permanent income of Shrinēvadi in charge of a Pattakili (Pātil) named Rāja." *Bomb Gaz.*, Vol I, Pt II, p 19, n 3 [In my opinion the sense of the passage is that the *Mahāpradhāna* Āhavamalla granted to Brahmadēva upādhyaya the fixed income (*siddh āya*) of (the village) Ānēvadi which was probably in charge of the *Pattakila* Rājānaka. According to this interpretation Rājānaka would be a proper name and not a title. See also p 274, n 5 below —Ed.]

⁴ Bhagwanlal takes Brahmadēvabhatta as the son and grandson of the two latter respectively, he also reads Gōvardhana for Gōvaddha [See p 274, n 3, below —Ed.]

⁵ Of Śaka 1071 and 1075 referred to in *Bomb Gaz.*, *op cit.*, p 19, n 3

⁶ Denoted by a symbol

⁷ Should be *°yas=cha*

⁸ This letter *gam* is superfluous.

⁹ Read *suddha*

- 4 श्रीसीलाहारनरेन्द्रजीभूतवाहनान्वयप्रसूतसमस्तराजाव-
 5 लीसमलक्षतमहामण्डलेस(श्व)राधिपतिश्रीभद(द)हरिपालदेव-
 6 कल्याणविजयराज्ये ।¹ तत्प्रसादावाप्तसमस्तमण्डलचिन्ताभा-
 7 (र) समुद्रहति श्रीवैसुपडवल ।¹ तथा महाप्रधान श्रीलक्ष्म(क्ष)ण-
 8 प्रभो ।¹ तथा महाप्रधान श्रीपद्मसि(शि)व राउल ।¹ तथा प्रधान वासु-
 9 गिनायक ।¹ सत्येतस्मिन् काले प्रवर्त्तमाने ।¹ श्रीसू(शू)र्षारक-²
 10 तवष्टारग्रामप्रभू(भु)ज्यमान्(न)महा[प्र]धा[न]श्रीआहवमल्लदेवेन ।¹
 11 श्रीगोवर्द्धभटउपाध्याय च दिवाकरभट उपाध्यासुत ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदेव-
 12 भट उपाध्ये ।¹ महापर्वणि उत्तराण⁴ सकांतिसमये धर्मेण उदक्षपू-
 13 र्वक(क)।¹ पटकील राजानक आनेवडिसि(शि)वाय⁵ प्रदत्त[*]।¹ आचंद्रार्क-
 14 तारक जावतु⁶ तिष्ठति मेदिनी केनापि — —⁷ वा(वा)धा न करणीया ।¹
 15 अत्रार्थे साचि वक्षारग्रामप्रमुख⁸ रिसिन्हतारा ।⁹ तथा साचि¹⁰ नागुजिन्ह-
 16 तारा ।⁹ तथा साचि¹⁰ अनंतनायक ।⁹ साचि¹⁰ चागदेव म्हत(ता)र — — — 11

C—Bassein Stone Inscription of Mallikārjuna Śaka 1083.

This inscription is reported to have been brought from Bassein, and it is briefly noticed in the *Bombay Gazetteer* ¹² The stone measures 3' 5½" by 1' 6½" and the inscribed portion 14" by 14" It contained 18 lines, but, now, the last line is almost illegible Below the inscribed portion, in a rectangle there is a representation of the ass curse similar to that noticed before, though it is much worn out At the top, between the inscribed portion and the figures of the Sun and the Moon, in a rectangle there are two figures and between them are two—one big and the other

¹ Stop indicated by two dots which look like the *visarga* sign

² The last syllable of this line and the first of the next are not clear [Reading may be *Śū(Śū)rpāraka(l ā) ntarggata* —Ed]

³ May stand for *Gōvārdhana* as suggested by Bhagwanlal Indraji (*Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 19, n 3) [To me the reading appears to be *Gōvanna bhāṣa upādhyā[ya] suta Dīrālāra*, etc In this case the donee would be only Brahmadēva —Ed]

⁴ Read *Uttarāyana*

⁵ [Reading seems to be *Ānēvadī sīdh(ddh) āya* See p 273, n 3, above —Ed]

⁶ Read *tarakam yāvat*

⁷ These two letters are not clear

⁸ The last syllable is not clear, it looks like *ksha*

⁹ Stop indicated by two dots which look like the *visarga* sign

¹⁰ Read *sakshī*

¹¹ This portion of the line is not clear

¹² *Bomb Gaz*, Vol XIII, Pt II, p 426, n 4, Vol XIV, p 386 and Vol I, Pt II, p 20, n 1, see also above, Vol VII, Appendix, p 56, n 4 Altekar, (*op cit*, Vol II, p 415) calls this the Chiplūn stone inscription But this inscription is dated, according to Kielhorn, in Śaka 1078 (?), *Dhātṛī Samvatsara*, *Vaiśākha Suddha 3, Tuesday* See above, Vol VII, Appendix, p 56, No 311, and *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 19, and Vol XIV, p 386 So the inscription that Altekar seems to have "traced" in the P W M is the Bassein stone inscription and not the one from Chiplūn

small—Śiva *lingas* The figure on the right, probably a woman with peculiar head dress is seated facing the full front and its left hand is held over the big *linga* The figure on the left is seated similarly, with its right hand supported by the left resting on the small *linga* The big *linga* is placed on a very high *yōmipatta*

It is dated Śaka 1083,¹ Vriṣha² Samvatsara, Pushya (Pausha) Vadi 15, Sōma-dinē which would correspond to January 17, A D 1162, when there was a solar eclipse This seems to be the intended date in our inscription though the week day would be Wednesday

It records that in the reign of Śilāhāra king Mallikārjunadēva, lord of Tagarapura, something was repaired and a garden called Lōna³ in Padhālasaka in Katashadī⁴ Vishaya was granted to a teacher (*raṣha* = Skt *upādhyāya*) The name of the donor cannot be read with certainty⁵ The ministers mentioned are the *Mahāsāmdhivigraha* Prabhākara Nāyaka, and the *Mahāpradhāna* sri Anata (Ananta) paipribhu⁶

There is no evidence at present to connect Mallikārjuna with other kings of the dynasty of the Northern Śilāhāras But he seems to be identical with Mallikārjuna mentioned in the *Kumārāpālacharita*⁷ and hence a contemporary of the Gujarāt Chaulukya king Kumārpāla (c 1145-1171 A D) The other known date of Mallikārjuna is Śaka 1078⁸

Mallikārjuna is called 'Tagarapura-paramēśvara, the Lord of the city of Tagara'⁹ As the title is also assumed by the kings of the Kolhapur branch of the Śilāhāras, it only implies, as has been suggested,¹⁰ that the original home of the Śilāhāras was Tagara

Among the place-names, Lōna may be identified with Lonad, a village 6 miles E of Bhivndī¹¹ in Bhivndī Tālukī Padhālasaka, though it cannot be identified now, must be a

¹ It is neither 1082 (as read in *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 20, n 1 and Vol XIII, Pt II, p 426) nor 107(9) but is 1083 as once read in *Bomb Gaz*, Vol XIV, p 386, for the last digit is definitely 3 on the stone, though on the impression the lower half of 3 seems to form a circle The numeral before it is 8 For an identical form of it see the date portions, lines 5 and 9 in the two inscriptions of Sōmēśvaradēva below, where no doubt exists as to the numerical value of that sign Moreover, on going through the *Lepheris* it will be found that it is only in Śaka 1083 that Vriṣha Samvatsara occurs and in no other [It appears to me that the last digit was first written as 9 and then corrected into 3 The penultimate digit is different from the symbol for 8 in E and F below and looks more like 7 But as 1073 would be too early for Mallikārjuna and neither this date nor 1079 would admit of verification, it may be that the intended date is 1083 and the engraver wrote the figure of 7 instead of that of 8 by mistake—Ed]

² The reading in *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 20, n 1 and Vol XIII, Pt II, p 426, n 4, is "Vishva", where as in Vol XIV, p 386, it is "Vriṣha"

³ Perhaps identical with the modern Lonad See *Bomb Gaz*, Vol XIV, p 212

⁴ *Bomb Gaz* Vol XIV, p 386 reads 'Shilārāvaka' and "Katakhadī" instead of "shadī"

⁵ It is definitely not the king Perhaps the grantors are Rājaguru Vēdaśiva and the Bhōpaka (temple priest?) Vyōmaśiva as suggested in *Bomb Gaz*, Vol XIV, p 386

⁶ Ministers with the same names are mentioned in the Parel Inscription of Aparīdityadēva Śaka 1109, *J B B R A S*, Vol XII, p 333

⁷ See canto VI, verses 65 to 70 The relation was first pointed out in *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 20, n 1 For details regarding the relation see *ibid* As *Dvyāśraya kavya*, another work by Hēmachandra, does not mention it, it appears that the war with Mallikārjuna took place after the events described in that work

⁸ According to a stone from Chiplūn, see *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, n 19

⁹ Exact identity of this city is not yet established Fleet identified it with Ter, 95 miles S E of Parthan (*J R A S*, 1901, pp 537—52) For other suggestions and references see *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 3, n 6, p 16, n 4, etc

¹⁰ *Bomb Gaz*, op cit, p 536, subsequently Altekar, *Ind Cul*, Vol II, p 396, following Jain, who cites relevant extracts from *Karakanda O(ch)ariu A B O R I*, Vol XVI, pp 1-11

¹¹ This is as it is spelt in the modern Tālukī map It should be Bhivndī

bigger village comprising Lōna Katashadī Vishaya cannot be located with any certainty at present

TEXT

- 1 श्री¹ स्वस्ति सकुसवत् १०८३ [ह]पस[स्व]स(त्स)गतर्गत-
- 2 मुख्यं मासि वदि १५ सोमदिने ॥ सूर्ज(र्य)पर्वणि ।
- 3 अद्येह स[मधि]गताशेषपचम[हा]स(श)व्दमहासामता-
- 4 धिपतितगरपुरपरमेश्वर । श्रीसिलाहार नरेन्द्र
- 5 इत्यादि ममत्त(स्त)रा[जा]वलीविराजितश्रीमल्लिकार्जुनदेव-
- 6 राज्ये । सहासाधिविश्वहिकप्रभाकरनायको(का) श्रीक-
- 7 रणे प्रथमस्वपाटि महाप्रधानश्रीश्रणत(नन्त)पैप्रभो द्विती-
- 8 य[स्व]पाटि अभुक् । सत्ये[तस्मिन्] काले प्रवर्तमाने सति ।
- 9 राजगुरु श्रीवेदमि²(शि)व । भोपदे[व³] व्यससि(श)व विवेक — —⁸
- 10 गुणपल⁴[निधि] ॥ सपतिसाप¹⁰ । सत्कीर्तिं पुण्य से(शे)य, फले
- 11 ज(या)चकक[ल्य]वृत्त । श्रीभोपकव्यमसिवो विभाति ॥
- 12 — — — स जीर्णधारो¹¹ कारित(त) । महदुगिवद्भासुत । लाष-
- 13 ण वद्भक्त¹²तकृत — — — — प्रसादेन । ताम्यं गुरुकुले
- 14 — — — — कटपडोविषयातपाती । पढालसकस । लो
- 15 न वाटके¹³॥ लाषण उवाङ्माय दतः(त्त) । [तथा] — — — — पः सो —
- 16 म प्रदत्त(त्त) । जयच — ष अष्टानृपाख्यमेन वापः तपि सधणल
- 17 — — — — न केना । प्रतिः विजातीय य[स्व] परिप(प)थो — — —
- 18 तस्य माता गदमेन

¹ Indicated by a symbol

Pend Sala

² The reading in *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 20, n 1 and in Vol XXIII, Pt II, p 426, n 4, is *Vishva* but in Vol XIV, p 386 it is *Vishva*. As pointed out above the correct reading is *Vishva*

³ Pend Pa'sha

⁴ *Danda* unnecessary

⁵ Apparently the two letters *ta* and *da* look similar, so *Bomb Gaz*, Vol XIV, p 386 reads as *Dāta*

⁶ *Bomb Gaz*, op cit, reads as *Dharmasita*

⁷ Not clear [This is a verse in *Ujjayini* metre and the correct reading seems to be *Viveka mūla(lō) guna pala-* (ll): *ur'ah sapat' (ll) sapal' (sa)hah sa cha viriti pushpah [l] sre(sre)yah phalē(lō) ja(yu)chaka lalpa virikshah* *trī Bh'apak' l'gr (l'g) rasi (i)ū ubhah[*] —Ed]*

⁸ Might be *upala*

⁹ Should be *upr'at' piaplah*

¹⁰ Pend *girnēddārāh*

¹¹ *Bomb Gaz*, Vol XIV p 386, reads *lilhanak atajha*. Probably we have to read *vajhalēna kṛitah*. As the language of the rest of the inscription is very corrupt the text is left uncorrected

¹² *Bomb Gaz* Vol XIV, p 386 seems to have read *latal'hadī*

• *shilavatal* • •

[Reading seems to be *ur'at' = Skt upala (*) —Ed]*

D —Inscription of Aparādityadēva [Śaka] 1107

This inscription was formerly in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and seems to be identical with the one mentioned in the *Bombay Gazetteer*¹. However it seems to be different from another inscription of this king which is dated in (Vikrama) Samvat, 1176, Sunday the 14th of the bright half of Chaitra². The stone measures 1' 11" by 1' 5", and the inscribed portion 1' 4" by 12½". At the top, the stone is in the shape of a triangle within which is carved a *kalaśa*, resting on a *linga*.

The inscription is dated [Śaka] 1107³ Viśvāvasu Samvatsara, Chaitra Śuddha 15, Sunday. This is equivalent to Sunday, 17th March A.D. 1185.

The inscription records that in the reign of Aparādityadēva⁴ the *Mahāpradhāna* Lakshmana Nāyaka, son of Bhāskara Nāyaka, after having bathed in a *tirtha* (probably Sōmanātha in Kāthiāwār) near the sea gave away something in a *vātikā* in Sthāna (modern Thāna) and a sum of money for the worship, etc. of the god Sōmanātha in Saurāshtra. The grant closes with the words 'hail to the illustrious Chāhadadēva'⁵.

This inscription resembles in some respects⁶ an inscription of Aparādityadēva of Śaka 1049⁷ and to A above belonging to Śaka 1060. Our attention is drawn to the names of the king and the minister Lakṣmanaiya Prabhu, but it is otherwise different from the latter inscriptions. The present record is dated about sixty years later and we have dated records of two other rulers, viz., Haripāladēva and Mallikārjuna in between.

The inscription therefore belongs to the reign of Aparāditya II and not Aparāditya I as mentioned by Altekar⁸.

The inscription shows that even in the last quarter of the 12th century,⁹ the temple of Sōmanātha in Saurāshtra, though once destroyed by the Muhammadans, was still a popular shrine and that among its property could be counted some land in Kōnkan.

¹ Vol I, Pt II, p 20, n 2. The date here mentioned is Sunday the sixth of the bright half of Chaitra while the grant under question is dated on Sunday the 15th of the bright half of Chaitra. As there cannot be two Sundays within 9 days and as 15 can clearly be read in the inscription, the reading of the *Gazetteer* seems to be incorrect. [The date is wrongly given in *Ind Ant*, Vol IX, p 40, n 62. The correct date has been noticed by Kielhorn in his *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, p 56, No 312.—Ed.]

² *A B O R I*, Vol V, p 170. 'Even if they were identical, as they are in their contents, the reading of the year and date seems to be wrong, for in Vikrama 1176 the Northern cyclic year was Śubhārit, and the Southern Vikṛin. The Viśvāvasu samvatsara occurs in Vikrama 1179, see Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol III, pp 240 and 247. [An examination of the text will show that this inscription is identical with the record under consideration. Mr Diskalkar is apparently wrong in the reading of the date and referring it to the Vikrama era.—Ed.]

³ *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 20, n 2, reads 1109 and mentions the *tithi* as the sixth. This is wrong because the Southern cyclic year in 1109 was Plavanga and not Viśvāvasu, also the *tithi* Chaitra śuddha 6 would fall on Saturday, whereas the day mentioned in the inscription is Sunday.

⁴ Neither any title of the ruler, nor the name of the dynasty is mentioned, though in his other inscription of Śaka 1109 he is called *Mahārājadhiraṇa* and *Kōnkanachakravartin*. *J B B R A S*, XII, p 333. [This inscription is dated Śaka 1108 and not Śaka 1109 as given in the Journal and read by Kielhorn (*List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No 313). The Southern cyclic year in Śaka 1109 was Plavanga, not Parābhava.—Ed.]

⁵ Rather an unusual ending in a Śilāhara inscription.

⁶ Cf. specially II 47 and II 57-59 of the inscription of Śaka 1049.

⁷ *J B B R A S*, Vol XXI, p 505.

⁸ *Op cit*, p 411, though the *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 20 had already credited it to Aparāditya II.

⁹ At this time Kāthiāwār still formed part of Gujaraṭ, and the king of the latter was Chaulukya Bhīma II.

TEXT

- 1 श्रीम्¹ संवत् ११०७ विस्वा(श्वा)वसुसव(त्स)रे चैत्रशुद्ध १५ रवो(वौ) दिने
 2 अद्येह श्रीमदपरादित्यदेवरान्ये । सौराष्ट्रोयश्रोसो-
 3 मनाथदेवाय पूजासत्कारार्थ² महामात्यश्रीलक्ष्मण-
 4 नायकेन प्रमो³दधौ सुतीर्थे स्नात्वा गगनैकचक्रचूडा-
 5 मणये कमलिनीकासुकाय भगवते सवित्रे नानाविध-
 6 सुसुभक्ष्याभ्यर्च्य दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) सकलसुरासुरगुरुत्रैलोक्यस्वा-
 7 भिन भगवत्सुभाषितिसम्यच्यैः ॥⁴ भास्करनायकपुत्रेण श्री-
 8 लक्ष्मणनायकेन त्वात्मक्षेया(श्रेयो)र्ध⁵ श्रीदेवाधिदेवस्य श्री-
 9 स्थानकौयपा[ट्ट]नवाटिकामध्ये [दानवि]धौ दातव्यभा[ग]
 10 दस ४ द[स्वावधीउप(त्प)तिसमयस्य] — — — — दाम २४
 11 देयावे । शुभगे पूजापचपर्वणि — — — — शि-
 12 वरात्रिदक्षिणायण(न)उत्तरायण स्वस्ति श्रीचाहडदे[वा]य [॥*]

E — Inscription of Sōmēsvaradēva Śaka 1181

This inscription was found in Ranvad near Uran⁵ The stone measures 3' by 1' 6" The inscribed portion is 1' by 1' 5" and contains 11 lines of writing, the average size of letters being 3/4" Below this is an ass sculpture differing slightly in position of the woman from those noticed before, carved in low relief in a rectangle (18" × 11") At the top, above the inscription, are the Sun and the Moon and between them a double *kalasa* ⁶

The inscription is dated Śaka 1181 Siddhārtha Samvatsara Chaitra Vadi 15 (?) Monday, and reference is made in l 9 to a *sūryaparvan* but it is not clear whether it implies a solar eclipse, and whether the grant was made on that occasion

The reading of the date however remains uncertain, for though according to Pillai⁷ in Śaka 1181 the Southern cyclic year was Siddhārthun, Chaitra vadi 15 fell on a Thursday and vadi 13 on Tuesday, while Monday, the day mentioned in the inscription, was a *lshaya tithi* and no solar eclipse occurred in that year Under the circumstances we may read the *tithi* as 13, the date corresponding to 21st April, A D 1259, Monday

It records that Sōmēsvaradēva, the paramount Lord of Kōnkana, granted some land (?)⁸ in the village of Padivasa in Urana to Dāmōdarabhatta on the occasion of *sūrya parvan* (solar eclipse ?) for (the worship, etc.) of Śambhu

The ministers of Sōmēsvara were the *Mahāmātya* Jhampadaprabhu, the *Mahāsāmdhivigraha* [Tai]japrabhu and Chandraprabhu in charge of the *śīkarana*

¹ Expressed by a symbol

² This *anusvara* is placed on the left of the letter

³ Should be *param ōdadhau*

⁴ Both the *usarga* and the *dandas* are unnecessary

⁵ *Bomb Gaz.*, Vol I, Pt II, p 21, n 1, also noticed by Altekar, *Ind Gul.*, Vol II, p 431, No 27

⁶ For a similar sculpture from Borivli see p 279 below

⁷ *Indian Epigraphic*, Vol IV, p 120

⁸ Details are not clear to us

The inscriptions do not give any important information about Sōmēśvara. He is merely called *Kōṇkanachakravartin* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, titles which are mentioned in connection with Aparādityadēva II also. Neither is there any hint as to his relationship with his predecessor Kēśarāja whose two unpublished inscriptions are referred to in the *Bombay Gazetteer*¹. Probably he was a son of the latter as suggested by Altekar².

According to our present knowledge of the history of this family, Sōmēśvara seems to be the last king of the Northern Śilāhāra dynasty. He was defeated and perhaps killed and the country conquered by Mahādēva³ of the (Dēvagiri) Yādava dynasty. Cousens thinks that the scene of the battle between Sōmēśvara and Mahādēva is sculptured on some stones lying about Borivli⁴. In this connection it may be noted that the *kalasa* like sculpture which appears on the middle stone, figured by Cousens, very much resembles in ornamentation the *kalasa* like figure on the stone F described below.

Among the place-names *Urana* is the modern Uran, and *Padivasa* may be identified either with Phunda about 2 miles north east of Uran or with Panja, another village about 3 miles to the north of Uran, in the Panvel Talukā of the Bombay Presidency.

TEXT

- 1 श्रीं । स्वस्ति श्रीः [॥*] अयेह समस्तराजावलीसमलक्षितमहाराजाधि-
- 2 राज कीक[ण*]चक्रवर्त्तिश्रीमद(त्)सोमेश्वरदेवरायकल्याणविजयराज्ये
- 3 तथैतप्र(त्)सादा(त्)वा(त्)समस्तमडलचिता(ता)भार समुद्रहति महामात्यश्री-
- 4 क्षेपडप्रभु महासाधिविग्रही[तै]जप्रभु श्रीकरणी चद(द्र)प्रभु इत्यादि श्री-
- 5 करणभांडागारे सत्येत्स्मिन् काले प्रवर्त्तमाने[नि] सति शकसवतु(त्) ११८१ सि-
- 6 ध(डा)र्यसवक्(त्)रे चैववदि १[३] सामाद्र(सोमे) श्रीदामोदरभट्ट तथा भ्रातर वासु-
- 7 दे[व-]भट्ट लेखन २ नास्थिले पावे निमित्ते श्रीशुभ्य दामोदरभट्ट विधा
- 8 उरणे पडिवसे[ग्राम]प्रतिबद्धा खडपलास्थानि चा भाग १ देउलेखड
- 9 समग्रहिमाहती ३ — — — — — निमित्ते सूर्यपर्वे हस्तोदकपू-
- 10 र्वाक दामोदर भटावे — — — — — — — करतिदोह
- 11 ली—मंगलमहाश्रीः ॥

F—Inscription of Sōmēśvaradēva Śaka 1182

This inscription was found from Chanje near Uran⁵. The stone measures 3' 5" by 1' 7" and the inscribed portion is 1' 6" by 1' 5" and contains 18 lines, the average size of letters is $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Below this, in a rectangle (16" × 11") was an ass sculpture as in B, but now it is completely worn out. Above the inscription, between the Sun and the Moon, on a pedestal is a *pūrṇa kalasa*, on its

¹ Vol I, Pt II, p 20, n 3

² *Op cit*, p 417

³ This is according to Hēmadri's *Chaturvargachintamani*, first cited in *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 246, then Altekar, *op cit*, p 417, Cousens, *Medieval Temples of the Dakhan*, p 21, *Chālukyan Architecture* p 143, pls CLIII—IV

⁴ Cousens, *op cit*, p 21 pl XV

⁵ Denoted by a symbol

⁶ *Bomb Gaz*, Vol I, Pt II, p 21

bulging part is a hand and leaves on either side. The *Jalasa* is crowned with what looks like a smaller *Jalasa* and may be a coconut.

It is dated in Śaka 1182, Raudra Samvatsara Chaitra vadi 15, Monday on a solar eclipse. The date thus corresponds to Monday, April 12, A.D. 1260, when there was a solar eclipse.¹

It records that Sōmēśvaradēva, lord of Kōnkana, granted land² (whose limits are mentioned) in Kōmthala vāṭikā in the village of Chāmdijē in Urana³ and 162 *Pūrutthā*⁴ (?) *drammas*⁵ to god Uttarēśvara of Śrī-sthāna on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun.

The king is the same as in E but the names of the ministers are different, except that of the *Mahāmātya* who is, as before, Jhūmpadaprabhu. Other ministers are the *Mahāsāmdhivapahā* Māmāku, Bībalaprabhu, Pōmadīpandita, and Gōvānīku.

The places mentioned in the inscription, Urana and Chāmdijē⁶ are the modern Uran and Chanja respectively, while Kōnthā(dha)sthāna may be the same as Kūludhonda, a place a little north of Uran.

TEXT

- 1 ओ नमो विनायकाय ।⁸ लंबी(वो)दर नमस्तुभ्य मततं सोदकपृथ ।⁹
- 2 अविन्न कुए मे देव सर्वकार्येषु सर्वदा [।*]। अद्येह समस्तरा-
- 3 जावलीसमलंकृतमा(स)हाराजाधिराज¹⁰ कीक¹¹चक्रव-
- 4 र्त्तिश्रीसोमेश्व(श्व)रदेवरायकल्याणविजयराज्ये तयैतत्प्रसादा-
- 5 व्या(वा)समस्तमंडलचिंताभार समुद्धति मन्नामात्यश्रीश्रापडप्रभु
- 6 मा(स)हासाधिविश्वही साइनाकु¹² वैवलप्रभु¹³ पौमदेपंडित¹⁴ श्रीकरणभा-
- 7 डागारे प्रथमच्छे¹¹ पाटी गोवनाकु¹⁵ इत्येतस्मिन्वाले प्रवर्तमाने भति श-
- 8 कनृपकालातीतसवच्छ(त्त)रेसप्वे¹²कादशसु¹³ दामोत्वधीकेपु¹⁴ अत्रांकतोपि
- 9 सकुसवतु¹ ११८२ रौद्रसंवच्छरेसु(त्तरे) चैत्रवदि १५ सोमदिने¹ सुयोपिरागे¹³उ-
- 10 त(र)ण[ग्रामस्यभूव]¹⁰ चाडिजे ग्रामा(स)प्रतिव[३]¹ कोयले स्थानवाटिकाभू¹⁰ ग्राम्य चा-

¹ Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol IV, p. 122

² In the inscription the word for this is *bhū*

³ [The inscription seems to record the gift of some building site at Urana and some garden land at Kōmthala in the Chāmdijē village.—Ed.]

⁴ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol I, Pt II, p. 21, n. 1, suggests that this might stand for Parthuan *drammas*

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 21, n. 1, takes the *drammas* "as a fixed income of a garden in " which does not seem to be correct, for if no land were granted it would not be necessary to mention its boundaries. [Apparently the money was granted in addition to the land.—Ed.]

⁶ This name occurs also in inscription A, see p. 272, Text, l. 15, above.

⁷ Denoted by a symbol

⁸ The stop is indicated by two dots

⁹ Read *prīya*

¹⁰ This stop is superfluous.

¹¹ Read *sthā*

¹² Read *atēshu ē*.

¹³ This dot which stands for a stop is unnecessary

¹⁴ Read *drāsity adhātēshu*

¹⁵ Read *Śaka samvat*

¹⁶ [Reading seems to be *Urana āgarā(gāra) bhū* —Ed.]

- 11 घाटनानि^{०१} पूर्व^{०१} सानुठाकुराचो वृत्ति(त्ति)^० दक्षिणे विष्णुहाचो वृत्ति(त्ति)^० पश्चिमे
 12 राजमार्ग^{०२} उत्तरे^० विरा^{०१} एवं चै(च)तुराघाटनानि^{०१} सु(स्व)सीमापर्यंतं सतृणकाष्ठो-
 13 दकोपेत रुणदायाद्यदि^३संबधविवर्जितं^{०१} सर्वोत्पत्ति(त्ति)सहित सिधा पोरुत्यद्र-
 14 माणा दशविसौ च द्विषष्ठो द्रमात्यधीकमेकशतानि^{०४} अकतोपि द्र १६२ ॥
 15 श्रीस्थानकीय श्रीउत्तरेख(श्च)रदेवाय^{०१} शासनप्रतिबध्(ध्व) कृत्वा^{०१} महाराजश्री-
 16 सोमेख(श्च)रदेवेन^{०१} उदकातिसर्गेण प्रदत्त ॥ वर्तमानस्यास्य धर्मस्य परिपं-
 17 यना न से(के)नापि कार्या^{०१} खदता(त्ता) परदता(त्ता) वा यो हरेत्(त),
 वसुधरा(रा) । षष्टि(ष्टि)वर्षसह-
 18 साणि विष्ठाया जायते क्षमि(भिः) ॥ मगलं सा(म)हाश्री[:] सु(शु)भ भवतु ॥

No 44 —A STONE INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA RAMACHANDRA, SAKA 1222

By H D SANKALIA, M A, LL B, Ph D (LOND) AND S C UPADHYAYA, M A, LL B

This inscription is now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is not known whence it came. The trustees of the Museum and the Curator, Mr G V Acharya, have been good enough to allow us to edit it.

The stone on which it is inscribed measures 2' 8" by 1' 3", and the inscribed portion, which contains 17 lines of writing, is 1' 4" in length. The average size of letters is $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Above the inscribed portion is cut out a rectangle 13' by 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". In this are carved in low relief, on the left the Sun and on the right the Moon. Above this on the apex is a *lalasa*. Below the inscribed portion also there is a rectangle, now half broken off, which contains the figure of an ass facing right as found in many other Śilāhāra and Dēvagiri Yādava inscriptions.⁵

The record is dated in Śaka 1222 Śārvarī Samvatsara, Śrāvana Vadi 7, Monday and regularly corresponds to Monday 8th August, A D 1300.

The inscription is of Jāidēva, a governor appointed by Rāmadēva, to rule over Kōnkan. Rāmadēva himself was a commander in chief, and lord of the Western coast under Rāmachandra-dēva, who bore the *brūda Praudhapatāpachakravartin*.

From the date and the *brūda* it is evident that the inscription belongs to the reign of Rāmadēva or Rāmachandradēva the last king of the Dēvagiri Yādavas. Though many copper plates and stone inscriptions of his or his reign are noted and a few published,⁶ this would be the first stone inscription from Kōnkan⁽²⁾ published so far.⁷ However, so far as the date is concerned,

¹ This dot which stands for a stop is unnecessary.

² Read *-mārgah*.

³ Read *ṛin-ādāy adī*.

⁴ Read *dvī shasīti dramm adhikam satam = ēkam*.

⁵ Cf. above pp 270ff and Vol V II, Appendix, pp 66 and 68, Nos 372 and 381.

⁶ See Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, and Graham, *Kolhapoor*, extracts from these are noted above, Vol VII, Appendix, pp 66 68 (Nos 368 382).

⁷ Even the copper plate is only one, see *J R 4 S*, Vol V, p 178.

No 45 —FOUR PANDYA RECORDS FROM UKKIRANKOTTAI

BY A S RAMANATHA AYYAR, B A , MADRAS

The subjoined Pāndya records¹ come from Ukkirankōttai, a village in the Tinnevely taluk of the Tinnevely District. Three of them are in the Tamil language and are engraved in Vatteluttu characters assignable to the 10th century A.D., while the fourth in Sanskrit is in Grantha characters of the same period. There are no new points worth mentioning about the graphic peculiarities of these Vatteluttu and Grantha scripts, as they are of the usual variety employed in other contemporaneous records of the locality.

Record A is dated in the 13th year opposite to the 2nd year of reign of the Pāndya king Śadaiya-Māran and registers a gift of sheep by a lady named Tudarūrī, wife of Tennavan Pallavadiaraiyan *alias* Mārañ²-Śūran for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the temple of god Āditya Bhatāra³ at the eastern entrance of Karavandapuram in Kalakkudi-nādu. Record B is a Sanskrit version of the same endowment made by Tudarūrī, here called the wife of Śrīkantha-Śūra to the temple of god Vikarttana at Karavandapura, but the king's name is not mentioned in it. Record C was originally engraved on a broad slab of stone, which has been cut longitudinally into two and planted in the temple compound to serve as gate posts, and in the process, its first line containing the king's name has suffered mutilation. But the regnal year quoted for the king, viz., 2+9, as well as the fact that the same Tennavan Pallavadiaraiyan *alias* Kandan (Śrīkantha)-Śūran is herein mentioned as being in charge of Kalakkudi (*Kalakkudi mahānāyakaṃ śeṣyaperra*) help us to attribute this inscription also to the Śadaiya Māran of record A. Further, as it is stated that this Pallavadiaraiyan erected an *ambalam* (wayside choultry) called 'Nagarattān' in the name of the trading guild (*Nagarattān*) of the colony called Rājasinga-ppērangādi, newly founded by him, apparently in the name of his sovereign, the Śadaiya-Māran of these records can be identified with Rājasimha III, who is already well-known from the Śīnnamanūr plates⁴ issued in the 2+14th year of his reign, and to whose period the characters employed in all these epigraphs can very appropriately belong. Record D, though it does not mention any king's name, can, palaeographically, be attributed to the same king's reign.

The village now known by the name of Ukkirankōttai has been called Karavandapuram in Kalakkudi-nādu in A, while in D it is simply called Kalakkudi. Karavandapuram *alias* Kalakkudi⁵ (and Kalandai) has been mentioned as the birth-place of Māran-Kāri, the excavator of the rock-cut shrine of Narasimha at Ānimalai in the Madura District, and of his brother Māran Eyinan, both of whom successively held the office of *Uttaramantri* under the Pāndya ruler Mārañ Sadaiyan, and also that of Śāttan Ganavadi, the king's *Mahāsāmanta*⁶, and it was

¹ Nos 194, 195 196 and 199 of 1935 36 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

² The first part of the name 'Māran' is based on the name of the reigning Pāndya king

³ The temple in which this record is found is now called the Chokkalanga temple and a *linga* is installed in its central shrine. It was probably a temple dedicated exclusively to Sūrya in earlier days. But as the people in the locality say that the present temple was built from stones brought from the adjoining fields, it is also possible that the temple of Āditya Bhatāra may have existed as a separate shrine in the vicinity, and that when it fell into ruins, its stones were built into the present shrine. In this connection it has to be remembered that inside a fort, a Śiva temple should be constructed in the north east, and that of Sūrya in the east. (Gopinath Rao, *El of Hindu Iconography*, Vol I, p 22)

⁴ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol III, p 444

⁵ Above, Vol VIII, p 319 and Vol XVII, p 303. The name Kalandai mentioned as the native place of Mūrti Eyinan, appears to be only a poetic form of the word Kalakkudi (*Ind Ant*, Vol XXII, p 71 and above, Vol XVII, p 296)

⁶ *Ind Ant*, Vol XXII, p 67, wherein is quoted No 37 of 1908

considered that this Kalakkudi might be Kalakkūḍi in the Nanguneri taluk of the Tinnevely District. But from the present inscriptions this identification has to be given up and **Karavandapuram** *alias* Kalakkudi to be identified with **Ukkirankōṭṭai** in the Tinnevely taluk.

Karavandapuram must have been a place of sufficient strategic importance in early Pāṇḍya days as to necessitate the building of a fort here by the Pāṇḍya king Neduñjadaiyan, who in the Madras Museum Plates dated in the 17th year of his reign, claims to have built, along with a broad stone ditch, a lofty wall whose top never loses the moisture (*caused by*) the sky coming in contact (*with it*), and the clouds resting (*on it*), so that (*the town of*) Karavandapuram might get resplendent, which has beautiful halls and long streets (*where even*) warriors are afraid of the arrow (*-like*) pointed and long eyes of women with lotus faces.¹ This Neduñjadaiyan has been identified with the king figuring in the Āṇṇimalai inscriptions (c. A.D. 770) and the Vēlvikudi copper plates.² Though in the latter record several *brudas* are applied to him, he is not known to have had the surname of 'Ukkiran' or 'Ugra' and it is therefore not clear why and when Karavandapuram came to acquire its present name of Ukkirankōṭṭu or 'Ukkiran's fort'. Its origin cannot be connected with the name of the early king Ugiapperuvaiudi, for he is believed to have flourished long anterior to Neduñjadaiyan's time.³ In the Sanskrit portion of the larger Śīnna-manūr plates⁴, it is stated that Parīntaka Vīrinīrayana Śadaiyan (c. A.D. 900) fought a battle at Khaṇḍagiri and captured a certain Ugra who, it has been surmised, was probably a scion of the Pāṇḍya family. In that case, it may perhaps be hazarded that Karavandapuram which was fortified by Neduñjadaiyan (Jatila Parīntaka) before about A.D. 785, was temporarily in the possession of this Ugra Pāṇḍya a century later and thus got the name which has survived to the present day though it has also to be pointed out that the place was known only as Karavandapuram in the time of Śōlanrālāikonda Vīra Pāṇḍya (c. A.D. 970), as evidenced by a record copied from the Chokkanīyākī shrine in the same village.⁵

Vestiges of a fort and a moat are even now pointed out at some spots in the village as evidence of its former greatness, but the villagers have no information of value to offer regarding its ancient history. That the fortification may have been of fairly extensive dimensions can, however, be surmised from the fact that the temple of Āḍitya Bhatīa which is described in record A as being situated in the *līlavāyil* or eastern gate apparently of the fortified village is nearly half a mile distant from the Chokkanīyākī shrine which as implied by the name of the goddess 'Vadavīyil-nangai' must have been located at the northern gateway. It is interesting to note in this connection that the shrines of Āḍitya and Chokkanīyākī were located in the appropriate directions of the east and the north in conformity with the rule mentioned in Kāuṭilya⁶ and the Āgamas⁷ that the shrines of guardian deities should be erected in the appropriate cardinal points inside a fort. From other inscriptions copied at the place, it is learnt that there were two Śiva temples called Arikō-sarīsvaram and Rājasingīsvaram in the vicinity of the village, though possibly not inside the fort itself and named as such after the Pāṇḍya kings Arikōsari and Rājasingha.

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 319 and Vol. XVII, p. 298.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 74.

³ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 295.

⁴ Nilakantha Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 30.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 457.

⁶ No 197 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. This fragmentary record reads as follows: *Śōlanrālāi londa-ri Vīrapandyadēvaḥ ku yundu padin-aṅgu nīāṇḍu karthiyai-ṭṭugal mudal pallam āram-pallam mudalāga Pandimattanda valaṇaṭṭu Karavandapurattu Vāḍavāyil nangai*.

⁷ Shamasastri's Translation, p. 62.

⁸ *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 22. Chollanāyālī was probably one of the *Sapta mātrī* group, several archaic statues of which are found strewn about in the temple compound.

In the Larger Śinnamanūi plates, an earlier Pāndya king Śrīvallabha¹ is stated to have fought a battle at Kunnūr and his conquests are said to have extended from Kunnūr to Śingalam. If this Kunnūr is identical with the native place of the donatrix Tudarūri mentioned in record A, the geographical detail that it was situated in Karunilakkudi-nādu is of some interest. The same village Kunnūr is stated to be located in Nilakkudi nādu (probably a shortened form of Karunilakkudi-nādu) in an epigraph from Pallamadam² in the Ariuppukkōttai taluk of the Ramnad District.

The colony which Tennavan Pallavaadharaiyan founded in front of the *koravāyil* or palace at Karavandapuram was, as stated already, called Rājasinga-ppērangādi in honour of the reigning king. It must have been a fairly influential community, for in record D Inban Dūvanaśetti, a member of the Ayyapolil-500 guild, who was probably the agent in charge at this place, is stated to have built a circumambulatory verandah (*tiruchchurrālai*) called 'Nagarattān' round the temple of Vadavāyil naṅgai, in the name and on behalf of the *Nagarattān*. Ayyapolil which is the Tamilised form of the word Ayyavole (*i e*, Aihole in the Hungund tālukā of the Bijāpur District, Bombay Presidency) is famous as the headquarters of a very influential and prosperous trading corporation which boasted of branches even in distant parts³. Several trading centres were called Ayyavoles of the South, apparently because they were branches founded by the merchants or agents of the Ayyavole guild proper. The elaborate *prasasti* of the Ayyavole guild found in an inscription⁴ in Mysore describes the guild as having been composed of 500 *svāmis*, and this conventional numerical strength of the guild is also indicated by the title 'Ainñūruvan' borne by the local agent mentioned above.

One other point of interest in these records is that the endowments were not only left under the protection of the merchant guild of the place, but that the *madit chēvagai* or the soldiers on guard at the ramparts⁵ were also enjoined to supervise the proper conduct of the charities. As already noted in the *Annual Report on S I Epigraphy* for 1932-33, page 68, endowments made in the time of the Pāndya king Sundara-Pāndya (A D 1225) to the temple at Perungulam, a medieval military cantonment in the Tinnevely District, were left in charge of a governing body composed of representatives from the several battalions stationed at the place. In an inscription from Tiruvālisvaram⁶ in the same district, it is stated that the temple of Tiruvālisvaram-Udayār, its treasury and the temple servants were placed under the protection of the Chōla garrison called 'Mūnrukaī-Mahāsēnai' stationed at that place. Similarly in a record⁶ copied at Sangrāmanallūr in the Coimbatore District, which was evidently fortified and garrisoned in olden days, the soldiers were required to protect the *gōpura*, the temple and its premises. It is therefore evident that in places which were under the control of the military, a body composed of some military officers and men functioned in respect of religious and other institutions under their charge, in a manner similar to that of village assemblies in purely civil stations.

TEXT

A

1 Śrī [*] [Kō]-chChadaiya-Mārarku yāndu irandu idan=edir padinnmūnru ivai=[āndu]
Kalaṅkudi-nāttu-kKaravandapurattu kilaivāil śrīkōi-

¹ S I I, Vol III, p 461

² No 430 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol VII, Sk 118

⁴ The term *madit chēvagar* (*madit*=rampart+*chēvagar*=soldiers) means 'the soldiers guarding the rampart' in the fort at the place. Compare *ulvittuchchēvagar* and *Malayān orraichchēvagar* in the sense of 'soldiers' (*Trav. Archl Series*, Vol I, p 159 and f n 8).

⁵ No 120 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection

⁶ No 167 of 1909 of the same collection

- 2 hl 1¹ādityabatirarku Tennavaṇ Pallavadiāraayan=āiṇa Mā[ra]ñ-Śūraṇ manavā[tti]ṇ
Karunilakkudi-nāttu-kKunnūr Tudarūri itta ti
3 runundāvilakku onrimukku adutta ādu añbadu [!'] ivv=ādu [ai]ñbadum ivv-ūr
[śi]nga lāi irattu vettikkudi Pūdi-Pōrān mādippa-
4 di ulakku ney Śōhyattāl attuvadāga koṇḍa śāvū mūvū ppērā[ḍu] aimbadu [!'] avichcharu
kal² irandum ittun nagarattir rakshai [!'] madit chehēvagar kāval [||*]

B

- 1 3Śrīkanthah(Śrīkantha)-Śūra- dayitā Tudarūri-nāmnī Vaharttanāya Kara[va]nta-
pur-ālayāya [!'] prādā[ḍ-dhi]
2 dipam-amalīkriyamāna lōkam yan=tishthatāt=sa bhuvī yāvad=aśśha-lōkam [||*]

C

- 1
2 rku yīndu irandu i[ḍin=edir o]
3 nbadu ivv=i[ndu] Kalakkudi mahā
4 4nāśakañ=cyāperra Tennava-
5 n Pallavadi[a]raayan ivv-ūr
6 kkorraiyilun munbu kudi
7 ṛruvitta [Irī]jaśingappē-
8 rangīdūl u[ga]rattār pērāl
9 Tennavan Pallavadiaraiya-
10 n=ina Kandañ=Śūraṇ eduppi-
11 tta ambalam Nāgarattānukku
12 itta tudarvilakk=onrimukku
13 vilakku neyppuramāga ivv=ū-
14 r=ppadaittalaivan Nakkan-Mun-
15 nūrruvan miyadippadi un
16 y ney attu[va]dāga adutta śā-
17 vā mūv-i-ppērādu mūnru miyāyat-
18 [tā]n nūru [!] ivv=ittukkum(n)-ne
19 y attuvipadanukkum
20 irappunai ivv=ūr=ppadaitt-
21 talaivan Venravāypēsai [!'] i-
22 nney muttimal nagarattārum
23 madit chehēvagarum kattu at-
24 tuvippadāga vuttadu [!]
25 Ambala[m*] Nagara[t]tān melugu-
26 v=ālukku nagarat[tā]r karivali Te
27 nnavan pPallavadiaraiya
28 n=āna Kandañ=Śūraṇ kudutta
29 Ilakkāśu pattu [!'] i-kkalañ-

¹ 'Āditya' is engraved in Grantha letters

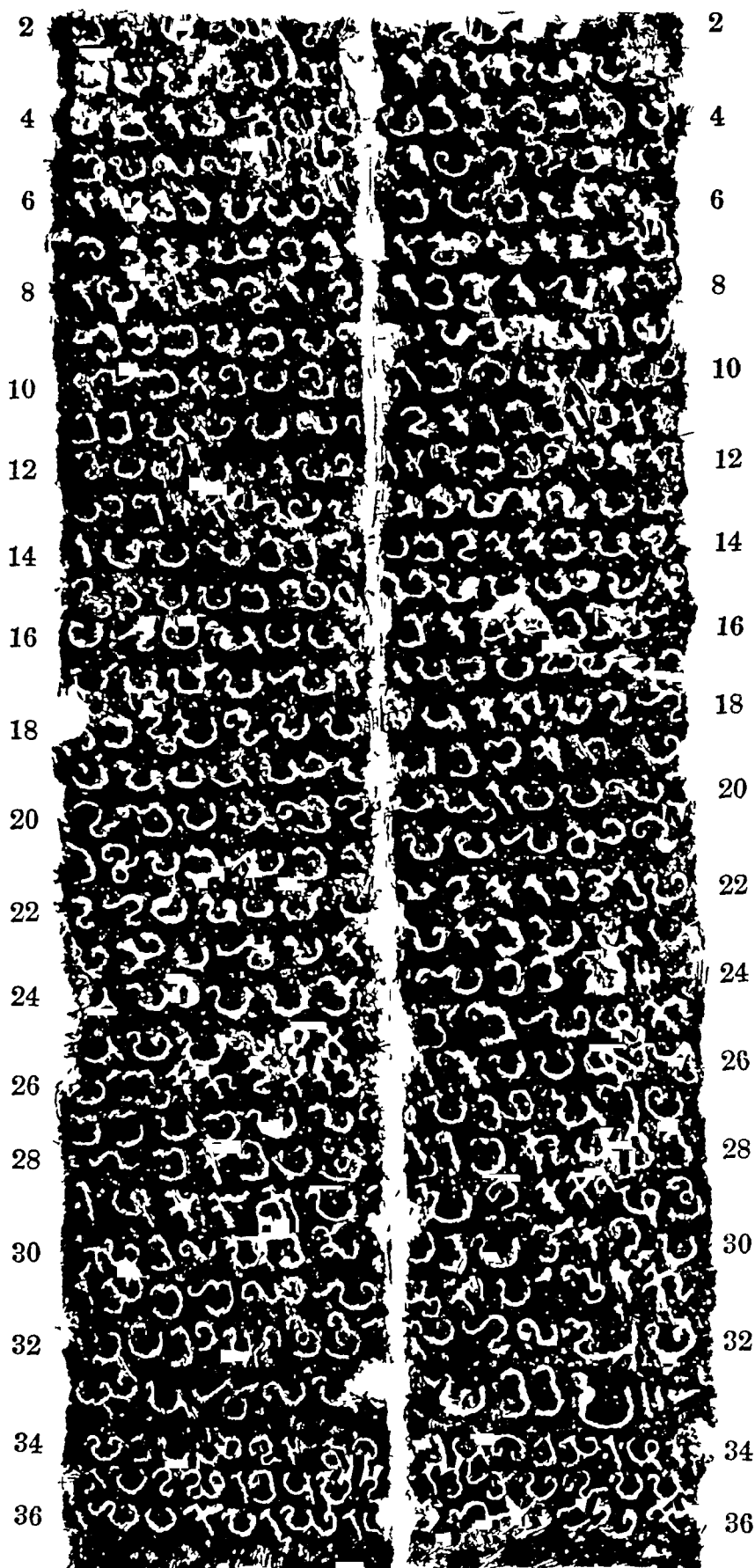
² This is not understood

³ The metre is *Vasantatilālā*

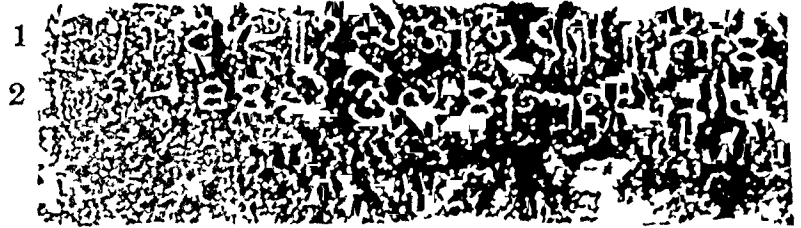
⁴ *Mahānāsakam* is properly *Mahanūyalam*

FOUR PANDYA RECORDS FROM UKKIRANKOTTAI

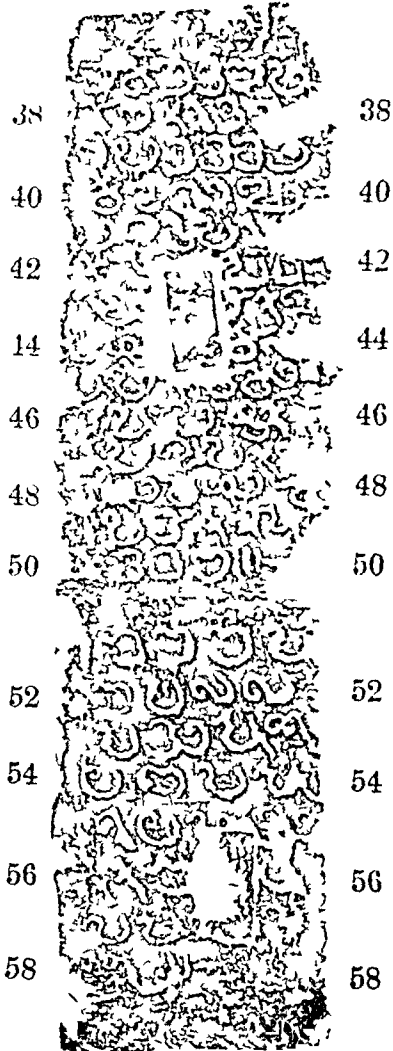
C-1



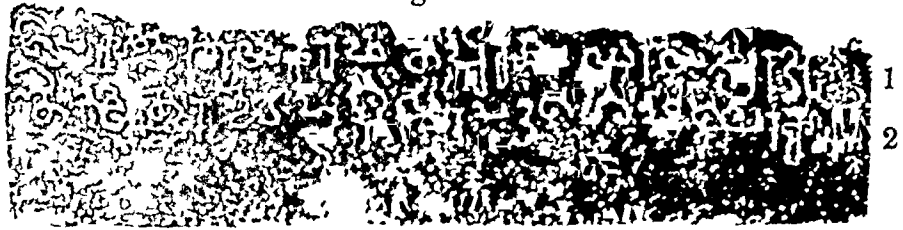
B
Left half



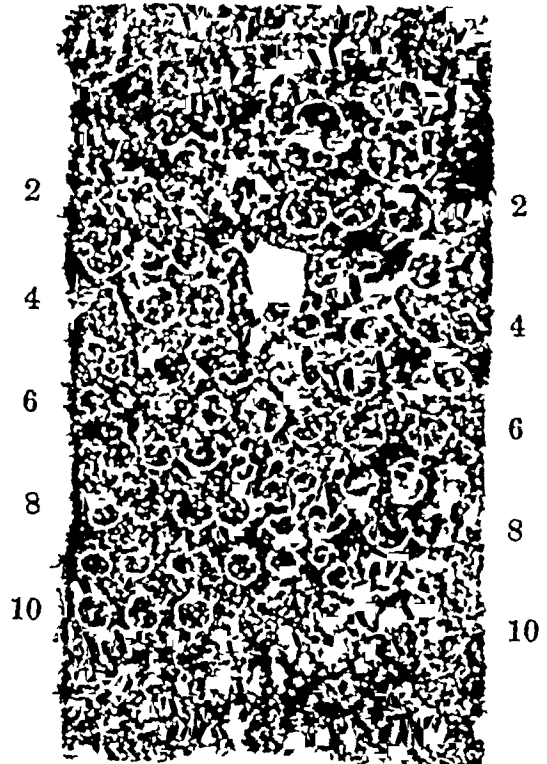
C-2



Right half



D



30 ju-mudal mudalai [n]irpadāga iva
 31 rrin poli meluguv=ālukku
 32 nṛyadī aṇṇāḥi nellum=a
 33 līvu śelavum vaṭṭadu ||
 34 mērpadi i[k]kāśu iranḍu ēṇṇi īlakkā-
 35 śu pannirandum na[ga]rattōm ivv=ū-
 36 r vṭṭkōvar Vira nāyanum kō
 37 n Śāttanum
 38 kō[n*] Nagarattā-
 39 num Tattāṇ-
 40 Śendilu-
 41 m oruvar-k-
 42 koru[var] tuda
 43 rvi āka i-
 44 [va]ḷi¹ chela-
 45 vum ka chi
 46 vu meluga
 47 vum ivagal
 48 vaḷi vaḷi śe
 49 yadāga ku-
 50 duttana ||
 51 Tennava-
 52 n Palla-
 53 vadiarai-
 54 yan=ēva A-
 55 raiyamāni-
 56 kkan [ku]du-
 57 ppitta
 58 du ||-

L

1 Svasti Śrī [i*]
 2 Kalakkudi Va-
 3 davāyil=amandā-
 4 l² tiruchchurā
 5 lai Ayyapoli-
 6 l Aṇṇūruva-
 7 [n]-Inban-Dēvanach-
 8 chetti śeyvi-
 9 ch[cha] śurrālai Nagara-
 10 ttān [i*]

¹ At this place a rectangular hole has been cut into the slab (damaging some letters)

² The more correct form is *amarnda*

TRANSLATION

A

Prosperity !

The thirteenth year opposite the second year of king Śadaiya-Māraṇ—in this year, Tudai ūṇ of Kunṇū in Kaṇṇilakkudi-nādu, wife of Teṇṇavaṇ Pallavadiṇṇaiyaṇ alias Māraṇ-Śūraṇ, gave fifty sheep for (maintaining) a perpetual lamp endowed by her to god Āditya-Bhatāra of the temple at the eastern entrance of Kaṇṇavandapuram in Kalakkudi-nādu. These fifty sheep which neither die nor grow old, Pūdi Pōraṇ a *velḷḷudi* of the Singa Isvaram (temple) of this village, took over, agreeing to supply daily one *ulalḷu* of ghee by the (measure called) Sōḷiyam.

This shall be under the protection of the *Vagarattār* and of the *Madu chūagar* (soldiers guarding the ramparts).

B

The wife of Śrīkantha-Śūra, named Tudarūri, gave to the temple of (god) Vikārttana at Kaṇṇavandapura, a lamp which has brightened the world, may it last as long as all the worlds (exist).

C

(Lines 1 to 18) The ninth year opposite the second year of —in this year, the (number of) sheep which the *Padattalannai Nalḱaṇ-Muṇṇūṇṇuṇ* of this village received, agreeing to measure daily one *uri* of ghee for a chain lamp which had been presented to the *ambalam* (called) *Nagarattān* erected in the name of the *Vagarattār* by Teṇṇavaṇ Pallavadiṇṇaiyaṇ alias Kandaṇ-Śūraṇ who was the *Mahānāyaḷa* of Kalakkudi in Rājasingappārangādi, (a settlement) which had been formed by him in front of the *Torraiṇṇil* of this village, is one hundred.

(Ll 18-21) For the sheep and for the (proper) supply of ghee, the surety is the *Padattalannai Venravāypōḱi* of this village.

(Ll 22-24) This was left under the care of the *Vagarattār* and the soldiers of the rampart so that they may arrange for the unfailing supply of this ghee.

(Ll 25-33) The amount which Tennavaṇ Pallavadiṇṇaiyaṇ alias Kandaṇ Śūraṇ deposited with the *Nagarattān* for the maintenance of the sweeper of the *ambalam* called *Nagarattān* is ten *ḷalḷāsu*. This *ḷalḷānu* amount is to remain as capital, and from the interest thereon five *nāḷi* of paddy shall be given to the sweeper daily.

(Ll 34-50) Two *ḷāsu* together with this, (i.e.) twelve *ḷalḷāsu* (in all), the *Nagarattār* gave to the *Vētkōvar Viraṇṇāyan*, *Kōṇ Sīttan*, *Kōṇ Nagarattān*, *Tattaṇ-Sendil*, so that the work of — and of sweeping may be performed by them and their descendants.

(Ll 51-58) By order of Tennavaṇ Pallavadiṇṇaiyaṇ, Aruvamānikkan gave this (edict).

D

Hail ! Prosperity !

Nagarattān, the circumambulatory verandah (*tiruchchūḷai*) of (the shrine of) the goddess *Vadavāyil-amandil* at Kalakkudi was erected by Inban Dēvanachchettī, a (member of the) *Ayyapōḷi Aṇṇūṇṇuṇ* (-guild).

¹ The service expected of the *melugut-ūl* was smearing the floor with cow dung and sweeping.

² The inscription is damaged at this place, and the details of service which had to be rendered in addition to sweeping, cannot be made out.



A



B



D



E

No 46 —UTMANZAI LAMP INSCRIPTION IN KHAROSHTHI

By B Ch CHHABRA M A , M O L , Ph D (LUGD), OOTACAMUND

This inscribed stone lamp comes from **Utmānzai**, Tahsil Charsadda, District Peshawar. Mr Gobind Ram Joneja a druggist of that village, in whose possession the object is and who has kindly lent it to me for studying the inscription on it, informs me that he acquired it from a Pathān boy of a place near Dargai in the Malakand Agency. Its exact find spot is not known, but from what Mr Joneja wrote to me it appears that in the neighbourhood of Dargai there are ruins of an ancient *stūpa*.¹ Possibly the same site is the provenance of our piece.

The lamp is made of sandstone of dark grey colour. It weighs 32½ *tolas*, stands 1 6" high and measures 4" at its broadest. One line of inscription, which is in Kharōshthī characters, appears on its outer side, running the whole length. The size of letters varies between ¼" and 1½". With regard to the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to *mu* in *danamukhe* where the *u*-stroke is not clear. Similar raised *mu* is found in Yākubi Image Inscription.² Other forms are quite regular. The language is the same northern Prākṛit as is found in most of the Kharōshthī inscriptions from the N W Frontier Province.

It may be observed that the words *thuvamī danamukhe* in the beginning are redundant³, as the purport of the inscription is fully expressed by the remaining portion which states that the lamp was a gift of **Samgharakshita**⁴ to the *Grāma-stūpa*. The name of the donor shows that he was probably a monk (*bhīṣhu*).

Stone lamps figure among the utensils that are often the objects of donations⁵. One such inscribed lamp was discovered at Taxila⁶. A fragment of a stone lamp, also inscribed, was unearthed at Jamālgaīhī.⁷

I read the inscription from the original.

TEXT

Thuvamī danamukhe Grama thuvamī Sagarak⁸shidasa danamukhe

TRANSLATION

Gift in the *Stūpa*. Gift of Samgharakshita, in the *Grāma*⁹ *stūpa*.

¹ It may be pointed out that the region north of Peshawar abounds in Buddhistic relics. Remains of *stūpas* and *samghārāmas* are met with at short intervals. See *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhāra* by A. Foucher, translated into English by H. Hargreaves.

² *C I I*, Vol II, Pt I, *Kharōshthī Inscriptions*, p 133, pl XXIV, 4.

³ The donor may have wished to have the whole of the available space inscribed, hence the repetition of the words in question.

⁴ In the Bedadī Copper Ladle Inscription (*C I I*, Vol II, Pt I, p 89), the donor of the ladle is an individual of the same name, but, I think, he is not identical with Samgharakshita of the present record.

⁵ *C I I*, Vol II, Pt I, p cxvi.

⁶ *Ibid*, p 89, pl XVII, 5, 1.

⁷ *Ibid*, p 116, pl XXII, 7.

⁸ In transliterating this letter as *lsh* I have followed Sten Konow (above, Vol XIX, p 2, n 2). The same sign has generally been taken for *chh*.

⁹ It is not certain whether this is the proper name of the *Stūpa* or whether this simply means 'village *stūpa*'.

No. 17.—NALANDA PLATE OF DHARMAPĀLADĒVA

By P. N. BHATTACHARYYA, INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

This copper plate was unearthed in course of excavations in 1927-28 by Mr. T. A. Page of the Archaeological Survey of India at Nālandā, Patna District¹. It was lying among burnt debris in the north verandah of Monastery No. 1 at the same level where the grant of Devapālādēva was found. The plate has already been noticed by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* 1927-28, p. 138.

This is a **single plate** of copper, measuring about 7½" broad and 10½" high, having the usual highly wrought seal soldered on the top. The seal bears the legend *Srīmān Dharmapālādēva* in raised letters in one line below the emblem of the *dharma-latra*. The emblem consists of a wheel flanked on each side by a deer indicating the Buddha's first sermon at Sarnāth.

The plate is inscribed on both sides. The obverse contains 24 lines of writing. On the reverse which is very much defaced, some 12 lines can be clearly recognized. Of the rest of the writing it is not possible to offer even a tentative reading. The destruction of the monastery by fire was no doubt the cause of the defacement of the copper plate.

The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets resembling those of the Kāśmīr plate². The following peculiarities may however be noted. The left limb of the letter *na* is not so elongated as in the Kāśmīr, Munger and Nalendā plates. The forms of the letters *kā* (l. 12) and *ka* (ll. 5, 10, 11) are almost identical. Separates are have been used for final *t* (e.g. *śāṇḍhācārāt*, l. 2) and *n* (e.g. *akutthār*, l. 15). The medial *re* expressed in some cases by full strokes and in others by half strokes (cf. *māp*, l. 14, *śaṣṭ*, l. 8, etc.). It is worthy of notice, however, that not a single instance of half strokes is found in the Kāśmīr, Nālandā and Munger plates. Similarly the medial *ā* is expressed both by full and half strokes. The latter form appears in *śaṣṭ*, l. 10, *śobhā*, l. 14, *kāṣṭh* and *prab*, l. 15, and *śaṣṭ*, l. 17. The medial *ā* has been expressed by a short bar in continuation of the *pr* in *pr* on the left side. The medial *ō* has been expressed in two different ways, sometimes with the half stroke of *ō* together with the vertical stroke for medial *ā* on the right side (cf. *pr*, l. 16, *śaṣṭ*, l. 22) and sometimes with a curved line above the consonant to other with the right vertical stroke (cf. *pāda* *pāda* *śaṣṭ*, l. 15, *śaṣṭ* *śaṣṭ*, l. 17) as in the Kāśmīr and Nālandā plates.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, the text being wholly in prose. As regards **orthography** the only point to be noted is that *h* is throughout expressed by the *śa* for *h*. After the opening words, *Om śaśvate*, the inscription proceeds to record the subject-matter of the plate, namely a grant by the *Parama-vara Parama-lāṅkāra Maṭhār-jyotirāṣa* the son of *Dharmapālādēva*, the son and successor of the devout worshipper of Sugata (i.e. Buddha) the *Maṭhār-jyādharī* *Gōpālādēva*. It was issued from the royal camp of victory at *Kapilī* (3). The object of the document is to record the gift of the village of *Uttarāma* near the village of *Nigūha* in the *Gayā* *śaṣṭa* of the *Nagara* *śaṣṭa* (ll. 5-7) and belonging to *Jambūnadi* *vīthi*⁴. The purpose of this grant cannot be made out on account of the damaged condition of the

¹ *J. S. I.*, *Annual Report*, 1927-28, p. 138.

² Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 310-327.

³ [See below p. 292 n. 1—Ed.]

⁴ *J. S. I.*, Vol. XVIII, pl. III.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 306, l. 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 320, l. 9.

⁷ *Vīthi* is found here to denote a small sub-division of the *śaṣṭa*. This term occurs also in the Nālandā plate of Devapālādēva in connection with the village granted in the *Gayā* *śaṣṭa*. From the Nāthī grant (N. G. Majumdar *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 74) of Vallabha it is found that *vīthi* formed a part of a *śaṣṭa*. See also above p. 159.

last line on the obverse and the top lines on the reverse, which portion must have contained this information

An account of the exploits of the king which are so elaborately described in the Khalimpur plate is absent in the present record. The designations of the officials and the order in which they have been mentioned in it tally more with those of the Mungir plate of Dēvapāla than with those of the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla. No new designations, however, occur here. Like the Mungir plate this charter mentions *Gauda-Mālava-Khaśa-Kulila-Hūna*, but not *Kaināta* and *Lāta*. *Mahāsēnāpati* mentioned in line 5 (reverse) was probably the *dūtaka* of this grant. Line 7 on the same side gives the name of the writer as Kuladatta, son of Dharmadatta. The words *kaśalārasya* in line 11 and *(u)līrna* in line 12 show that the grant contained the name of the engraver which is now lost. From what remains on the reverse it can be safely asserted that no imprecatory verses, which are usually found at the end of land grants, have been added in the present record.

Of the **place-names** mentioned in this record **Nagara-bhukti** has been identified with modern Patna, which as a division includes the district of Gayā even now. Nagara bhukti is also found on the seals¹ discovered at Nālandā, and in the inscription of Jivitagupta II found at Deo Baranark in the Shāhābād District. From the Nālandā inscription of Dēvapāla we learn that Nagara bhukti included the *vishayas* of Rājagūha (Rājgir) and Gayā. The Krimila district which is mentioned as included in this *bhukti* in the Mungir plate has not been identified. From epigraphic documents we can assume that the Nagara-bhukti included the districts of Patna, Gayā and Shāhābād. The other places mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

TEXT

First Side

- 1 Ōm² svasti | mahā-nau hasty asva-ratha pattī-sampat(tt)y upītta-jaya śavdā(bdā)
- 2 [t Kapilā²]-vāsakāt śrīmaḥ jaya-skandhāvārāt |³ parama-
- 3 saugatō mahārājādhirāja śrī-Gōpālādēva-pādānudhyā
- 4 tahī⁴ paramēśvarah paramabhattachārakō mahārājādhirājah śrī-
- 5 mān Dharmmapālādēvah kuśali | Nagara-bhuktau⁴ Gayā-vish-
- 6 y āntahpāti- Jamvū (mbū)-nadī-vithī-prativa(ba)ddha- Nigūha-grām-āsanna U-
- 7 ttarāma grāmakē⁴ samupagatān sarvvān=ēva rāja-rājana-
- 8 ka-rājaputra rājāmātya-mahākārttākṛitika-mahādandanāya-
- 9 ka mahāpratihāra mahāsāmanta-mahārāja dauhsādhasāadhanika-
- 10 pramātri sarabhangha-kumārāmātya-rājasthāniy ōparika vishaya-
- 11 pati dāsāparādhika-chaurōddharanika dāndika-dāndapāsika-ksha(khē)-
- 12 [trapa prā]ntapāla-tadāyuktaka-viniyuktaka-hasty aśv ōshtra-va(ba)la-vyā-
- 13 [pritaka] kśōra-vadavā gō mahishy-adhikṛita dūta-prē(pra)shanika gamā-
- 14 [gamī]k ābhutvaramānaka Gauda-Mālava-Khaśa-Kulika Hūna-bhata-
- 15 [chāta] sēvak-ādīn=anyān(m)ś=ch=ākirttitān=[sva]-pāda padm-ōpajīvinah pra-
- 16 [tivāsinaś=cha] vrā(brā)hman-ōttarān=mahattara-kutumvi(mbī) purōga mēd-āndhra-chandā-
- 17 [la]-[paryantān=sa*]mājñāpayaty=astu [vah] samvi[dī*]tam yath=ōparīkṛita Uttā-

¹ P R A S, E C, 1916 17, p 43

² Expressed by a symbol

³ For analogous passages see Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskaravarman (above, Vol XII, p 73) and Deo Baranark inscription of Jivitagupta II (Fleet, C I I, Vol III, p 213)

⁴ Danda unnecessary

- 18 [āma-grāmakaḥ*] [sa sīmā tīma yūti] gōchura paryantah = āpuraṁ nīlāḥ¹
 19 [sa chav]iōddharanah = sarva pīdā parihṛita
 20 [r a*]chāta bhata pra[śśō kūchit]t pragrāhivō rāja bhūvya
 sarva pra
 21 [tyāya samūtō bhūmuchchudra nyāyō]n ī chū(ch)ndr arklā kalutā amā l dā
 22 [nah pū*]rva bhuktalā bhujya[māna] dēva vrā(bra)hmi dēva varjito mavā
 23 [mātī pitiōr*] ātmanascha puṣya yāśō bhuyāddhuyō vande n īchār = Dharmma-
 24 [bhatta]kō ārya Jarā bhattāri[lā*]

Second Sula

- 1 [prativā*] ibhi' ch ījñā sravanyā
 2 [dhūvair-bhūtvā*] samuchitā dēva bhū[ga bhōga] kara hranyāśh
 3
 4
 5 [ma]hī tnapiti ri dāra
 6 [hkhā*]tam idā[m] ī an[m] anah chay atah[ā v]
 7 [Ku]lāda[ttē]na Dharmmadatta putro = tti
 8 chitubshashitā dāyā[h*]
 9 pratipeditā
 10 tathā tava mūlani [ch atuh hā] hrikā
 11 ka[m*] akārasya
 12 [u]lāna[m] s'ū[tt]radhīra

¹ [This line ends with ri. Traces of another half line are visible below it.—I d.]

² [There seem to have been six lines of inscription before this line which are completely destroyed.—I d.]

³ [Reading seems to be Govinden=eti.—I d.]

No 48 —A NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE MANNE PLATES OF STAMBHA RANAVALOKA

BY PROF A S ALTEKAR, M A, D Litt, BENARES

The question of the genuineness and the date of issue of the Manne plates of Stambha Ranavalōka¹ has been recently raised in the pages of this journal (see above pp 215 217) by Prof V V Mirashi, while editing the 'Two Copper plate Inscriptions from Berar' Prof Mirashi concludes that the plates are genuine, that they were really issued in the Śaka year 724, and that all the important conquests of Gōvinda III seem therefore to have been made before the date of this charter, i e during the first seven or eight years of his reign

I propose to show in this note that though the Manne plates are genuine, they were not really issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa in the Śaka year 724, when they purport to have been issued They were issued a few years later, probably in Śaka 730 or 731, when the permission of Gōvinda III was received for making the contemplated grant in favour of the Jain *basadi* at Manne

Prof Mirashi has rightly drawn our attention to the fact that the stereotyped account of Gōvinda's exploits, which has been used in as many as ten grants made during his reign, has been used for the first time in the Manne plates It cannot be however conceded that it was prepared at the order of Stambha, who has issued the Manne plates, or that he was the first to use it We must in this connection note that Stambha had rebelled against Gōvinda in the beginning of his reign, forming a formidable confederacy of 12 kings for this purpose Gōvinda was successful in crushing this rebellion The two brothers were however reconciled afterwards, and Gōvinda showed the magnanimity of reappointing his brother to the governorship of Ganga vādī Human nature, however, being what it is, it is not likely that a court poet of Stambha would prepare a draft of Gōvinda's exploits, which would specifically refer to the defeat of his patron's rebellion The Manne plates however mention its defeat in v 13 It is therefore clear that the draft of the Manne plates was prepared by a court poet of Gōvinda III, and was primarily intended for his charters As a matter of fact it cannot suit a charter issued by any ruler, other than Gōvinda himself For, after describing Gōvinda's exploits, the charter says —

तेनदमनिलवियुच्चञ्चलमवलोक्य जीवितमसारम् ।

क्षितिदानपरमपुण्य प्रवर्तित देवभोगाय ॥

Obviously this verse is out of place in a charter intended to be issued by Gōvinda's brother Stambha

The Manne plates state later on that Stambha had asked for the permission of Gōvinda for granting the village concerned to the Jain *basadi* at Manne² It would appear that when the imperial government granted the necessary permission, it forwarded a draft approved by the emperor with orders that it should be incorporated in the charter Stambha carried out the order rather too literally, he did not omit even the verse beginning with *tēn=ēdam=*, which was quite out of place in his own charter

The draft that was sent to Stambha seems to have been prepared under the special instructions of Gōvinda by one of his favourite court poets The emperor had liked it so much that he is seen to be using it throughout his reign after this period in as many as eight other charters

¹ *Ep Carn*, Vol IX, pp 51 3

² तेन श्रीचक्रमदेवेन रथावलीकापरास्ता राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरप्रभुत्वप्राप्तुं प्रवर्तितं जिनमवनाय . . . ग्राम(सी)
दत्त — *Ep Carn*, Vol IX, Nelamangala 61

It is unlikely that a draft, which had so strongly appealed to the emperor, should have been first allowed to be used in a grant issued by his elder brother, who was at the time a rebel. We may therefore presume that it was first used by Gōvinda himself. Thus he does for the first time in the Nāśari plates¹ issued in the Śaka year 727. As far as our present knowledge goes, the draft seems to have been prepared just about this time.

How then is it used in the Manne plates issued in the Śaka year 724? It would appear that Stambha had no doubt promised to grant a village to the Jain establishment at Manne in that year, but he could not immediately issue a charter. He had to wait till the permission of the imperial government was received. This seems to have required a fairly long time, because Gōvinda himself was engaged in a number of campaigns and the necessary *pratikāśa* was not yet ready. By the time this permission came, the exact date and month of the first promise was forgotten. The plates purport to be issued in the Śaka year 724 on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Pūṣya *naḥ-shatra*, i.e. in the month of Pūṣya. But there was no lunar eclipse in the month of Pūṣya in that year, as would appear from a reference to *The Indian Ephemeris* of Divan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai. The same work shows that a lunar eclipse in the month of Pūṣya occurred in the Śaka years 730 and 731. It would appear that Stambha got the necessary permission at the end of one of these two years. At the time when the supplementary portion of the charter of Stambha, containing the date, was being drafted, the lunar eclipse in the month of Pūṣya was fresh in the mind of the donor, the donee and the drafter. They further had a dim idea that the original promise was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the winter. They therefore transferred the lunar eclipse in the month of Pūṣya from the Śaka year 730 or 731 to the Śaka year 724, when the original promise was made. This has given rise to the irregularity of the date of the Manne plates. We need not therefore suppose that the stereotyped account of Gōvinda's exploits was really ready in the Śaka year 724 when the Manne plates purport to have been issued. The earliest undoubted year in which it is known to be definitely used is the Śaka year 727, when the Nāśari plates were issued. Gōvinda's exploits mentioned in this stereotyped draft have therefore to be placed not before the Śaka year 724 but before the Śaka year 727. The various exploits mentioned in this draft were therefore achieved not within the first seven or eight years of his reign but may have required as many as 11 or 12 years. Seven or eight years is too short a period for them, when we remember the conditions of the roads and the means of transport of the period.

A reconsideration of the whole problem has now led me to the conclusion that the sensational victories of Gōvinda III in his north Indian campaign, during which he humbled down Chakravyūḍha and Dharmapāla and his armies penetrated right up to the vicinity of the Himalayas,—as maintained in the Sūrya plates of his son Amoghavarsha I—are not mentioned or described in this stereotyped draft. The verse mentioning the defeat of the Gurjara king merely refers to a raid of Nāgabhatta being repulsed. The poet, who drafted this charter, was well acquainted with the complications of the northern Indian politics, as is clear from his specific reference to the exploits of Gōvinda's father Dhruva in snatching away the white umbrella from Vatsarāja, which he had carried as a trophy from the king of the Gaṇḍes. A poet, who mentions the submission of a third rate Vindhya chief like Mīrīśarva, would certainly have grown eloquent over the discomfiture of such celebrated rulers as Dharmapāla and Chakravyūḍha. Nor would Gōvinda have approved a draft, which did not refer to the feat of his forces in approaching the Himalayas after penetrating into the Doab. This famous northern expedition of Gōvinda has therefore to be placed at a date later than the issue of this stereotyped charter. We cannot however discuss the complicated question of its approximate date in the present note.

¹ Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 13.

No 49—A FURTHER NOTE ON THE DATE OF THE MANNE PLATES OF STAMBHA

BY PROF V V MIRASHI, M A, NAGPUR

I am obliged to the Government Epigraphist for giving me an opportunity to state my views on the points raised in Dr Altekār's note on the date of the Manne plates of Stambha Rānivalōka. This date¹ is admittedly imperfect, as the name of the month in which the lunar eclipse occurred is not mentioned in it. The mere mention of a *nakṣatra* in connection with a lunar eclipse is not sufficient to specify the exact month in which it occurred, as the *paurṇimā* of a month is not invariably associated with the *nakṣatra* after which the month is named. In my article² on the Lōhārā grant I have suggested that some words like *Mārgaśīrṣha paurṇamāsyām* are inadvertently omitted in the date of the Manne plates, as the only lunar eclipse³ which could have been intended is that in the month of Mārgaśīrṣha. Even then the date does not become quite regular, for the asterism on the full moon day of Mārgaśīrṣha in Śaka 724 was Rōhinī, not Pushya. But we can easily explain this irregularity by supposing that though the grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the 13th November A D 802, the plates were actually issued four days later, on the 17th November, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Pushya. Those who are familiar with the dates of our ancient records know that copper-plates were sometimes issued a few days after the particular grants recorded in them were made and that such irregularities in their dates are by no means rare. In my article I have cited the date of the second set of Manne plates, which belongs to the same period, as another instance of the same irregularity. These latter plates purport to have been issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Monday, the full-moon day of Pausa, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Pushya, in the Śaka year 732. A reference to Diwan Bahadur S K Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* will show that the lunar eclipse did, indeed, occur on the full moon day of Pausa in A D 810 (corresponding to the expired Śaka year 732), but the week-day was Saturday and the asterism at the time of the eclipse was Punarvasu, not Pushya. It seems plain therefore that though the grant was made on Saturday, the 14th December A D 810, the plates were actually issued two days later on Monday, the 16th December, when the moon was in conjunction with Pushya. The irregularity in the date of the Manne plates (first set) is exactly of the same type as that in the date of this grant.

Dr Altekār prefers to account for the irregularity in the date of the Manne plates (first set) in a different manner. He concedes that the grant was made in Śaka 724, but he supposes that the plates were actually issued six or seven years later in Śaka 730 or 731, when there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Pausa. The reason for this unusual delay in the issue of the plates, according to Dr Altekār, is that Stambha did not receive the permission of the imperial government earlier, as Gōvinda was himself engaged in a number of campaigns and the necessary *prasasti* was not yet ready. Dr Altekār further supposes that the drafter, the donor and the donee had no accurate information about the occasion of the original grant, but only remembered that it had been made at a lunar eclipse in winter in Śaka 724. They therefore mentioned, as the occasion of the grant, the lunar eclipse which had occurred recently in the month of Pausa in Śaka 730 or 731. Hence the date is found to be irregular.

¹ The wording of the date is *chatur-vimsaty uttarēṣhu sapta satēṣhu Śaka varṣhēṣhu samātītēṣhu Sōma grahanē Pushya nakṣatrē* Ep. Carn., Vol IX, Nelamangala 61.

² Above, p 217.

³ There was another lunar eclipse in this year, but it occurred much earlier, on Jyēṣṭha *paurṇimā*, the 21st May A D 802.

This explanation of the irregularity of the date is, I submit, too far-fetched. It is incredible that it took Śambha six or seven years to obtain the imperial sanction to his grant. Even granting that Gōvinda could not give the required sanction in Śaka 724 because he was then constantly engaged in fighting, one fails to understand why the sanction was not forthcoming in Śaka 727 at least, by which time Gōvinda had finished all his important campaigns both in the north and in the south and the draft of the *prashasti* was also ready for use, as we find it actually used in the Nāgarī plates¹ of that year. The *prashasti* was of course composed by a court poet of Gōvinda III, not by that of Śambha. Gōvinda must have used it in his own grants made before Śaka 727, though they have not been discovered so far.

Let us next examine the reasons which have led Dr. Altekar to offer the foregoing far-fetched explanation. He thinks that the various exploits mentioned in the stereotyped *prashasti* could not have been achieved during even or eight years (A.D. 791-802). But are there not instances in our ancient history of equally remarkable victories being achieved by great military commanders in the same or even smaller periods of time? I will mention here only one or two cases of this type. The Rājātraiyāśālinī Indr III invaded North India and pressed as far as Kanauj the imperial capital, which he conquered and destroyed. As Dr. Altekar himself has shown, Indr came to the throne in A.D. 915 and died in A.D. 917. So this brilliant achievement of his could not have taken more than two years. Is it then impossible that Gōvinda finished his campaigns in Northern and Central India within a period of four or five years (Śaka 717-21) as suggested in my article? Another instance is that of the Kalyāṇa Karna. We know from his Benares plates that he succeeded his father as the Kalyāṇa Karna 792 (A.D. 1049). The Rewari stone inscription, which I have recently cited in this Journal describes his victories over a line probably of the Chaurandheris, in the East, the Pallavas, Cāṣṣas and Chāḍas in the South and the Gargars in the West. As this inscription is dated in the Kalyāṇa Karna 800 (A.D. 1048-49) it is plain that the exploits of Karna must have been attained within a period of only seven years. The military power of Karna was not less powerful than that of Gōvinda III and the means of transport had not probably improved much during the period of about two centuries and a half that separated the two rulers.

Dr. Altekar thinks that Gōvinda's greatest victories in North India during which he humbled Chakrāyudha and Dharmapala, were attained after the stereotyped draft was prepared as they are not mentioned in it. This is at best an *ex post facto* *conjecture* and should be used with caution, for we know of several cases in which conclusions based on such absence of mention have been disproved by fresh discoveries. Besides we do not know for certain the exact length of the stereotyped draft when it was first prepared. Though it has been used in as many as eleven charters,² it is well known that it is not of uniform length in all these cases. The longest form of it known so far is that noticed in the Nāgarī plates in which the eulogistic portion consists of 24 verses.³ In other charters the draft is shorter by from 5 to 10 verses.⁴ We

¹ G. H. Khere, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (Mumbai) Vol. I, pp. 15 ff.

² See his *Rasttrakūṭas and Their Territories*, pp. 106 and 107.

³ Above, p. 217.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff.

⁵ Below, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 ff.

⁶ See *eq.* above Vol. XIX, p. 63.

⁷ Ten of these have been mentioned above, p. 216. Since then I have noticed one more charter of the same type, see *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (New Series) Vol. III, pp. 187-89.

⁸ These do not include the opening *maṅgala* *śloka* and the concluding verse *tena-śāmanasila* etc.

⁹ The Rādhāpur plates, for instance, have 19, the Jōhāṛ grant 16 and the Bahulārād plates only 14 verses.

cannot therefore conclude that the original form of it did not contain any verses descriptive of Gōvinda's sensational victories over Dharmapāla, Chakrāyudha and others,—much less that these victories had not been attained when it was prepared

Besides, the Sanjān plates¹ show that these sensational victories of Gōvinda III in Northern and Central India were achieved before his encampment at the capital of *Mahārāja Śarva*. Verse 23 of this grant describes the march of Gōvinda's army to the Himālayas, during the course of which Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha submitted to him. The next verse (24) tells us that returning from there (*tatah pratimurṛtya*) he came down to the bank of the Narmadā and conquered the Mīlava, Kōsala, Kalinga, Vēngī, Dāhala and Ōdraka countries which he placed in charge of his feudatories. He then returned (*pratyāvṛttah*) again to the Narmadā and encamped at the capital of *Mahārāja Śarva* at the foot of the Vindhya, where his son Amōghavarsha was born (vv 25-6). The wording of the verses 23-26 makes it plain that these events occurred in the chronological order stated therein. The existing versions of the stereotyped draft do not, of course, refer to Gōvinda's victorious campaigns in Northern and Central India (except that in which he defeated a Gurjara king) and the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha, but they almost invariably mention his encampment during the rainy season at Śrībhavana, the capital of Mārāśarva. Scholars² are now agreed that this Mārāśarva is none other than the *Mahārāja Śarva* mentioned in the Sanjān plates. It is plain, therefore, that Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha must have submitted to Gōvinda long before the stereotyped draft of the latter's grants was prepared, for the draft describes also Gōvinda's expeditions against the southern kings of Chōla, Pāndya, Kēraḷa, Vēngī, etc., which followed his campaigns in Northern and Central India.

If the Manne plates of Stambha were, therefore, issued, as I have tried to show, in Śaka 724, all the important victories of Gōvinda III—including the submission of Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha—must have been attained before Śaka 724 or A.D. 802, i.e., during the first seven or eight years of his reign.

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

² Dr. Altekar also has accepted the identification, see his *Rāshṭrakūṭas* etc., p. 68, n. 35 (iv).

INDEX.

By B CH CHHABRA, M A, M O L, P H D

[The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure to footnotes and *add* to additions The following other abbreviations are also used —*ca* =capital, *ch* =chief, *ci* =city, *co* =country, *com* =composer, *di* =district or division, *do* =ditto, *dy* =dynasty, *E* =Eastern, *engr* =engraver, *ep* =epithet, *f* =female, *k* =king, *l* =locality, *l m* =land measure, *m* =male, *mo* =mountain, *myth* =mythic or mythological, *n* =name, *N* =Northern, *off* =office, *q* =queen, *ri* =river, *S* =Southern, *s a* =same as, *sur* =surname, *t d* =territorial division, *te* =temple, *tit* =title, *vi* =village, *W* =Western]

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